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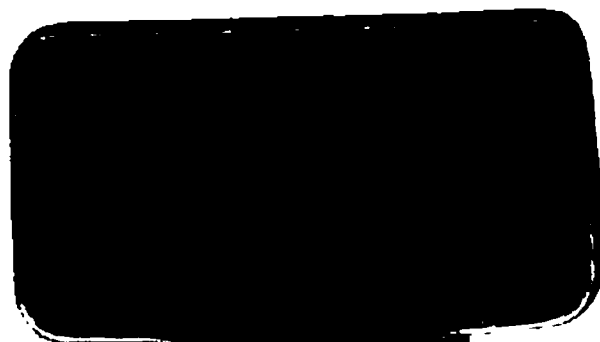
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THE LIFE OF BISHOP ANDREWES.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WORKS
OF
THE RIGHT HONORABLE AND RIGHT REV. FATHER IN GOD
LANCELOT ANDREWES, D.D.
LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

BY THE
REV. ARTHUR T. RUSSELL, B.C.L.
OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
VICAR OF WHADDON, CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

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TO THE HONOURABLE AND REVEREND

HENRY COCKAYNE CUST, M.A.,

CANON OF WINDSOR, AND RECTOR OF COCKAYNE HATLEY

IN THE COUNTY OF BEDFORD, &c.

MY DEAR SIR,

The following pages, designed as a tribute to the memory of one of the most eloquent and munificent Prelates that ever adorned the Church of England, will, I trust, form also no unfitting memorial of my grateful regard for yourself, to whose kindness I was indebted for the second Vicarage which I have held under Her Majesty's Free Chapel of St. George, Windsor. I trust it will be seen by every candid reader that my aim has been to represent the subject of this volume as he was, neither exaggerating nor depreciating his

illustrious memory. My object has not been to write with a view to please one or another party, but as a dutiful son and faithful servant of the Church of England to illustrate her history and theology with impartiality, and at the same time with the conviction that to no period can the minds of my brethren in the sacred ministry of Christ's Church more profitably revert than to that of Hooker, Field, and Andrewes. I have long felt that those can never live effectively for the present, who can find no delight in living much in the past. Our Church may have had, in common with others, her seasons of declension; she may have, in common with other communities, her trials at the present time: but on many a bright spot, both in the past and at the present day, the hearts of her devoted children may rest with both gratitude and hope,—with gratitude that the hand of God hath visibly made use of this Church for the establishing of His pure Word and worship in these realms, and with hope that He will never fail to answer the prayers of those who rejoice in her prosperity.

May our good Lord and Saviour be with you, my dear Sir, to support and bless you in the years that yet remain to you. And may these my poor labours add some little enjoyment to your days, beneath the shadow of that noble edifice in which Andrewes and Field both ministered before the same royal patron.

With my constant prayers for the fulness of all grace and heavenly benediction upon yourself and yours, I am happy in subscribing myself

Your very grateful friend and servant,

ARTHUR TOZER RUSSELL.

*Vicarage, Whaddon,
June, 1860.*

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THE LIFE OF LANCELOT ANDREWES, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF WINCHESTER.

CHAPTER I.

Andrewes at School and at the University—His College Lectures on the Decalogue—His doctrines—Faith the foundation of Religion—Of the rule of interpretation—The reason of the introduction of the New Covenant—Of the use of images and pictures in Churches—Of the Eucharist, and of the application of sacrificial terms to it.

LANCELOT ANDREWES was born A.D. 1555, in Thames-street, in the parish of Allhallows, Barking, London, of religious parents, who, besides his education, left him a fair estate which descended to his heir at Rawreth, a little village between Chelmsford and Rayleigh.¹ His father Thomas in his latter time became one of the Society and master of Trinity House, and was descended of the ancient family of

¹ Morant professes that he was unable to discover what this property was. (Morant's *Essex*, vol. i. p. 286.) But he informs us that the manors of Malgreffs or Malgraves, in the parish of Horndon, and of Goldsmiths in that of Langdon, were in this family. Langdon and Horndon-on-the-Hill are between Billericay and Tilbury. "Anne daughter of Mr. Thomas Andrewes, citizen of London, brought it to her husband Thomas Cotton, of Conington, in Cambridgeshire." This Anne must have been the bishop's niece. Her only daughter Frances married Dingley Ascham, Esq. (*Ibid.* pp. 218, 247.) Note in p. iii. *Andrewes' Minor Works*. (Oxford, J. H. Parker, 1854.) In the register of Newton, near Bury St. Edmund's, there occurs, "Rebecca daughter of William Andrewes, gent. of Bury, was buried 22 Nov. 1582." This family bore the same arms with the bishop. They were dispersed over Hampshire, Suffolk, and London; and perhaps of this family was Sir Henry Andrewes, of Lathbury, near Newport Pagnel, in Buckinghamshire.

the Andrewes in Suffolk. Lancelot was early sent to the Coopers' Free School, Ratcliff, in the parish of Stepney. This school was founded in the reign of Henry the Eighth by Nicholas Gibson, grocer, who in 1538 served the office of Sheriff. It was intended for the education of sixty children of poor parents, under a master and usher, and to it were attached an almshouse and chapel. Here Andrewes was placed under Mr. Ward, who, discovering his abilities, persuaded his parents to continue him at his studies and to destine him to a learned profession. His young scholar did not prove unmindful of his kindness, but when raised to the see of Winchester, promoted his son Dr. Ward to the living of Bishop's Waltham.¹ At this place, which is a small market-town ten miles north-east of Southampton, the Bishops of Winchester had a residence from the time of Bishop Henry de Blois, brother of king Stephen. This place was the favorite resort of the famous Wykeham. The palace was destroyed in the civil wars.² From Mr. Ward Andrewes was sent to the celebrated Richard Mulcaster, then master of Merchant Taylors' School.³ Mulcaster was a strict disciplinarian, having been trained under the stern Udal at Eton. Thence he went to King's College, Cambridge, in 1548, but removed to Oxford, where his learning was so highly esteemed that in 1561 he was appointed the first master of Merchant

¹ Dr. Ward was also Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge, and Prebendary of Chichester. Bishop Andrewes probably collated him to the latter.

² "Little now remains but a part of the wall, overgrown with ivy, and the park is converted into a farm. The stews for keeping fish for the use of the house are still in being; and against a wall near the ruins is an ancient pear-tree, said to have been planted by William of Wykeham, who is said to have expended 30,000 marks in repairing and enlarging this mansion."—Cruttwell's *Tour*, &c., 1801, vol. ii. p. 162.

³ Bishop Andrewes left his son Peter a legacy of £20. Of Mulcaster Isaacson records that Andrewes ever reverently respected him during his life, in all companies, and placed him at the upper end of his table, and after his death caused his picture (having but few other in his house) to be set over his study door. He was of a wealthy family in Cumberland, who, in the time of William Rufus, had the charge of defending the border-countries from the Scots. He was the son of William Mulcaster, Esq., who resided during the former part of his life at Carlisle, and whose pedigree occurs in notices of *Surrey Descents*, amongst the uncatalogued MSS. of Dr. Rawlinson at Oxford. (*Gent. Mag.* vol. lxx. p. 420.)

Taylors' School, which was founded in that same year by the munificent Sir Thomas White. Here Mulcaster continued until 1596, and was appointed master of St. Paul's School, from which he was preferred by the Queen to the rich rectory of Stanford Rivers, near Ongar, 1598. In 1609 he was deprived by death of a beloved wife, with whom he had lived happily fifty-six years. He did not long survive, but died April 15, 1611. Amongst Andrewes' contemporaries at Merchant Taylors' were Giles Thompson, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester,¹ Thomas Dove, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough,² and Ralph Hutchenson, who was president of St. John's College, Oxford, from 1590 to his death, January 17, 1605. On his leaving Merchant Taylors' School in 1571, Andrewes was entered at Pembroke College, Cambridge. On 9th September in this same year Dr. Thomas Watts, of Christ's College, Cambridge, (who in 1560 was appointed archdeacon of Middlesex, in the place of the venerable Alexander Nowell,) being then prebendary of Totenhale in St. Paul's, and in 1571 also dean of Bocking, founded seven scholarships at Pembroke College, called Greek scholarships.³ The four first scholars upon this foundation were Andrewes and Dove, Gregory Downhall, and John

¹ Dr. Giles Thompson was also a native of the metropolis. He was sent from Merchant Taylors' School in 1571 to University College, Oxford, and was elected thence to a fellowship at All Souls in 1580. He served the office of Proctor in 1586, and was appointed Divinity Reader at Magdalene College. Queen Elizabeth made him one of her chaplains, and in 1602 Dean of Windsor. He had a considerable hand in preparing the present version of the New Testament, and succeeded Dr. Parry in the see of Gloucester in 1611, but died the following year.

² Dr. Dove being an eloquent preacher was made Dean of Norwich in 1589, and raised to the see of Peterborough in 1601. There he continued till his death, August 30, 1630. He was about the same age with Andrewes.

³ Sir John Harrington relates that Sir Francis Walsingham, the same "great councillor of those times who procured Andrewes a prebend in Paul's," gave him a "liberal exhibition." (*Brief View of the State of the Church of England*, p. 141. Lond. 1652.) Whether this refers to his own liberality towards Andrewes at the University, or to his having perhaps brought him into the notice of his other patrons, Price and Watts, does not appear. It is most probable that Sir Francis Walsingham contributed out of his own purse to his support at the University. He resided in the immediate vicinity of Andrewes' parents, in Seething-lane, communicating with All Hallows, Barking.

Wilford. About the same time Andrewes was, with Dove, Wilford, and William Plat, appointed to a scholarship in Jesus College, Oxford, at the request of the founder, by Queen Elizabeth. It would appear that he was nominated to a scholarship at Oxford previously to his admission, or at least residence, at Cambridge. He left Merchant Taylors' School on St. Barnabas Day, June 11, 1571, and the royal charter of foundation whence Jesus College dates its institution, is dated 27 June, 13 Eliz. 1571. By this charter Dr. Hugh Price, or Ap Rice, (LL.D., of Oxford, 1525, and supposed to have been educated at Oseney Abbey), Treasurer of St. David's, was permitted to settle estates on the said college to the yearly value of £160., for the sustentation of eight fellows and eight scholars, all appointed in the first instance, according to Dr. Price's mind, by Queen Elizabeth.¹

"What he did when he was a child and a schoolboy, it is not now known," says his grateful biographer Isaacson, "but he hath been sometimes heard to say, that when he was a young scholar in the University, and so all his time onward, he never loved or used any games or ordinary recreations, either within doors, as cards, dice, tables, chess, or the like; or abroad, as bats, quoits, bowls, or any such; but his ordinary exercise and recreation was walking either alone or with some companion with whom he might confer and recount his studies." To the last he took great delight in those meditations that are, as it were, inspired by the beholding of the works of God.

His custom was, after he had been three years at the University, (when he took his degree of B.A. in 1574-5,) to come up to London once a year to visit his parents, always about a fortnight before Easter, and to stay with them about a month, never intermitting his studies. And, until he was a bachelor of divinity, he even used to perform these journies on foot.

In October 1576 he was chosen to a fellowship at his college, and Dove, the unsuccessful candidate, was continued as a *tanquam-socius* by a liberality not unusual in those

¹ *Memorials of Oxford*, by Dr. Ingram, President of Trinity College.

times. In 1578 he took the degree of M.A.¹ In 1580 he was ordained, and the same year his name appears in the College books as Junior Treasurer. In 1581 he was Senior Treasurer, and on July 11 was incorporated M.A. of the University of Oxford, on the same day with William Pember-ton of Christ College, afterwards the incumbent of High Ongar.²

After he had been some time Master of Arts he was appointed catechist in his college, and read his lectures upon the decalogue at the hour of catechising (three in the afternoon) every Saturday and Sunday; and such was his reputation as a student and a divine, that many came to the chapel, now (since the chapel founded by Bishop Wren) the College library; and these not only from other colleges, but even from the country. So report both his biographer Isaacson and Jackson the editor of these very lectures. They were put forth from notes in 1642, and entitled, *The Moral Law expounded*; and in the same volume were reprinted his Sermons on the Temptation in the Wilderness, and on Prayer. The lectures were a second time edited in 1650, and again in 1675, in a comparatively modern style, and with many enlargements and additions. The edition of 1675 is by no means so accurately printed as that of 1642. Of the substance of the work there can be no doubt that it is the production of our prelate. John Jackson the first editor was probably one of the Assembly of Divines, Preacher of Gray's Inn and of the University of Cambridge.³ Sparke was a Puritan, and has introduced his own likeness in an engraving of Laud's Trial.

We have witnessed in our own times an extreme jealousy of all *summaries* of the Gospel. Not so Bishop Andrewes, who, in his introduction to these lectures, observes, in defence of catechising by the help of summaries, that "our Saviour catechising Nicodemus made an epitome or abridgement of the Gospel under one head: *So God loved the world, that He gave His only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on Him might not perish, but have everlasting life.*"⁴

¹ In this year Dr. Fulke was made master of Pembroke College.

² See Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 219.

³ *Ibid.* p. 279.

⁴ p. 4, ed. 1642. p. 5, ed. 1675.

After an introduction vindicating the practice of catechising, Andrewes proceeded to speak of the spirit in which the catechized should come to this exercise; and in this, which forms the second chapter, the later is more copious than the earlier edition. But both appear to be taken from notes, and neither can claim to be the original, for each edition possesses its peculiar marks of the style and learning of our author. In the third chapter the catechist proves with great variety of classical and patristical illustration, that true happiness is to be found only in God. Then he proceeds to shew that the surest way to come unto God is by faith. Nor is there fear of credulity when we believe God, who neither can deceive nor be deceived. Now faith is grounded, says Andrewes, upon the word of God, though published and set forth by man.¹ We cannot come to God by reason, for God transcends reason, nor can we know anything of the essences of things. And as to credulity, the endless differences of philosophers upon the nature of the chief good shew that the uncertainty of the way of reason is most favorable to credulity. And so in the things of common life there is likewise frequent and inevitable necessity for faith.²

But faith doth not exclude reason as corroborative of revelation. So St. Paul appeals to natural reason in the first chapter of his Epistle to the Romans. And, adds our catechist, "having thus submitted ourselves to belief, and strengthened it with reason, we must look for an higher teacher. For though faith be a perfect way, yet we being imperfect walk imperfectly in it; and therefore in those things which transcend nature and reason, we must believe God only, and pray to Him, that by the inspiration of His Holy Spirit, we may be directed and kept in this way." And "because this inspiration cometh not all at once at the first, we must grow to perfection by little and little, and come up by degrees till it please Him to send it in full measure to us. *He that believeth shall not make haste.*"³

Excellentlly then does he treat of the proofs of the being

¹ p. 20, ed. 1675.

² p. 21.

³ Ibid.

of a God, especially from the existence of moral sentiments and of a conscience in man.¹ Next are summed up the proofs of a particular providence, in which chapter he affirms the principle, that God is his own end, and that he wills all things for his own honour.² Then follow very elaborate discourses upon Heathenism, Judaism, Mahometanism, and the evidences of Christianity. He then proceeds to treat of the rule of interpretation, and does not, as do some who make use of his name, treat the Scriptures as practically useless until a meaning is assigned to them out of the Fathers or by the Church. He does not refer us either to the one or to the other as the rule of interpretation, but will have us seek the literal meaning of each passage, consult the text in the original tongues, compare Scripture with Scripture, learn the intent of those expressions or idioms that are peculiar to Scripture, as the crucifying of the flesh, the mortifying of concupiscence, &c.; consider the scope of the passage, as, what was God's intent in setting down the law, in giving a prophecy, in working a miracle, &c., as St. Paul to Timothy reasoneth from the end of the law, against those that made evil use of the law; and lastly, have regard to the context. These rules he prefaces with a quotation from St. Augustine, "Let us ask by prayer, seek by reading, find out by meditation, taste and digest by contemplation."

It may be observed that in this part of the lectures we meet with a very plain proof that the latter edition was not taken from the bishop's own manuscript, and that it does not deserve the high commendation it gives itself in the titlepage. Thus in p. 54 we read (Rule) 4. "To be acquainted with the phrase of the Holy Ghost, and this is to be gotten by the knowledge of the dialect, idiom, or style of the Holy Spirit, as the apostle speaks, by use to discern it, as the crucifying of the flesh, mortifying the concupiscence, &c., *for sometimes the Holy Ghost in Greek sends us to the Holy Ghost in Hebrew.*" This abrupt transition and incausal connection is not found in the earlier edition, which runs thus: "4. The knowledge of the Holy Ghost's phrase, i. e. idiom, dialect, or style: for the

¹ p. 28, ed. 1675. p. 33, ed. 1642.

² p. 33.

Holy Ghost useth divers idioms that are not to be found in other writers; as, the crucifying of a man's flesh, the mortifying of his concupiscence, &c. Therefore we must be perfect in these; and as Heb. 5, ver. last, *have our senses exercised*, that we may know the Holy Ghost when he speaketh. Often we shall meet with τοῦτ' ἐστὶ μεθερμηνεύμενον, this is being interpreted; the Holy Ghost in Greek referreth us to the Holy Ghost in Hebrew."¹

The second editor has endeavoured to incorporate his own with Bishop Andrewes' doctrine. It is to be observed moreover, that whereas the larger additions to the author are distinguished as such by the editor, he has also inserted *glosses* and *limitations* which are indeed put in *italics*; but neither are these the only additions, for it is owned in the preface that there are some additions left by mistake in the same character with the rest.² Very remarkable is our author's reason for the introduction of the new covenant; it is in perfect harmony with the great principle of his theology, that God is all in all: "The reason of this second covenant was, that now Adam having lost his own strength by breach of the first, all power and strength should be new from God in Christ, and all the glory be given to him. For if Adam had stood by his own strength in the first, howsoever God should have had most glory, yet Adam should have had some part thereof for using his strength well and not abusing it when he might, but kept his standing. But that God might have all the glory, he suffered the first covenant to be broken, and permitted man to fall, for which fall he was to make satisfaction, which he could not do but by Christ, nor perform new obedience but by the grace of God preventing us, and making us of unwilling willing, and of unable able to do things in that measure that God will require at our hands."³ He discourses of the order that should be observed in preaching. He will have the law preached first because by it alone men are humbled; then he will have them brought to that covenant by which they can be saved.

¹ p. 68.

² The last page but one in the *Preface*, ed. 1675.

³ p. 60, ed. 1675. p. 72, ed. 1642.

In his '*traces of the moral law amongst the heathen*' he notices their observance of the number *seven* as the number of rest, and the number most pleasing to the gods, and their practice of mourning seven days, of naming their children on the seventh day, &c.¹

Under the exposition of the first commandment are most learnedly and piously treated all the religious affections, faith, hope, love, humility, patience, reverence; also prayer, thanksgiving, obedience, integrity, and perseverance; and their contraries, unbelief, despair, pride, love of the world, self-love, &c.

Under the second commandment he derives the use of pictures in churches from the Gnostics in Irenæus,² and gives the four causes of the introduction of images, condemning it at the same time as the beginning of great abuses. These causes are the policy of heretics aiming by their imitation of the heathen to conciliate them; secondly, desire to preserve the memory of the dead; so the people had the likeness of Malesius, Bishop of Constantinople, in their rings, and in their houses. Thirdly, wealth, by reason of which they desired to please their eyes and to have their churches as rich as themselves. Lastly, the idleness, absence or ignorance of their pastors. "Paulinus, Bishop of Nola in Campania, having occasion to travel into Syria and Egypt, and having none to preach to his people till his return, thought good (because he would have something to teach them in his absence) to paint the whole history of the Bible on the walls of his church, so that their preachers were none other but painted walls. But this is no way to be commended in him, and the effect proved accordingly. For it fell out that for want of better teachers the people became ignorant, and because their pastors became but dumb images, therefore dumb images became their pastors."³

Our author charges upon the second council of Nice *the paying supreme worship to images themselves*. The later

¹ p. 66.

² *Hær. B. l. cc. 24, 27.* And see *Letter 2* (p. 37) of *Philaethes Cantab.*, the late Bp. Kaye's *Reply to the Travels of an Irish Gentleman in search of a Religion*. 1834.

³ p. 200, ed. 1675.

editor of his lectures inserts a correction, affirming that the council was misrepresented to the councils of Frankfort and Paris. But the reader will find this point fully treated of in *Bishop Stillingfleet upon the Idolatrous Practices of the Romish Church*,¹ and Andrewes fully justified.

Under this commandment Andrewes discourses of all the parts of divine worship, preaching, prayer, thanksgiving, sacraments, and discipline. "St. Paul," he tells us, "not only preached, but made it an ordinance of God, to save them that believe."² Upon the sacraments and discipline the later is far more copious than the earlier edition, which, from its extreme brevity, was probably taken from notes very defective themselves upon these particulars. If this part of the work be our author's, he decides that children are believers "by their godfathers and godmothers and parents who present them and desire to have them baptized in the faith of Christ." The sacrifice of the Eucharist he does not make a repetition of Christ's sacrifice, but an oblation of ourselves to God and a sacrifice of thanksgiving. The only other sense in which our author ever calls the Lord's Supper a sacrifice is as a commemoration of Christ's sacrifice. He disclaims in his Easter-day Sermon for A.D. 1612, the application of the term *sacrifice* in the strict and literal sense. He saith, "by the same rule that theirs [the passover] was, by the same may ours be termed a sacrifice. In rigour of speech neither of them: for (to speak after the exact manner of divinity) there is but one only sacrifice *veri nominis* properly so called; that is Christ's death, and that sacrifice but once actually performed at his death, but ever before represented in figure, from the beginning; and ever since repeated, in memory, to the world's end." And a little after, in the same sermon: "So it was the will of God, that so there might be with them a continual foreshewing, and with us a continual shewing forth the Lord's death till He come again. Hence it is, that what names theirs carried, ours do the like, and

¹ *A Discourse concerning the Idolatry Practised in the Church of Rome, &c.*, by Edward Stillingfleet, D.D. Lond. 1671, pp. 79—89.

² 1 Cor. i. 21.

the Fathers make no scruple at it; no more need we." We do not find here that theological confusion of language which would lead us to suppose that the Eucharistic elements themselves were a sacrifice available to the forgiveness of sins; a confusion into which those have fallen perhaps unwittingly, yet really, who have sought to make of the Eucharist a real sacrifice and not a commemoration of a sacrifice. These contend for a *real*; Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Jewel, Bishop Bilson for a figurative sacrifice, a memorial of Christ's death, in which the offerers were as much the people as the priests; so Bishop Bilson: "Christ is offered daily but mystically, not covered with 'qualities and quantities of' bread and wine, for those be neither mysteries nor resemblances to the death of Christ: but by the bread which is broken, by the wine which is drunk, in substance creatures, in signification sacraments, the Lord's death is figured and proposed to the communicants, and they for their parts, *no less people than priests*, do present *Christ hanging on the Cross* to God the Father, with a lively faith, inward devotion, and humble prayer, as a most sufficient and everlasting sacrifice for the full remission of their sins and assured fruition of His mercies." And again, he explains Peter Lombard in his fourth book and twelfth distinction, saying, "Christ is offered in a sacrament," by these words, "that is, his offering is represented, and a memory of his passion celebrated." And so Dr. Field (who has nevertheless been alleged to prove the doctrine of Johnson, Hickes, and their followers) sums up all in this, "The sacrifice of the altar is only the sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, and a mere representation and commemoration of the sacrifice once offered on the Cross."¹ Equally careful is Buckeridge, Bishop of Ely, to guard against all idea of a real external sacrifice, denying in plain terms that the Eucharist is an external proper sacrifice.²

¹ Field's *Book of the Church*, p. 220. Ed. 3d. Oxf. 1635.

² *Discourses concerning Kneeling*, 1618.

CHAPTER II.

Andrewes on the Fourth Commandment—Of holy places—Of the Church's deposit—Of Circumcision—Of the fear of God—Of grace. —Andrewes goes into the north with the Earl of Huntingdon—Sir Francis Walsingham becomes his patron—He is made Vicar of St. Giles', Cripplegate—Preaches at the Spital in 1588—His censure of highmindedness—His honourable notice of Augustine and Calvin—Vindication of Protestant munificence—Censure of simony and sacrilege—Of Justification—He preaches before the Queen in 1589—Is made Prebendary of Southwell and of St. Paul's, and Master of Pembroke College—His Clerum.

IN the sixth chapter our author exposes the excuses of the Romanists in regard of image-worship, and herein follows the very same course that is taken in the *Homily upon Peril of Idolatry*. In his exposition of the fourth commandment he observes that men would probably have neglected worship altogether, "if God had not provided a particular day for himself and settled it by a special commandment; as we see in those that talk of a perpetual Sabbath, who come at length to keep no day at all." His judgment did not suffer him to be led away with the presumptuous folly of those who discovered that Adam had no need of a Sabbath. He regarded the fourth commandment as partly moral and partly ceremonial, which appears to be virtually admitted by Bishop White himself, who says that "the common and natural equity of the commandment is moral."¹ Andrewes derives the Lord's Day, with St. Augustine, from Holy Scripture;

¹ *Treatise of the Sabbath Day*, p. 90. Lond. 1636.

this is the day that the Lord hath made. And so St. Athanasius affirms that "the Lord changed the Sabbath to the Lord's Day."¹ "So," observes our author, "though the Sabbath or seventh day from the creation be ceased, yet there is another day still remaining, because the end of keeping a day is immutable from the beginning, to wit, that God might be honoured by a solemn and public worship." But the whole of this subject is more fully considered and more accurately recorded in his *Lectures preached in St. Paul's*: "Of all the days in the week we shall see the seventh day to be the fittest to retain and keep in memory the commendation of this benefit and work of creation. When God had performed this great work of creation, he took order also, because it was the greatest benefit which as yet the world had or knew of, that the seventh day should be always had in remembrance, because he had fully perfected all the work in it; and the very same reason which made the Jews' Sabbath on the seventh day, doth now also move Christians to keep it on the first day in the week; for it is God's will that the lesser benefit should surcease and give place to the greater, *Jer.* xxiii. 7, and that the benefit of creation as the lesser, should yield and give place to the work of redemption, which is the greater benefit."² But the Sabbath of Sinai, adds our author, had three other accessory ends: first, political, which was bodily rest, *Exod.* xxiii. 12; secondly, ceremonial, that is commemorative of the creation, and typical of Christ's rest in the grave, of our rest from sin, and of eternal rest in heaven: thirdly, an end peculiar to the Jews, the commemorating of their deliverance out of Egypt, *Deut.* v. 15; wherefore the Jews say that they have a double right and interest in the Sabbath.

In regard of the sanctification of the day, he condemns all labor, pastimes, journeyings, and such agricultural works as are forbidden in Exodus xxxiv. 21, bounding these rules by that of our Saviour, *God will have mercy and not sacrifice.*

The eighth chapter treats of the duty of fasting, a duty

¹ *Treatise of the Sabbath Day*, p. 78. Lond. 1636. And see *Forbesii Theologia Moralis*, l. 4, c. 2, § 6. Op. t. i. p. 79.

² *Apocasmata Sacra, or Orphan Lectures*, p. 134. Lond. 1657.

unhappily for the most part altogether neglected, or magnified as an end instead of a way to an end.

Again, if the love of ease will condemn fasting, so the love of money will as easily condemn all care of the house of God as superstitious. But justly does our author satirize this desecrating sort of religion. "The Sabbath is the day of rest, and when we hallow it, we call it *the Lord's rest*. So *Psalms* cxxxii. 14, we see the Lord will give the same name to the place, *This is my rest*; concerning which, as the Apostles took order, as that the exterior part of God's worship might be performed *decently and in order*; so on the other side, that the place of God's worship should be so homely and so ordered, that the table of the Lord's Supper where, one saith well, the dreadful mysteries of God are celebrated, were fitter to eat oysters at, than to stand in the sanctuary of the Lord; this is so far from pomp that it is far from decency. And it is a thing that would be thought of: it is not the weightier matter of the law, yet not to be neglected. As our working, travelling, &c. shew that we esteem not that day, so the walls and windows shew that we are not esteemers of his sanctuary."¹

From holy things he proceeds to treat of holy persons, and of that power which is in the law of God alone to hold communities together by checking those sins that cannot, from their very nature, be restrained by human enactments; sins which nevertheless have been the destruction of empires. Here he speaks of the great mischief which the corruption of law and oppressive delays, &c. had brought upon our own country.²

In the later edition, which is much more ample upon the subject of ceremonies than the earlier, having a whole page by way of introduction which that has not, Andrewes calls the Scriptures, the volume of both covenants, the *depositum* committed to the Church.³

Circumcision he calls here and elsewhere a *sacrament*, affirming that to the sacraments of circumcision and of the passover succeeded baptism and the Lord's Supper.⁴

¹ p. 357, ed. 1642.

² p. 303, ed. 1675.

³ p. 210.

⁴ p. 265.

Of the fear of God he saith, "The reason why though we may and ought to obey God out of love, yet it hath pleased him to command fear, is threefold: 1. to overthrow the vain speculation of some erroneous people, that dream of an absolute perfection in this life. The wise man saith, *Blessed is the man that feareth alway*. And either there is no perfection in this life, or fear is superfluous; he that cannot fall need not fear. 2. Inasmuch as the children of God often feel in themselves a feebleness in faith, a doubt in hope, coldness in prayers, slowness in repentance, and weakness in all the other duties, in some more, in others less, according to the measure of the Spirit communicated to them, as it was in king David; therefore fear is necessary to recover themselves, and he that loseth it not, his heart shall never be hardened, nor fall into mischief. Though all other duties fail, yet if fear continues, we shall never need to despair. 3. Because the excellent duty of love, the effect of fear, might not fail and grow careless. In the Canticles the spouse fell asleep with her beloved in her arms, and when she awoke her beloved was gone: in her bed she sought him but found him not. So that if there be not a mixture of fear with love, it will grow secure and fall asleep and lose her beloved. Therefore that we may be sure to keep our love awake, when we think we have Christ in our arms, there must be a mixture of fear with it. So for these three reasons fear is necessary, even for them that think themselves in a perfect state. And withal Solomon tells us, *the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom*: so did his father before him. And the same Solomon concludes his book of *the Preacher* with, *Fear God and keep his commandments, for this is the end of all and the whole duty of man*. And in another place he saith, *The fear of the Lord is the fountain of life to avoid the snares of death*. As *faith* is the beginning of Christian religion, as the first principles in every science are of things to be believed, so is *fear* the first work or beginning of things to be done: and as servile fear is the first work, so a reverend and filial fear is the last work and conclusion of all things."¹

¹ pp. 124, 125.

He thus speaks of the grace of God. "As Nebuchadnezzar ascribed the building of great Babel to his own power, and made his own glory the end of it; so, on the contrary, we also say of hope, it makes God the author of all the good it looks for, and makes His glory the end of all. For first, it makes us go out of ourselves and trust only in God, and wholly rely upon Him as the sole efficient cause of good to us. We must wholly depart out of ourselves; we must not conceive that there is any sufficiency in ourselves, but that all our sufficiency is of God, not so much as to think a good thought, therefore much less to have a will to do it; but that it is God that works the *velle* [willing] and consequently the *perficere* [perfecting] both the will and the deed in us. We must not ascribe any part or help to ourselves: for our Saviour saith, *Without Me ye can do nothing*. Upon which place St. Augustine noteth, it is "not any *great* thing, but *nothing at all*, and not that we can *perfect nothing*, but *do nothing* at all. And as it makes God the cause and first beginning, so the last end too, by giving the glory of his graces in us to him: and the reason is plain in the Apostle, *That no flesh should glory in his presence*, but as it followeth, *that he that glorieth should glory in Him*. (1 Cor. i.)"¹

The same pious doctrine is contained and vindicated very fully in his sermon upon 2 Cor. iii. 5, *Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think anything as of ourselves, but our sufficiency is of God.*² There he saith, "If we begin to do any good thing, it is *God who began a good work in us*. Phil. i. 6. In consideration of which place Augustine saith of the Pelagians, *Audiant qui dicunt, 'à nobis esse cœptum, à Deo esse eventum,'* the beginning is from us, the completion is from God. Here let them learn of the Apostle, that it is the Lord that doth *begin* and *perform* the good work."

And thus much of his catechetical lectures, the value of which is by no means exaggerated in Jackson's *Dedication to Parliament*, where they are called and said to have been

¹ p. 138, ed. 1675.

² *Nineteen Sermons concerning Prayer*. Camb. 1641.

reputed "a very library to young divines, and an oracle to consult at, to laureate and grave divines."

From the University Andrewes went into the north on the invitation of Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon and Lord President of the North.¹ Whilst with him he is said both by Isaacson and Bishop Buckeridge to have had great success in converting several both priests and laymen to the Protestant religion.

"After this," adds Buckeridge in his funeral sermon for our prelate, "Mr. Secretary Walsingham took notice of him, and obtained him of the Earl, intending his preferment, in which he would never permit him to take any country benefice, lest he and his great learning should be buried in a country church. His intent was to make him *Reader of Controversies* in Cambridge, and for his maintenance he assigned to him (as I am informed) the lease of the parsonage of Alton in Hampshire, which after his death (in 1590) he returned to his lady, which she never knew nor thought of."²

In 1583, November 27, Nicholas Felton, afterward Bishop of Ely, and, like Andrewes, one of the most upright and popular prelates of his time, was elected to a fellowship at Pembroke College.³ In 1585 Andrewes took his degree of B.D., and in 1588 appears to have succeeded Robert

¹ Henry Hastings, third Earl of Huntingdon, succeeded his father Francis in the earldom in June 1561, and married Catherine daughter of John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. He died in December 1595. Sir Richard Baker, in his notice of the many illustrious personages who died in the course of this year, notes of the Earl of Huntingdon, that he spent his estate upon Puritan ministers. His nephew Francis, son of his brother George, succeeded to the earldom. He was, says Sir R. Baker, excluded the Queen's favour toward the end of her reign for dealing with sorcerers. The Lord President was the patron and friend of Andrewes, Morton (afterwards Bishop of Durham), and Howland Bishop of Peterborough, whom in 1594 he recommended for the Archbishopric of York, but it was reserved for Dr. Matthew Hutton.—See Willis's *Survey of the Cathedrals, Peterborough*, p. 506.

Our Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon, was Lord-Lieutenant of Leicester and Rutland, one of the peers who had charge of Mary Queen of Scots, and President of the North 1572—1595. Peck (*Desid. Cur.* B. 4) has given several of his letters to Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln.

² *Funeral Sermon*, p. 18.

³ *College Register*.

Crowley (Veron's successor in 1563) in the vicarage of St. Giles', Cripplegate. Crowley died on June 18, and was buried in the chancel.

Andrewes, on April 22, 1585, read his *Thesis de Usuris*¹ as his exercise for the degree of B.D. His Sermons on the Temptation in the Wilderness, first published in 1592, and those on the Lord's Prayer, first published in 1611, were probably delivered, not at Cambridge as a recent editor of Isaacson's Life of Andrewes conjectures, but at St. Giles', Cripplegate. Dr. Hopkins, Bishop of Derry, also published a very valuable series of Sermons on the Lord's Prayer towards the latter end of this century. Amongst other eminent divines who have written upon it, are John Smith, 1609, Dr. John Boys, 1622, Perkins of Cambridge, Dr. Henry King, 1638, Joseph Mede, 1658, and William Gouge.

In 1586 appeared *A Choice of Emblems and other Devises for the most part gathered out of sundry writers, Englished and Moralized, and divers newly devised by Geoffrey Witney, &c. Imprinted at Leyden in the house of Christopher Plantyn, by Francis Raphelengius, 1586.* Dedicated to Robert Earl of Leicester, with his arms opposite the dedication. In the second part, p. 224, *Matth. xxiv. To M. Andrewes, Preacher. The Martyrs.* "Sic probantur." And under it the Pharisee giving alms and blowing his trumpet at the same time. Others are:

- p. 217, to Mr. Elcocke, preacher.
- to Mr. Rawlins, preacher.
- to Mr. Knewstubs, preacher.
- to Mr. James Jonson.
- to Mr. Howlte, preacher.

Andrewes, whilst at Cambridge, united, it is said, with the Rev. John Knewstubs, B.D., a native of Westmoreland and fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, Dr. Chaderton, afterwards first master of Emmanuel College, Mr. Culverwell, (Ezekiel Culverwell) of Emmanuel College, vicar of Felstead in Essex, author of a *Treatise of Faith*, 1633, also *A ready Way to remember the Scriptures*, 1637; also John Carter,

¹ See the recent edition of his Posthumous Works, *Opusc. Posth.* pp. 113—150.

A.M. of Clare Hall, and some others, in weekly meetings for prayer and expounding the Scriptures. Mr. Carter, afterwards rector of Belstead in Suffolk, wrote *A Commentary of Christ's Sermon upon the Mount*. He died, aged 80 years, February 22, 1634. "At their meetings," says Samuel Clarke in his *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, p. 133, "they had constant exercises: first they began with prayer, and then applied themselves to the study of the Scriptures. One was for the original languages; another's task was for the grammatical interpretation; another's for the logical analysis; another's for the true sense and meaning of the text; another gathered the doctrines; and thus they carried on their several employments, till at last they went out, like Apollos, eloquent men and mighty in the Scriptures: and the Lord was with them, so that they brought in a very great harvest unto God's barn."

On Wednesday, April 10, in Easter-week 1588, Andrewes preached from 1 Tim. c. vi. 17—19, at the Spital.¹ This discourse is in many respects inferior to none of the ninety-six sermons with which it is embodied. In all the great and essential features of a Christian sermon it is perfect, and abounds with that fertility of illustration, and that witty and at times satirical wisdom which marked its author. But indeed truth is a continual satire upon the world; and he who would faithfully portray men's passions and set them before their own eyes must pass for a satirist. But all is here delivered with an affection not less evident than that fearlessness which shines so nobly in this most faithful of preachers. How does he hold up to view all the meanness of pride, all the

¹ The Spital Sermons were preached in a cross in the churchyard of the Priory of the Augustinian Canons in Spital Fields. A Bishop, a Dean, and a Doctor in Divinity preached on the Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday in Easter-week. Maunsell (*Book Catalogue*, p. 96) states that this sermon was printed without the author's consent by widow Butler, 1589. Herbert (edition of Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, p. 1348) says that she had license granted in the following year, Aug. 24, 1590, for a sermon of Mr. Andrewes' called "The Rich Man's Scripture:" license by the Bishop of London. (Rev. James Bliss, p. lx. Appendix B. to *Andrewes' Life and Minor Works*. Oxford, J. H. Parker, 1854.)

folly of covetousness, all the cruelty and oppression of the *proud* rich man! How does he urge his authority as a messenger from God, upon the rich and the great!

He delivered not an essay but a discourse, written not with a view to reading but to delivery. He therefore raises up and meets the objections of his hearers, and answers to the supposed charge of personality in a manner that those indeed do not need who are always careful to destroy the force of particular precepts by unmeaning generalities. And at least he reminds his congregation that they must one day give an account of the use to which they shall turn that which they have heard at his mouth.¹ He calls God to witness that he has delivered his own soul,² and with all this holy earnestness is nothing but truth in all sobriety and gravity, as it is drawn from the all-searching and all-powerful word of God.

After instancing the highmindedness of Nabal, Abner, and Micaiah, he adds, "These were, I dare boldly affirm, highminded men in their generations. If any be like these they know what they are. If then there be any that refuse to be pruned and trimmed by the word of God; who either, when he heareth the words of the charge, *blesseth himself in his heart and saith, Tush, he doth but prate; these things shall not come upon me, though I walk still according to the stubbornness of mine own heart;*³ either in hearing the word of God, takes upon him (his flesh and blood and he) to sit on it and censure it; and say to himself one while, 'This is well spoken,' when his humour is served; another while, 'This is foolishly spoken, now he babbleth,' because the charge sits somewhat near him; either is in the Pharisee's case, which, after they have heard the charge, do (as they did at Christ) *ἐκμυκτηρρίζειν*, jest and scoff, and make themselves merry with it, and wash it down with a cup of sack, and that *because they were covetous;*⁴ if in very deed the word of God be to them a reproach,⁵ and they take like delight in both, and well were they if they might never

¹ p. 26.² p. 17.³ Deut. xxix. 19.⁴ S. Luke xvi. 14.⁵ Jer. vi. 10.

hear it; and, to testify their good conceit of the word, shew it in the account of the ephod, which is a base and contemptible garment in their eyes, and the word in it and with it, (this is Michal's case): whosoever is in any of these men's cases, is in the case of a highminded man, and that of the highest degree, for they lift themselves up, not against earth and man, but against heaven and God himself. O beloved, you that be in wealth and authority, love and reverence the word of God. It is the root that doth bear you; it is the majesty thereof that keepeth you in your thrones, and maketh you be that you are: but for *Ego dixi Di estis* (a parcel-commission out of this commission of ours) the madness of the people would bear no government, but run headlong, and overthrow all chairs of estate, and break in pieces all the swords and sceptres in the world; which you of this city had a strange experience of in Jack Straw and his meiny,¹ and keep a memorial of it in your city-scutcheon, how all had gone down, if this word had not held all up. And therefore honour it, I beseech you; I say, honour it. For when the highest of you yourselves which are but grass, and your lordship's glory and worship which is the flower of this grass, shall perish and pass away, this word shall continue for ever. And if you receive it now with due regard and reverence, it will make you also to continue for ever."²

Touching upon the words, *the rich in this world*, he remarks, "Sure it is thought of divers of the best writers both old and new (I name of the new *Mr. Calvin*, and of the old *St. Augustine*,) that this addition is a diminution &c.—for being of this world, they must needs savour of the soil; be as this world is, (that is) transitory, fickle, and deceitful."³

In this sermon he most amply vindicates the Protestantism of the Elizabethan age from the false accusations of the Romanists, who gave out that it was a faith without good works. After commending the liberality of the city of London, he proceeds, "I will be able to prove, that learning, in the foundation of schools and increase of revenues within colleges; and the poor, in foundation of alms-houses and increase

¹ His family, followers.² pp. 6, 7.³ p. 8.

of perpetuities to them, have received greater help within this realm in these forty years last past, since (not the starting up of our Church, as they fondly used to speak, but since) the reforming of ours from the errors of theirs, than it hath, I say, in any realm Christian not only within the selfsame forty years (which were enough to stop their mouths), but also than it hath in any forty years upward, during all the time of *Popery*: which I speak partly of mine own knowledge, and partly by sufficient grave information to this behalf. This may be said and said truly.”¹

To simony and sacrilege he thus alludes. Treating of the good that might be done to the Church by the rich men of the city whom he likens to Tyre, called a cherub stretching its wings over the ark to signify what protection it should yield to the Church, he says: “And much good might be done, and is not, in this behalf, and that many ways. I will name but one, that is, that with their wings stretched out, they would keep the filth and pollution of the sin of sins (whereof you heard so bitter complaint both these days) of *simony* and *sacrilege*, from falling on the ark, and corrupting and putrifying it, which it hath almost already done: that seeing the Pope do that he doth (howsoever some have alleged the Papists’ great detestation of this sin and of us for this sin, for a motive; it is all but dissembling; their hand is as deep in this sin as any man’s); I say, seeing the Pope doth as he doth, that is, as he hath dispensed with the oath and duty of subjects to their prince, against the fifth commandment: with the murder, both violent with daggers and secret with poison, of the sacred persons of princes, against the sixth; with the uncleanness of the stews and with incestuous marriages, against the seventh; so now, of late, with the abomination of simony, against the eighth; having lately (as it is known by the voluntary confession of their own priests), by special and express warrant of the see apostolic, sent hither into this land his license dispensative to all patrons of his mark to set up simony, and to mart and make sale of all spiritual livings which they have or can get to the uttermost penny, even (if

¹ p. 17.

it were possible) by the sound of the drum; and that with a very clear conscience (so that some portion thereof be sent over to the relief of his seminaries, which by such honest means as this come to be now maintained). Seeing thus do the Papists, and we (loth to be behind them in this gain of blood) make such merchandize with this sin, of the poor Church and her patrimony, as all the world crieth shame of it: to redeem the orderly disposing them to the Church's good, were a special way for you rich men to do good in these days. Neither as these times are do I know a better service, nor which (I am persuaded) will please God better than this, or be better accepted at his hands."¹

Towards the end he answers the sophism of the Rhemist translators, who from the text would deduce that good works are a foundation. This they insert in a note, without any reason, and to insinuate an untruth, namely, that they are the foundation of justification. "The ground whereon every building is raised, is termed *fundamentum*. The lowest part of the building immediately lying on it is so termed too. In the first sense, Christ is said to be the only foundation: yet the apostles, because they are the lowest row of stones, are said to be foundations in the second. So, among the graces within us, faith is properly in the first sense said to be the foundation; yet in the second do we not deny, but as the apostle calleth them, as the lowest row next to faith, charity and the works of charity may be called foundations too. Albeit the margin might well have been spared at this place; for the note is here all out of place. For, being so great schoolmen as they would seem, they must needs know it is not the drift of the apostle here in calling them a foundation, to carry our considerations into the matter of justifying, but only to press his former reason of *uncertainty* there, by a contrary weight of certain stability here: and so their note comes in like *Magnificat* at matins." Afterwards he thus distinguishes: "But if you shall have grace to make choice of God's plot which he hath here levelled for you to raise upon, *O quantum dignum pretio!* that will be worth all the world

¹ p. 20.

in that day: the perfect certainty, sound knowledge, and precious assurance you shall then have, whereby you shall be assured to be received, because you are sure you are *Christ's*, because you are sure you have true *faith*, because you are sure you have framed it up into good works. And so shall they be a foundation to you-ward, by making evident the assurance of salvation: not *naturā* to God-ward, in bringing forth the essence of your salvation."¹

On the 19th May, 1589, Lancelot Andrewes was admitted to the prebendal stall of North Muskham, in the church of Southwell, in the place of John Yonge, D.D., at this time Bishop of Rochester. Yonge was B.A. of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1551, M.A. 1555, B.D. 1563, and D.D. 1569. On May 3rd, 1564, he was made Prebendary of Cadington Major, in St. Paul's, London, which stall he held until 1579. From a fellowship he was chosen to be Master of his college in the place of Whitgift, that year preferred to the mastership of Trinity College, where he had been educated. On the 26th April, 1572, Yonge was promoted to the 10th stall in Westminster Abbey, in the place of Edmund Freke, Bishop of Rochester. This stall he was permitted to keep in commendam with his bishopric of Rochester, to which he was consecrated March 16th, 1578, on the translation of Dr. John Pierse to Salisbury. He died at Bromley in Kent, the ancient seat of the Bishops of Rochester, in his 72nd year, on the 10th April, 1605, and was buried at Bromley. Dr. Christopher Sutton, the pious author of *Disce vivere, &c.*, succeeded to his stall at Westminster.

North Muskham is about three miles north of Newark. This stall was founded probably by Thomas II. Archbishop of York from 1109 to 1114, and endowed with a part of the great tithes of North Muskham, with the great tithes of Caunton (between Newark and Worksop), and with certain temporals in North Muskham and Caunton.² Andrewes retained this stall until he was raised to the see of Ely, when it was conferred upon his brother Dr. Roger Andrewes, afterwards Master of Jesus College, Cambridge.

¹ p. 24.

² Hardy's *Le Neve*, vol. iii. p. 428.

On the 29th May Andrewes was, on the death of Dr. Thomas Sampson, the Puritan Dean of Christ Church (where he was succeeded in 1565 by Thomas Godwyn), preferred by Grindal, Bishop of London, at the suit of the same patron who had obtained for him his stall at Southwell, Sir Francis Walsingham, to the prebendal stall of St. Pancras, in St. Paul's, London, which he also held until his translation from Chichester to Ely in 1609, when he was succeeded by his friend and fellow-collegian the very pious and learned Dr. Roger Fenton, also one of the translators of the Bible with himself and his brother, and afterwards preferred by himself to the parsonage of Chigwell, in Essex. Fenton was regarded in his college as only inferior to Andrewes himself.¹

Andrewes acknowledged these favours in a letter to Sir Francis Walsingham, as follows :

"I do in humble manner crave pardon of your Honour, in that I have not myself attended in the re-delivery of the enclosed, to render to your Honour my bounden duty of thanks for the contents thereof. Being, besides mine exercise tomorrow, on Monday morning, at the feast of my father's company, to preach at Deptford,² I promised myself from your Honour a favourable dispensation for the forbearing of my presence till then, what time I shall wait on your Honour, as well in regard of your Honour's great bounty to me these years past, which, while I live, I am bound to acknowledge, as now for the instant procurement of these two prebends, the one of them no sooner ended, than the other of them straight begun. They are to me both sufficient witnesses of your Honour's care for my well-doing, and mindfulness of me upon any occasion. My prayer to God is, that I may not live unworthy of these so honourable dealings, but that in some sort I may prove serviceable to your Honour, and to your Honour's chief care, this Church of ours. What your Honour hath, and farther shall vouchsafe to promise in my name, in this or aught else, shall be, I trust, so satisfied, as shall stand with your Honour's liking every way. So recommending to your Honour the perfecting of your Honour's own benefit, with my very humble duty I end.

"The Lord Jesus, of his great goodness, grant unto this realm long to enjoy your Honour. Amen. May 24 [1589]. Your Honour's in all humble duty and service, so most bound,

"L. ANDREWES."³

¹ See Bishop Felton in his *Funeral Sermon*. (MSS. Univ. Lib. Camb.)

² The Corporation of the Trinity House holds its annual meeting on Trinity Monday, when they attend service at Deptford.

³ Teale's *Lives of English Divines*, pp. 12, 13. (From MSS. Harl. No. 699, fol. 96.)

Sir John Harrington relates that Sir Francis Walsinghame had previously laboured to bring Andrewes to maintain some state points of Puritanism. "But," he adds, "he had too much of the *ἀνδρὸς* in him to be scared with a councillor's frown, or blown aside with his breath, and answered him plainly that they were not only against his learning but his conscience."

He further mentions that Andrewes' stall at St. Paul's was that of the Confessor or Penitentiary; and that while Andrewes held this place, his manner was especially in Lent to walk at stated times in one of the aisles of the cathedral, that if any came to him for spiritual advice and comfort, as some did, though not many, he might impart it to them.¹

On the 28th August died Dr. William Fulke, Master of Pembroke Hall, and previously fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. His refutation of the notes appended to the Rhemish Translation of the New Testament forms a storehouse of patristic learning and of sound theology. He was buried at Depden, near Bury, in Suffolk. Andrewes, who was about this time chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, was chosen to the vacant headship. Strype, in his *Life of Whitgift*, relates that Andrewes was, for his well-known adherence to ecclesiastical conformity, denied his grace of D.D. in the first congregation of Dr. Preston's admission of him. This Dr. Preston, then Vicechancellor, was not the celebrated Puritan, but Thomas Preston, LL.D., Master of Trinity Hall.² On this occasion he delivered the thesis '*Decimæ non sunt abrogandæ*,' published in the collection of his posthumous works. On September 6th he was admitted Master of Pembroke College, and

¹ *State of the Church of England*, pp. 143, 144. "Upon his first shewing himself at Cambridge, in his divinity studies, especial notice was soon taken of him (among his abilities and eminencies) as a man deeply seen in all cases of conscience, and he was much sought to in that respect."—*The Life and Death of Andrewes*, p. 3. Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*. Lond. 1651. "The life of Bishop Andrewes by the judicious and industrious my worthy friend Master Isaackson."—Fuller's *Epistle to the Reader*.

² First a fellow of King's College, Cambridge; succeeded Dr. Henry Harvey, 1584, as Master of Trinity Hall; died 1598, and was buried in the College chapel.

on taking his degree preached ad Clerum from *Prov. xx. 25*, *It is a snare to the man who devoureth that which is holy*; a passage of holy scripture which is altogether disallowed by multitudes as utterly inapplicable under the Christian dispensation. It was indeed in the time of Charles the First, when almost the whole nation was given to extremes both in religion and politics, a fashionable doctrine with all pseudo-patriots that either sacrilege had ceased to be a sin, or that there was nothing holy, no kind of property of which it could be said that it belonged to God, and was inalienable.¹

The bidding prayer was doubtless Andrewes' own composition, full of antithesis. "May God," he prays, "preserve to it [the Church militant] his truth so lately recovered from the thickest clouds of error: may he restore it when it shall seem good to him, its unity now well-nigh lost through the dissensions of the Christian world."

He begins his sermon with observing that whereas the nine first chapters are evidently connected, the remainder appear to be a collection taken down from Solomon's mouth by others without regard to the order of subject. He touches upon the free-will offerings of the people in the days of David and Saul, 1 *Chron. xxvi. 27, 28*. This proverb, he notes, might have been the reply of Solomon to some of his courtiers, who like those in Haggai might think that the house of God needed not a roof (i. 4), or who might ask with Judas, '*to what is all this waste?*' He remarks, as he might have justly done in our times, "We daily enlist soldiers many, brave and good, but provision for them we find not. We are ever saying much of the diffusion of light, nothing of the supplying of the oil." He then treats—1. of sacred things, 2. of those who devour them, 3. of their guilt and punishment. Under the first he shews that sacred revenues both by way of oblation and tax are included. The Church both under the old and new covenant had the same liberty granted it of accepting property. This is clear from the last chapter of Leviticus, and

¹ In 1646 a translation of this sermon was printed by T. B. for Andrew Hebb, at the Bell in St. Paul's Churchyard. A copy of this translation is in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge.

from the liberty which the apostles recognized, of the first Christians laying at their feet whatsoever offerings they thought fit. *Acts* iv. 35. Then as to revenues by way of impost, there is a sacred portion in every man's property. So Abraham the father of the faithful, guided in this (we may not doubt) by the Holy Ghost, and an example wheresoever justly imitable, bound himself to the giving of tithe. The Old Testament Church had a power of taxing itself, (see *Nehem.* x. 32), and, by parity of reasoning, the Christian. Thus in *Acts* xxiv. 17, we read not only of alms but of offerings, the offerings being things devoted to religious not to eleemosynary uses. He quotes St. Augustine: "God may thus speak, Thou, O man, art thyself mine; mine is the earth thou tillest; mine the seeds thou sowest; mine the beasts thou makest to labour; mine the showers; mine this heat of the sun; all are mine; thou who only puttest to thine hand, deservedst only the tenth, but to thee my servant I give thee nine parts; give to me the tenth." He notices the unwillingness of the people to give as proceeding in no small degree from the springing up of the abuse of impropriations. He refers to the complaints of the Scotch Church preferred to the Parliament in 1565.

In speaking of persons he blames the clergy themselves as guilty, through their own negligence and sloth, of being accessory to such sacrilegious alienations. The punishment of sacrilege he instances in both profane and sacred history; in the former, from Cambyzes, Brennus, and Crassus; in sacred history, from the fate of Dathan, Achan, Belshazzar, Athaliah, and Judas. He enlarges upon the sure destruction which sacrilege entails upon the state, and upon its injurious consequences as discouraging learning in the Church.

His biographer Isaacson relates that when he became master of his college, "he found it in debt, being of a very small endowment, then especially, but by his faithful providence he left above eleven hundred pounds in the treasury of that college, towards the bettering of the estate thereof."

CHAPTER III.

Dr. Andrewes preaches before the Queen in Lent 1589-90—His Lectures on the Creation and Fall—Udal, the Puritan, 1591—Thesis on the Oath ex officio—Of the worshipping of imaginations, 1592—Convocation Sermon, 1593—Greenwood and Barrow—The Dearth of 1594.

ON March 4, 1590, Ash-Wednesday, we find Andrewes, being now one of the Queen's twelve chaplains, preaching before the Queen at Whitehall, from *Psalm lxxviii. ver. 34, When he slew them they sought him, and they returned, and enquired early after God.*¹

This sermon contains many striking illustrations of the sin and folly of delay in the things of God, and of the power of religion as it is seen in the fears of such as have yet all their life boasted themselves in a fancied independence of God. “*They, that a little before, grievously provoked the most high God, with speeches little better than blasphemy: Can God do this? Is there a God amongst us? or is there none? And so, instead of quærebant Deum, quærebant an Deus, made a question whether there were any to seek: that is, even the very wicked, and (of all wicked the worst) the profane atheists, they sought even at last, they sought.*

¹ This Sermon is erroneously ascribed to A.D. 1598, in the folio edition of his Sermons. No earlier year will suit the date of Ash-Wednesday, since he was not made one of the Queen's chaplains until 1586. In 1584 Ash-Wednesday (O. S.) fell on the same day, but Andrewes was at that time only a fellow of Pembroke Hall, and M.A.

This is the triumph of religion: the *riotous* person, the *hypocrite*, the *atheist*, all shall seek."¹

Andrewes again preached before the Queen at Greenwich on the following Wednesday, March 11, from *Psalm lxxv. ver. 3, The earth and all the inhabitants thereof are dissolved: I bear up the pillars thereof*; discoursing upon the two pillars of a state, religion and justice, and illustrating his subject from the history of Saul and David. He did not with some, who yet feign reverence of his memory, set up prayer against preaching, which he included in the sublime duty of praise, as the proclaiming of God to his creatures; but with the devout George Herbert would have prayer and preaching go hand in hand. "So that not only Moses and Paul by calling on the name of God, but Elias and Jeremie by teaching the will of God (not by prayer only, but by preaching) are, the one an iron pillar,² the other the chariot and horsemen of Israel in his time."³

He reads 2 *Kings xi. ver. 12*, with the Vulgate, making the ceremony of the coronation there spoken of to be the "putting not only the diadem imperial, but the book of the law also, upon the King's head," to remind them that "that *book* should be as dear to them as their *crown*, and they equally study to advance it."⁴

Andrewes, on the 6th of April, lost his faithful friend and patron, Sir Francis Walsingham, who died at his house in Seething-lane, Great Tower-street, about midnight and was buried at St. Paul's the next evening, about ten, without pomp or publicity.⁵

On October 13, he preached his introductory lecture at St. Paul's, upon undertaking to comment upon the four first chapters of Genesis.⁶ These he continued to the 12th February, 1592, upon which day he delivered that upon *Gen. iii. 13, And the Lord God said unto the woman, What hast thou done? And the woman said, The serpent beguiled me, and*

¹ p. 176. The 2nd and 4th editions.

² *Jer. i. 48.*

³ p. 267.

⁴ p. 270.

⁵ *Stow*, by Howes, p. 631. *Cunningham's Hand-Book of London*, p. 671.

⁶ *Orphan Lectures*, p. 657.

I did eat. The remaining lectures¹ to the end of the fourth chapter were preached in his parish church at St. Giles', Cripplegate, where he resumed them on the 18th June, 1598, and completed them on February 17, 1600. These were published in 1657 with the following title, "*Apospasmata sacra: or, a Collection of posthumous and orphan Lectures: delivered at St. Paul's and St. Giles' his Church, by the Right Honourable and Reverend Father in God Lancelot Andrews, Lord Bishop of Winchester. Never before extant.*" It may be observed that our prelate himself did not write his name *Andrews* as in this titlepage, but *Andrewes*. Some of these lectures are from very sparing, others from very copious notes. They abound in learning and in pious applications of the history of which he treats. Here we have the same zeal against sacrilege,² the same honest denunciation of faction and schism which we find in his convocation sermon,³ the same delight in the works of God which made his solitary walks his most pleasant recreation when a youth, the same familiar knowledge of the Fathers, the same doctrine of the grace of God, sanctifying all that came from his lips.

Treating of the divine rest spoken of in Genesis ii. 2, he saith, "We say then, that he rested not from preserving and governing, though he did rest from making.

"Hermes, by the light of reason, could say that it were very absurd to think that God should leave and neglect the things he had made; and God imputeth it as a fault to the ostrich, *Job xxxix.* ver. 18, 19, to leave her eggs without care and regard in the sands; therefore God himself will be free from that blame and blemish which he condemneth in others. As we say of the Father, so we say of the Son, which is the Word of God, *Psalm xxxiii.* ver. 9, *He commanded and they were made*; there is creation: *He said the word and they stood fast*; which is the second work of preservation

¹ These occupy the *Orphan Lectures* from p. 313 to p. 499. At the end we have some of the Pauline Lectures that had probably not come to hand in time to be published in their proper order; and lastly three admirable discourses on Genesis iii. 14, 15, preached at St. Giles', Cripplegate.

² p. 30.

³ p. 35.

and guiding. Also *Psalm* cxlviii. ver. 5, 6, He first made them with his word, which is the first work of creation long since ended, and he gave them a law which they should not break, which is the other work of establishing and governing things made. So *Col.* i. ver. 17, Paul speaking of Christ, saith, *By Him all things have their being, or existence; and Heb.* i. ver. 3, *By Him all things have their supportance, and are held up.*

“If God had his work six days before he rested in creation, and if Adam had his work in the state of innocency, then it is much more meet now, that man should go forth to his labour until the evening, *Psalm* civ. ver. 23. They which are not *in the works of men, Psalm* lxxiii., but lie on their beds imagining mischief, they shall not rest in the Lord, because God made them for good works to walk in them, *Ephes* ii. ver. 10.

“There are a number of superfluous creatures, as one calleth the idle ones, of whom if we should demand, what is thy calling or work? they cannot say, we are exercised in the works of men; neither do they work in the will of God. Therefore if they do anything, they busy themselves in meddling about other men’s matters.

“It is strange to see how busy we are in taking in hand evil things, and how earnest we are in doing them, and how constant in not giving them over, or ceasing from such works. Judas can watch all night to work his treason; but Peter and the rest could not watch one hour to pray with Christ.

“Husbandmen in their works for earthly things are earnest; they follow his counsel (*Eccles.* xi. 6) *not to cease sowing from the morning until the evening*, but will make an end. But in the works of God we cannot follow his counsel, *to do all that thou takest in hand with all thy power and strength.*

“The last use which we are to make of this is, that which the Apostle gathereth out of the *Hebrews* (iv. 10). As God did rest from his works, so let us from ours. We must esteem our righteousness and best works as filthy rags,

yea as very dung, *Phil.* iii. 8, and say as Job did, *I feared my own works*, *Job* ix. 28, Vulgate. Thus we must rest from our own works because there is no safety or quietness in them, but leave our own righteousness, that we may rest in Christ and in the works he hath wrought for us."¹

These lectures Dr. Andrewes continued at St. Paul's through the months of January, February, April, May, June, July, August, October, and November, 1591.

On January the 8th in that year we find him not only one of the witnesses, but appointed one of the executors of Dean Nowell's will (most providently made by that venerable man now ten years before his decease). As guardian of John Dean, in whose education Nowell had been at great expense, Nowell was in the receipt of the interest of £2,600, lent upon bonds to different companies of merchants in London, of which income, amounting to £135 per annum, it was Nowell's desire that no part should be applied to the emolument of his widow, but the whole laid out in deeds of charity. Of £100, half to be sent to Oxford, half to Cambridge. Of that sent to Cambridge, Dr. Andrewes, master of Pembroke Hall, Dr. Neville, master of Trinity College (tutor to George Herbert, and in 1597 dean of Canterbury), Dr. Tyndale, president of Queens' College, and this same year dean of Ely, and Dr. Chaderton, master of Emmanuel College, were to dispose; £4. being annually reserved to Alexander Whitaker, scholar of Trinity College, and £4. to his brother Samuel of Eton College, sons of Dr. Whitaker, master of St. John's College, deceased.²

Alexander Nowell was admitted scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, April 16, 1602³: he was admitted to the degree of B.A. in 1604, and of M.A. in 1608. He was not elected to a fellowship. The registers make no mention of his brother Samuel.

Under January 21, 1591, the following register is entered in the registry of St. Olave's, Hart-street: "Master Walter

¹ pp. 126, 128.

² *Life of Alex. Nowell*, Dean of St. Paul's, by Rev. Ralph Churton. Oxf. 1809, p. 355.

³ Register of Trin. Coll.

Devereux, second son to the Earl of Essex, in my lady Walsingham's house; Sir Thomas Parrot [*Perrot*] and Sir William Knollys, Knts., and my lady, the mother, were witnesses. Mr. Doctor [Andrewes] preached and baptized the child."¹

Sir William Knollys, or Knowles, was afterwards treasurer of the household to King James, by whom he was created Baron Knowles, May 3, 1603, Viscount Wallingford 1616, and by Charles I., in the first year of his reign, Earl of Banbury. His mansion was Greys Rotherfield, (whence the name of his barony *Rotherfield*) to the west of Henley-on-Thames; a house which in times past Walter Grey the archbishop of York [1216—1256] gave freely unto William Grey his nephew, the inheritance whereof by the Baron of D'Eincourt was devolved upon the Lovels.²

In the baptismal register of St. Olave's, Hart-street, is the following, dated January 22, 1591: "Robert Devereux Viscount Hereford," (afterward General of the Parliament³) "son and heir of Robert Earl of Essex, in my Lady Walsingham's house" (in Seething-lane⁴) mother to the countess; Sir Francis Knollys and the Lord Rich, with the Countess of Leicester," (daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, and widow of Walter Earl of Essex as well as of Robert Earl of Leicester, and grandmother to the infant,) witnesses. Dr. Andrewes preached and baptized the child.

Sir Francis Knollys was a Knight of the Garter and treasurer to the Queen's household. He had been an exile in Germany in the reign of Queen Mary. He was descended from Sir Robert Knollys who greatly signalized himself in the wars with France under Edward III. Sir Robert also assisted in the suppression of Wat Tyler's rebellion, and was of a spirit as munificent as heroic. He contributed

¹ *Collect. Topog. et Genealog.* vol. ii. p. 311. 1835.

² Holland's *Camden*, p. 389.

³ The third Earl of Essex of that name.

⁴ *Seething-lane*, in Great Tower-street, at the corner of All-Hallows, Barking; it runs north-west from Tower-street to Crutched Friars. Sir Francis Walsingham lived and died in this lane.

to the building of Rochester-bridge, founded a college at Pontefract, where Constance his lady was born, and was a great benefactor to the White Friars in London, in whose church he was buried in August 1407, being then at least ninety years old.¹

The first lord Rich was Lord-Chancellor for five years in the reign of Edward VI. He was well descended and allied in Hampshire, and was much employed under Cromwell in the suppression of abbies; "most of the grants of which lands," says Fuller, "going through his hands, no wonder if some stuck upon his fingers."

On St. Matthias-Day, February 24th, Andrewes preached at Greenwich before the queen, from *Psalm lxxvii.* 20, setting before her the pattern of the divine government, the gentleness with which the great Shepherd of Israel led his flock. He treated very tenderly, and in the true pastoral spirit, of the value of the flock committed to her royal charge, all alike by nature given to disobedience, but God's flock and people, and the lowest and meanest of them dear to Christ. He quoted those impressive words of St. Augustine upon *Inasmuch as ye did it to the least of these my brethren, ye did it unto me*; "Thou hearest *the least*, and thou despisest them; hear also these words, my brethren, and, believe me, the saving² of the least of these is no small glory." He reminded the queen that the office of princes is to lead their people to God, and urged the necessity of a public ministry as well of religion as of civil justice; the hand as well of Aaron as of Moses.

In May Dr. Andrewes was, together with Nowell, appointed by archbishop Whitgift to confer with Udal, then in prison.

Udal had been convicted under a very large interpretation of the 23 Eliz. cap. 2, which was enacted for the punishment of seditious words against the queen. His offence was a passionate invective against the bishops in a work entitled *The Demonstration of Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in*

¹ Fuller's *Worthies*, Cheshire, p. 179.

² "*Horum salus*. And trust me it is no poor praise to protect this flock, &c."—*Andrewes*, p. 279. 2nd edit.

his Word, for the government of his Church in all times and places until the world's end. The preface gave especial provocation, and a virulent specimen of it was inserted in the indictment. "Who can deny you without blushing (he writes to the bishops) to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be anything saving a sound Christian?" and more in a still severer strain. Udal was treated with much injustice, and after a somewhat turbulent trial and much overbearing, was convicted on July 23, 1590; but his learning and reputation were such that Whitgift is said to have interceded for him and to have delayed judgment. He was however, in March 1591, brought to the bar at Southwark and condemned to die as a felon. Whitgift is said to have procured his reprieve. In prison he wrote a Hebrew grammar, and was visited by several of his friends. Andrewes conferred with him upon all the points then in controversy between the Church of England and the maintainers of the new discipline, but without success. He appears however to have respected both Andrewes and Nowell, and to have been regarded by them with unfeigned sympathy if not esteem. Great efforts were made in his behalf, and his friendly visitants themselves promised him their kind offices, but he was disappointed of all his hopes, and at last died broken-hearted in prison. Great numbers attended his funeral at St. George's, Southwark.¹

Andrewes is said to have been a member of a Society of Antiquaries, to which belonged Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Philip Sidney, Lord Burleigh, Henry Earl of Arundel, the two Herberts, Earls of Pembroke, Sir Henry Saville, John Stowe, and William Camden. It began in the earlier part of the reign of queen Elizabeth, and its great object was the preservation of MSS. dispersed by the suppression and dissolution of monasteries. They met first at the house of Sir Robert Cotton, under the patronage of archbishop Parker. So *Dr. Moore*, p. 2, *The Gentleman's Society at Spalding*. (Pickering, 1851.)

In July 1591, Dr. Andrewes read in the Divinity School

¹ See Howell's *State Trials*, vol. i., or the 2nd edit. folio, vol. i. pp. 178, 179.

at Cambridge his Theological Determination upon the lawfulness of the oath *ex officio* on the ground of Scripture. He maintained the affirmative as implied in the very authority of the magistrate, which was over the soul as well as the body, *Rom.* xiii. 1. If it was lawful in Abraham to make his servant take an oath,¹ in the case of Jacob and Joseph,² and of Jacob and Esau;³ much more in causes of a weightier kind, and by the authority of greater persons. This power he urged was involved in *Exodus* xxii. 8, *If the thief be not found, then the master of the house shall be brought unto the judges to see whether he have put his hand unto his neighbour's goods.* He alleged also *Numbers* v. 19, *Levit.* vi. 3, and *1 Kings* viii. 31. In cases involving the life or death of the party he makes an exception, instancing the case of Jeremiah (*xxxviii.* 14). But where the public weal is concerned, whether in church or state, recourse may be had to extraordinary modes of discovering guilt. Thus Joshua proceeded by lot, and so Achan was taken and punished. (*Josh.* vii. 16.) Amongst other reasons and illustrations he adduced *Levit.* v. 1, and *Ezra* x. 11. Micaiah answered when thus put upon his oath (*1 Kings* xxii.), and our Lord himself (*Matth.* xxvi. 63).

Of the limits of an oath or of that which determines its equity, he remarks, that Scripture lays down a threefold rule, (1) "in truth, in righteousness, in judgment" (*Jer.* iv. 2), that is, "I will speak nothing but the truth in the name of the Lord; (2) concerning those things which fall within my knowledge (things possible) and according to the requirements of the law itself; (3) not hastily, but with deliberation."⁴

In January and February 1592, Dr. Andrewes proceeded with his lectures on the third chapter of Genesis at St. Paul's, but does not appear to have resumed them until June 18, 1598, and then at his church of St. Giles', Cripplegate. On January 9, 1592, he preached there his sermon entitled *Of the worshipping of imaginations*, from *Acts* ii. 42, as one of a series upon the Commandments. Here he refutes

¹ *Gen.* xxiv. 3.² *Ib.* xlvii. 29.³ *Ib.* xxv. 33.⁴ *Opuscula Quædam Posthuma*, pp. 91—110. Lond. 1629.

the pleas of the Puritans pretending in everything to follow the Apostolic model, and yet no man thinks himself bound (says Andrewes) to abstain from eating things strangled and blood. And so of their love-feasts and their celebrating their sacrament after supper. He here defends the reading of the Apocrypha from St. Jude's quoting the apocryphal book of Enoch. He declares for the Apostolic origin of episcopacy, and disputes against that of lay-elders, citing St. Chrysostom, that in his time only the wiser of the presbyters were suffered to preach, the simpler sort to baptize.¹ The distinction between elders and doctors he shews to have had no existence at least in the minds of the antient commentators Chrysostom, Jerome and Augustine. He shews how the Popish mass is an imagination, since, contrary to the text (as the Syriac translates it), in their sacrament there is no breaking of bread, inasmuch as after consecration there is, according to them, no bread to break, and the body of Christ is now impassible. He calls the Eucharist a sacrifice, as it is the renewing of covenant with God in virtue of Christ's sacrifice. The partaking of the bread he calls the partaking of Christ's true body.² Lastly he animadverts upon the long and extemporaneous prayers of the Puritans, with their tautology and incoherence. This and another are the only two of his many parochial sermons which Laud and Buckridge seem to have thought worthy of preservation.³

In the course of this year, 1592, Andrewes' Seven Sermons on the Temptation were first printed, with the following title: "*The Wonderful Combat (for God's glory and man's salvation) between Christ and Satan opened, in seven most excellent, learned, and zealous Sermons upon the Temptations of Christ in the Wilderness. Seen and allowed. London: printed by John Charwood for Richard Smith: and are*

¹ On 1 Cor. i. 17.

² But this he thus explains: "And again too, that to a many with us, it is indeed so *fractio panis*, as it is that only and nothing besides: whereas the bread which we break is the partaking of Christ's true body, (and not of a sign, figure, or remembrance of it), 1 Cor. x. 16. For the Church hath ever believed a true fraction of the true body of Christ in that Sacrament." (p. 35.)

³ They found notes and portions of many others. See the Preface.

to be sold at his shop at the west door of St. Paul's, 1592. This edition was called in as soon as printed, as appears from a notice of it in p. 1324 in Herbert's *Ames*. They were reprinted in 4to. in 1627 for J. Jaggard and Michael Sparke; the latter reprinted them, with Robert Milbourne, Richard Cotes and Andrew Crooke, in his edition of Andrewes' *Lectures on the Decalogue*.

The other parochial discourse is from *Jer.* iv. 2, on the third commandment, and was preached at St. Giles', Cripple-gate, on June 11th. He interprets our Lord as designing to free the divine law in his Sermon on the Mount from the false glosses of the Pharisees, not as giving a new law.

He observes that an oath may be lawfully made without including an express mention of the name of God. "Howbeit yet the Fathers (well weighing that speech of St. Paul's, 1 *Cor.* xv. 31, where he speaketh on this wise, *By our rejoicing which we have in Christ Jesus our Lord, &c.*, wherein his oath is not immediately by the *Name of God*, but by a secondary thing issuing from it,) have thought it not absolutely necessary that in every oath the *Name of God* should be mentioned, but sufficient if *reductive*. It is ruled in divinity, that such things as presently are reduced to God, will bear an oath." This he instances in swearing by *the Holy Gospel*.¹

The first edition of Andrewes' Sermons on the Temptation has an epistle dedicatory to Sir John Puckering, Knt., Lord-Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

This volume contains the bidding prayers used by Andrewes before his parochial sermons.

"*Two most excellent Prayers which the preacher commonly used before his exercises.*

"That the name of God may be glorified by this our assembly, and his holy Word blessed to the end he hath ordained it: let us in all humbleness present ourselves before the mercy-seat of God the Father, in the name and mediation of Christ Jesus his dear Son, through the sanctifying of his Holy Spirit, with our unfeigned humble acknowledg-

¹ p. 42.

ment both of our own unworthiness to receive any of his graces, and unableness when we have received them to make right use of them. And both these by reason of our manifold sundry sins and offences, amongst the rest, of this one (as a chief one) that we divers times have been hearers of his divine and precious Word, without care or conscience to become the better thereby: let us beseech him, in the obedience of the life and sacrifice of the death of Christ Jesus his dear Son, to receive both us and this our humble confession; to pardon both this and the rest of our sins, and to turn from us the punishments deservedly due unto them all; especially that punishment which most usually he doth exercise at such meetings as this, which is, the receiving of his Word into a dead and dull heart, and so departing with no more delight to hear nor desire to practise than we came with; that so, through the gracious assistance of his good Spirit, inward, adjoined to the outward ministry of his Word at this present, the things which shall be spoken and heard may redound to some glory of his everlasting blessed name, and to some Christian instruction and comfort of our own souls, through Jesus Christ our only Lord and Saviour."

This prayer ended he proceedeth again in this manner:

"And as the Church of Christ, wheresoever it is at this present assembled and met together, is mindful of us that be here, so it is our parts and duties in our prayers to remember it, recommending unto the majesty of Almighty God the prosperous and flourishing estate thereof: beseeching God the Father, for Christ Jesus his Son's sake, to be merciful to all his servants, even his whole militant church, scattered far and wide over the face of the whole earth: both preserving it in those truths that it hath recovered from the sundry gross and superstitious errors of the former age, and restoring it also unto that unity (in his good time) which it hath almost lost and daily loseth through the unchristian and unhappy contentions of these days of ours.

"And in this Church let us be mindful of that part thereof which most especially needeth our remembrance, that is,

the poor afflicted members of Christ Jesus, in what place, for what cause, or with what cross soever: that it would please God to minister into our hearts the same spirit of compassion and fervency, now in the time of their need, that we would wish should be ministered into theirs in the time of our need, for them to become suitors for us. And let us wish them all from the Lord (in his good time) the same joyful deliverance, and till his good time be, the same measure of patience that we would wish unto our own souls, or would have them entreat and pray for at his hands for us, if ever our case shall be as theirs is at this present.

“And forasmuch as those churches or members of churches which enjoy the outward benefits of the Lord, as of health, plenty, peace and quietness, do many times as much and (for the most part) much more need the prayers of Christ his faithful congregation, than those that are under his hand in the house of affliction, let us beseech him for them also, that he will give unto each and every of them a thankful receiving of those his benefits, a sober using of them, and a Christian employing of them, to his glory that hath sent them.

“And in these our prayers let us be mindful also of the Church and country wherein we live, yielding first and foremost evermore, our unfeigned and hearty thanksgivings for all his mercies and gracious favours vouchsafed this land of ours: and namely, for *our last no less gracious than marvellous deliverance from our enemies*, and for all those good signs and tokens of his loving favor which ever since and daily he sheweth towards us.

“And together withal let us beseech him, that whilst these days of our peace do last, he will open our eyes to see and incline our hearts to seek after those things which may make for the continuance and establishing of this peace long amongst us.

“And (as by especial duty we all stand bound) let us commend unto his Majesty his chosen servant Elizabeth our Sovereign by his grace, of England, France, and Ireland Queen, Defendress of the Faith, and over all estates and persons within these her dominions (next and immediately under

God) supreme Governess: let us beseech God (daily more and more) to persuade her Highness' heart that the advancement and flourishing of this kingdom of hers consisteth in the advancement and flourishing of the kingdom of his Son Christ within it; that it may be therefore her Majesty's special care and study, that both her Highness in that great place wherein God hath set her, and every one of us in the several degrees wherein we stand, may be as careful to testify unto the whole world a special care and endeavour that we have for the propagation of the gospel of his Son, as Christ Jesus hath shewn himself by many arguments both of old and of late (and that of weight) that he hath carried and still carrieth a special care of the preservation and welfare of us all.

"Let us commend also unto God the several estates of the land, for the right honourable of the Nobility and of her Highness' Privy Council, that they may be careful (from the Spirit of the Lord) to derive all their counsels; that so God which sendeth the counsel may send it good and happy success also, and may confound and cast out the counsels of the enemy.

"For the estate of the clergy, the right reverend Fathers in God, in whose hand the government of the Church is, and all other inferior ministers, that he will give unto each and every of them sufficient graces for the discharge of their functions, and together (with the graces) both a faithful and a fruitful employing of them.

"For the estate of magistracy, and namely for the governors of this honourable city, that they together with the rest, according to the trust that is reposed in them, may be no less careful speedily without delay, than incorruptly without partiality, to administer justice to the people of God.

"For the estate of the commons, that they all, in a Christian obedience towards each and every of their superiors, and in a godly love, with the fruits and duties thereof one towards another, may walk worthy of that glorious calling whereunto they are called: and that the blessings of the Lord may not only be with us for our times, but successively also be delivered to our posterity, let us beseech God that he

will visit with the Spirit of his grace the two Universities, Cambridge and Oxford, all schools of learning and places of education of youth; that they being watered with the dew of his blessing, may yield forth such plants as may both serve for a present supply of the Church's need, and also in such sort furnish the generations that are to come that our posterity also may be counted unto the Lord for a holy seed and a Christian generation as we ourselves are.

“And thus recommending ourselves unto the prayers of Christ his Church, as we have commended Christ his whole Church by our prayers unto the majesty of Almighty God, reposing our trust and confidence neither in our own prayers nor in the Church's prayers, but in the alone mediation of Christ Jesus our advocate, let us unto him as unto our sole intercessor offer up these our supplications, that he may present them to God his Father for the effectual obtaining of these and whatsoever graces else he knoweth needful for his whole Church and for us, calling upon him as himself in his Gospel hath taught us, Our Father, &c.”

Isaacson informs us that Andrewes read the lecture at St. Paul's three times a-week in term time. “And indeed,” he adds, “what by his often preaching at St. Giles', and his no less often reading in St. Paul's, he became so infirm that his friends despaired of his life.”

Of his charities in his parish of S. Giles', Cripplegate, Buckeridge says, in his funeral sermon, “The first place he lived on was S. Giles', there I speak my knowledge; I do not say he *began*—sure I am he continued his charity: his certain *alms* there was *ten pound per annum*, which was paid quarterly by equal portions, and *twelve pence* every Sunday he came to church, and *five shillings* at every *Communion*.”¹ As prebendary of St. Pancras he built the prebendal house in Creed-lane, and recovered it to the church.²

On February 20, 1593, Dr. Andrewes preached the Convocation sermon at St. Paul's, from *Acts* xx. 28. He refers to the notice of this passage in the 14th chapter of the

¹ p. 20.

² p. 19.

3rd book of Irenæus against Heresies, as shewing that he held the distinction of the episcopate and of the presbytery. Towards the beginning of his discourse he reprobates the great abuse of preaching by the idle and unlearned in those times; he also admonishes his audience of the need they have to look well to their flocks, and remarks that the narrow scrutiny of their lives and manners so common amongst the laity is the effect of their remissness in their pastoral charge. Nobly does he urge the consideration that "this congregation which we call the Church and which so many amongst us so lukewarmly and slothfully tend, are, if we believe Peter, partakers of the divine nature, (2 *Pet.* i. 4); if John, citizens of heaven; if Paul, the future judges of the angels," 1 *Cor.* vi. 3. Towards the end of this discourse he animadverts upon the boldness of some who at that time ventured to impugn the doctrine of the Holy Trinity. Next he speaks, and that in the very strongest terms, of the Romish emissaries, and of the unaltered spirit of Rome still thirsting for blood. After this he notices the factious spirit of the Puritans, more ready to give laws to the Church than to receive them. He speaks of some who made light of the Sacraments and treated them as superfluous, proscribed the Apostles' Creed, would not use the Lord's prayer, and sought to introduce a state little better than anarchy itself. He predicts that if these evils are not restrained our Sion will soon be turned into Babel.

He next faithfully reproves the evil custom of admitting unfit persons to the ministry, men whose lives are a scandal to the Church, and the cause, as he admits, of loud complaint, and that not without foundation. Nor does he spare the bishops themselves, but alludes very openly to the iniquitous and impious practice of that age, of bishops, on their advancement to their sees, impoverishing their bishoprics by inequitable exchanges of estates for great tithes,¹ &c. Indeed, queen Elizabeth first strove to deteriorate by this kind of temptation the whole prelacy, and then punished the natural effect of her own misconduct, the popular contempt that was

¹ *Opuscula*, pp. 40, 41.

cast upon her prelates, and that tended more perhaps than any other cause to strengthen the Puritans. This very year Dr. Marmaduke Middleton, Bishop of St. David's, was suspended by the High Commission Court.

Of the Convocation, Collier relates that, "excepting the grant of two subsidies little or nothing was done. On the 11th of April, the day after the dissolution of Parliament, the Convocation was dissolved by the queen's writ."¹

On March 21, Dr. Andrewes, with Dr. Parry, afterwards Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Philip Bisse, Archdeacon of Taunton,² and Dr. Thomas White, Prebendary of Mora and Canon Residentiary of St. Paul's,³ was sent to Mr. Henry Barrow to exhort him to recant his errors.⁴ This conference took no effect, and so on April 6th, Barrow and John Greenwood, the one a layman the other in holy orders, were executed at Tyburn. These men, from the enumeration of their delinquencies as recorded by their judges, deserved rather to be sent to Bedlam than to Tyburn. They held that "the Church of England was no true church, and that the worship in this communion was downright idolatry; that praying by a form was blasphemous, and that all those who make or expound any printed or written catechisms, are idle shepherds." Their more venial offences were the maintaining that every parish should choose its own pastor, that every lay elder is a bishop, with other points of 'schismatical and seditious doctrine,' as their indictment ran.

On Friday,⁵ March 30th, Dr. Andrewes preached before

¹ Jer. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 637.

² Installed 23rd May, 1584. He was also Sub-dean of Wells, and probably an ancestor of Dr. Philip Bisse, Bishop of St. David's and Hereford in the last century. He was born in Somersetshire, was elected a demy of St. Mary Magdalene's College, Oxford, 1570, aged 18, was chosen a fellow when B.A. in 1574, M.A. 1577, became a noted preacher in Oxford and London. He succeeded Justinian Lancaster as Archdeacon of Taunton in 1584. He died about the beginning of 1608. His son James was rector of Croscombe, near Wells, 1623, on the death of Wm. Rogers.—Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, vol. ii. p. 26.

³ Dr. White died March 1, 1624, and was buried in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West. Being once in trouble, he found a friend in the Lord-Keeper Williams.—Hacket's *Life of Williams*, p. 88.

⁴ Jer. Collier's *Eccles. Hist.* vol. ii. p. 638.

⁵ By a mistake *Wednesday* in the folio edition of Sermons.

the queen at St. James's, from *St. Mark* xiv. 4, 6. Andrewes here uncritically follows the conjecture of St. Augustine that this Mary was Mary Magdalene, and the penitent woman mentioned in the 7th chapter of St. Luke's Gospel. He reflects in this sermon upon the prodigality of that age in sumptuous feasting, in princely apparel, in burdensome retinues, in magnificent houses. Alluding to the complaint of Judas, *To what end is this waste?* he says, "The case is like, when they that have wasted many pounds, complain of that penny waste which is done on *Christ's body the Church*. Or when they that in their whole dealings (all the world sees) are unreformed, seriously consult how to reform the *Church*." Again he observes, "The kindest way to have Judas' complaint redressed, is to speak and labour that Mary Magdalene's example may be followed."¹

The following year was a time of dearth, as we find from "*The renewing of certain Orders devised by the special commandments of the Queen's Majestie for the relief and stay of the present dearth of grain within the Realm in the year of our Lord 1586, now to be again executed this year 1594, &c., published by Christopher Barker*. It was probably for a collection on account of this dearth that Andrewes preached in the Court at Richmond, from the parable of Dives and Lazarus, on Tuesday, March 5, 1594.² This is indeed one of the most profitable of his discourses, and contains many topics and illustrations worthy of special observation.

On the following day he preached before the queen at Hampton Court on *Remember Lot's wife*. He spoke much of the frequency of such relapses, and very ably treated of the peculiar nature and heinousness of her sin and greatness of her punishment. He concluded with a high commendation of the perseverance of the queen as one who had from the beginning of her reign to this time been faithful to the true religion; one "who (like Zorobabel) first by princely magnanimity laid the corner-stone in a troublesome time; and since, by heroical constancy, through many both alluring

¹ *Sermons*, p. 294.

² By a mistake 1596 in the folio edition of the *Sermons*.

proffers and threatening dangers, hath brought forth the headstone also, with the prophet's acclamation '*Grace, grace unto it.*'"¹

In November the queen, to satisfy the complaints of her parliament, issued a commission to examine into the state of the ecclesiastical courts. For the diocese of London, Dr. Richard Fletcher, bishop of Worcester, Dr. Andrewes, and Dr. Stanhope, a civilian, were appointed commissioners.²

¹ *Sermons*, p. 308.

² Strype's *Whitgift*, vol. ii. b. 4, p. 194. Of bishop Fletcher various notices may be found in Britton's *Bristol Cathedral*, pp. 26—28. Fuller's *Worthies* (Kent), and Dr. Nares' *Life of Burleigh*, vol. iii. p. 446. He was of Trinity College, Cambridge, Prebendary of Islington, 1572; Dean of Peterborough 1585; Bishop of Bristol 1589, and Almoner to the Queen; of Worcester 1593; London 1594; died 1596.

CHAPTER IV.

The Lambeth Articles, 1595.—Dr Andrewes' Review of them.—He adopts the Augustinian doctrine as modified by Aquinas.

THE late eminently learned and candid bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Kaye, has observed of St. Augustine, that the high estimation in which his authority was held may be traced equally in the writings of the Reformers and in the discussions of the theologians at the Council of Trent.¹ Of the state of our nature after the fall, he observes, that the framers of our Articles not only adopted the opinions, but in the concluding paragraph (of the 10th Article) have used the very language of Augustine.²

Neither is there any adequate proof that any of the Reformers departed from the doctrine of St. Augustine, or differed from one another upon the peculiar and essential tenets of that father, whose theology entered even into all the forms of devotion that had been used in our own country and over Western Christendom from the fifth century. It may be seen from the Formula Concordiæ itself,³ which was promulgated and subscribed in 1579, that the original doctrines of Luther were at that time recognized as the unaltered faith of the Lutheran Communion. Melancthon himself in 1551 subscribed to the doctrine of St. Augustine on Original Sin, which doctrine was affirmed in the Saxon Confession, a Confession drawn up by Melancthon himself.⁴ He had previously

¹ *Charges*, p. 256. Lond. 1854.

² p. 257.

³ Pars ii. c. 2 & 11. Francke's *Libri Symbolici*. Lips. 1847.

⁴ See *Articles* 2 and 4, pp. 74—82, in Francke's *Appendix*.

maintained the same in his *Apology of the Confession of Augsburg*. Yet Weismann and others have claimed Melancthon as a dissentient from St. Augustine even in the lifetime of Luther.

The opinions of Cranmer as early as 1537 are easily discernible in the *Institution of a Christian Man*, and in his annotations upon the king's proposed corrections of that book, in which it is obvious that the king with Gardiner dissented from St. Augustine.¹ Indications are not wanting in the history of the English Reformation that the same diversity of bias marked the two great parties of that age, the friends of the Reformation herein adhering to the antient, of the Papacy to the modern church of Rome, even when abroad this mark of severance was not so observable.

The year before Cranmer with Ridley drew up the forty-two Articles, since reduced to thirty-nine, and which were placed in the hands of Knox, Grindal, and others previously to publication, he thus expressed himself in his Answer to Dr. Smith:

“And yet I know this to be true, that Christ is present with his *holy church*, which is his *holy elected people*, and shall be with them to the world's end, leading and governing them with his Holy Spirit, and teaching them all truth necessary for their salvation. And whensoever any such be gathered together in his name, there is he among them, and he shall not suffer the gates of hell to prevail against them. Nor although he may suffer them by their own frailty for a time to err, fall, and to die; yet finally, neither Satan, hell, sin, nor eternal death shall prevail against them. But this holy church is so unknown to the world, that no man can discern it but God alone, who only searcheth the hearts of all men, and knoweth his true children from other that be bastards. This church is the *pillar of truth* because it resteth upon God's Word.”²

In the following year appeared the Articles. There can be no doubt respecting the mind of their framers as regards

¹ Cranmer's *Works*, Parker Soc. edit., vol. ii. p. 191.

² *Works*, vol. i. pp. 376, 377.

their interpretation of them. Enough has been adduced to justify the assertion of the late Bishop of Lincoln, that "if they can be said to have followed the guidance of any uninspired teacher, that teacher was Augustine, who for more than ten centuries had exercised through his writings an unbounded influence over the Western Church."¹ That influence continued to prevail in both our universities to the time of Andrewes, and after his decease. It is alike visible in the works of Whitaker, and in Andrewes' Judgment of the Lambeth Articles. But Andrewes pleaded for the modification of the Augustinian doctrine which had been introduced by Aquinas, maintaining at the same time that it introduced no essential variation, and did not affect the cause but the order which the Almighty observes in the act of predestining.² The first indication of a departure from the received doctrine was on the part of Dr. Baro, the Lady Margaret's Divinity professor at Cambridge. He was a learned Frenchman, *Peter Baro Stempanus*, a licentiate of Civil Law in the university of Bourges, admitted to his professorship in 1575, having the great lord Burleigh for his patron; D.D. of the university of Cambridge 1576. He gave offence to the university by some antipredestinarian opinions delivered in his lectures upon Jonah. And upon this occasion Dr. Whitaker drew up the Lambeth Articles in November 1595.

That same year, on the 5th May, William Barrett, a fellow of Caius College, was cited to appear before the Heads of Houses for an Act sermon for his degree of B.D. preached on the 29th April. He had maintained that no man could be assured in this life of his own salvation but by revelation, that the faith of all men could fail, that therefore the assurance of final perseverance was both proud and wicked; that there was no distinction in faith (such as between a true and living and a dead faith), but in the persons believing; that no man could or ought to believe that his sins were forgiven; that sin is the first cause of reprobation; that Calvin lifted up

¹ Bp. Kaye's *Sermons and Addresses*, p. 566. London, 1856.

² *Episc. Winton. de Articulis Judicium*, pp. 32, 33. 1692. (Oxenden Vice-Chanc. of Cambridge.)

himself above God; adding contumelious language against Peter Martyr, Beza, Zanchius, Junius and others, and calling them Calvinists. He was compelled to read a retractation, but evinced symptoms of unwillingness immediately after so doing; departed the university, joined the Church of Rome, and returned to England, where, adds Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge*, he led a layman's life until the day of his death.¹

To settle these contentions Dr. Whitaker drew up nine Articles, and these were laid before Whitgift the primate, to whom the university deputed Whitaker and Dr. Humphrey Tyndall, president of Queens' College and dean of Ely, to represent the state of the controversy. Whitaker was admitted in his own age to be inferior in learning and acumen to none of his contemporaries. Bellarmine himself so respected his learning that he placed his portrait in his study. He was born in 1547, the first year of Edward VI., at the manor of Holme in the parish of Burnley. Holme is situated between Burnley and Todmorden, and to the east of Blackburn. Having been first educated probably at Burnley, he was sent for to London by his maternal uncle, that accomplished scholar and theologian, Alexander Nowell, the composer of the smaller and also of the greater Catechism of the Church of England, recently edited both by the present able Regius Divinity professor at Oxford, Dr. Jacobson, and by the Parker Society. Dean Nowell placed his nephew at St. Paul's School. Thence he was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and was elected to a fellowship in that noble foundation. He translated his uncle's larger catechism into Greek. He now applied himself to the study of theology, and his voluminous works bear ample testimony to the depth of his patristic and general erudition. He was accordingly appointed at the early age of thirty-three to succeed Dr. William Chaderton, bishop of Chester and afterwards of Lincoln, as Regius professor of Divinity in his university. When the mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge, became vacant by the promotion of Dr. John Howland to

¹ pp. 284—286, Fuller's *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge*. Camb. 1840.

the see of Peterborough, who was consecrated at Lambeth February 7th, 1585, Whitaker was, by special mandate from the queen, admitted to the mastership on the 25th February, 1586, Howland being permitted to retain the mastership a year after his consecration.

Whitgift wrote to Dr. Matthew Hutton, Archbishop of York, and formerly a fellow of Trinity (Whitgift's) College. Hutton hereupon drew up a Latin summary of Predestination, taken especially from St. Augustine. On November 10th, Dr. Fletcher, Bishop of Worcester, and now Bishop elect of London, Dr. Richard Vaughan, Bishop elect of Bangor, translated two years after to Chester, and thence, on Bancroft's promotion to the primacy, to London, and some other divines met Whitaker, Tyndall, and Whitgift at Lambeth, and the bishops agreed upon the Articles after some few alterations. It was designed to enforce subscription to them, but the queen resented it as a violation of her prerogative.

In 1651 a brief history of these Articles was published, and annexed to them two minor treatises purporting to be the judgment of Andrewes upon them and his censure of the censure of Barrett. Dr. Andrewes had been for some years chaplain to Whitgift, and was doubtless already known as one of the most learned theologians of the age.

In his review of the nine articles he first remarks, "The four first articles are concerning predestination and reprobation, of which it is said by the Apostle, *O the depth*, and by the Prophet, *a great deep*. (*Rom. xi. 33, Psalm xxxvi. 6.*)" Here we may observe that Andrewes follows St. Augustine, who in like manner refers that wonderful conclusion of the 11th chapter of the epistle to the *Romans* to these mysteries.

Then Dr. Andrewes acknowledges that he has followed the counsel of St. Augustine, and abstained from the time of his ordination (sixteen years) from disputing and from preaching upon these points. And considering the great danger of abuse, and that but few of the clergy can skilfully handle these subjects, and that very few are competent to hear of them with profit, he would advise that silence should be enjoined on both sides.

The first article affirmed that God from all eternity had predestinated some to life, and had reprobated others. Upon this he notes: "That there are in the mind of God, in that his eternal (whether one may call it foreknowledge or) knowledge by which he sees those things which are not as though they were, some who are predestinate, others who are reprobate, I think is beyond all doubt. They are the words of Scripture, *before the foundation of the world*, that is, that God chose us from eternity, and, when he had chosen, predestinated us, *Ephes. i. 4, 5*; and that he chose us *out of the world*, *John xv. 19*; wherefore, he chose not all that are in the world, but some. Otherwise there would be no election."

Here we may observe that whereas in the antipredestinarian sense all are predestinate alike, though to different ends, Andrewes uses the term of the *elect* alone. Secondly, in *John xv. 9*, he supposes that Judas was excluded, which is certain indeed, for the words were not spoken until after he had left the Apostles. Thirdly, he applies this place to predestination unto life, in which again he follows St. Augustine, but not so those who here leave that father and accuse him of being tainted with Manichæism.

Then Andrewes proceeds to justify from Scripture the use of the term *reprobate*, but advises that it should be expressed that these are predestinated *through Christ*, those reprobate on account of *sin*. And here there has arisen a strife of words, it having been sometimes objected to Calvin and to Augustine that they deny that sin is the cause of reprobation, and resolve all into the mere pleasure or decree of God. The truth is that if there were no sin there could be no rejection; and again it is equally true that if God had determined to include all in the number of the elect, there had been no rejection. Both Calvin and Augustine therefore teach that men are reprobated as sinners, and that reprobation follows naturally upon a decree of election. And so Dr. Andrewes adds, "But those whom he chose not and by choosing approved (as the nature of election carries with it) he reprobated. And

scripture uses the words *rejecting* (*Rom. xi. 2*), *reprobating* (*Heb. xii. 15*)."

The second article is: "The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of anything that is in the person predestinated, but only the good-will and pleasure of God."

Dr. Andrewes advised the addition "of God in Christ"; for that first God had respect to his beloved Son, "but not to us first (as some think) and to him last, and that for our sakes. For we could not be predestinated to the adoption of sons but in his *natural son*, nor could we be predestinated to be conformed to the image of his Son, unless first the Son be ordained to whose image we are to be conformed. Wherefore I would also add to this article 'the good-will of God in Christ.'"

Next he expresses his disapproval of the separation of the divine prescience from the divine predestination. This indeed sounds to modern ears antipredestinarian; but let the explanation be received, and the proposition that the will of God includes bold foreknowledge and fore-ordination will be seen to be at once perfectly compatible with the belief of predestination.

"Next it may be enquired in the second place, whether this sole will of God's good pleasure includes or excludes his foreknowledge. I at least think that these two, namely foreknowledge and fore-ordination, are by no means to be severed, but to be joined (as do the Apostles). Neither do I here dare presumptuously to advance my own opinion, or to condemn the Fathers, who for the most part affirm that we are elected and predestinated according to foreknowledge of faith, as Beza himself confesses on 11 *Rom. 2* ed., '*Here the Fathers are by no means to be heard who refer this to foresight.*' But in this (as it always appeared to me) they speak rather of the *series* and *order* which God observes in the act of predestinating, than of the *cause* of predestination. But the chain some are wont to form in this way, others in that, as seems best to them. The Fathers seem

to me to have been of this opinion, that there could be no election if it were not thus connected: first that God loves Christ, then us in Christ; which the Apostle saith, *that he accepts us in the beloved* (Ephes. i. 6); secondly, that he confers on us so accepted grace and faith; thirdly, that he elects us thus endowed and thus differenced (*discretos*) from the rest; fourthly, that he predestinates us who are elect."

"Certainly the nature of election requires this, as it cannot be nor can be conceived, where there is no difference whatsoever between him who is chosen and him who is rejected. So Œcumenius, after the opinion of the Greeks, p. 323: *When he saith, according to election, he shews that he distinguished between them, for no person chooses one from another unless there is some difference in him.* So Augustine to Simplician, 1, 2: *But election does not precede justification (foreseen) but justification election. For no one is chosen unless already differing from him who is rejected; whence I cannot see how God can be said to have chosen us before the foundation of the world but by foreknowledge.*

"Nor otherwise the schoolmen: Thom. 1st, Q. 23, Act 4. '*Predestination presupposes election, and election love.*' That is, first he made them to be chosen, then he chose them; he loved them that he might endow them; *he chose the gifts that he conferred.* And this seems to me to be the opinion of the most reverend archbishop of York [Mr. Hutton]. For thus he: '*What did God love from eternity in Jacob when as yet he had done no good thing? certainly that which was his own, that which he purposed to give him.*'

"Certainly the Apostle himself does not doubt to join in this article the *purpose* and the *grace* given, and that *from all eternity*, since the *grace* given could only exist in the divine foreknowledge: *that is, together with the eternal purpose of God, he foresaw before all time the grace itself also which he would give.*¹

"Nor does any inconvenience result hence (as I can see)

¹ 2 Tim. i. 9: *Who hath saved us, and called us with an holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given us in Christ Jesus before the world began.*

if God, that he may crown his own gifts in us, thus *chooses his own gifts* in us, to wit the things which he gave first by loving us, that afterward he might choose them thus given. And so both *love*, which is the *act of grace* by which God makes a difference, and *election*, which is *the act of judgment* by which he chooses those who are thus distinguished, are preserved. And thus *election* will remain.

“For the chain of the moderns plainly takes away all election, by which chain God is made to appoint these to salvation and those to eternal perdition *by the first act and that absolute together and at once*, neither considered as existing together in any similar condition [nec in ullâ massâ] nor in any way distinguished one from another by his own gifts: after which destination, what place there is for election I cannot understand, or how this destination itself can be called election.

“But this whole question, as I said, is rather of the *order* in which God proceeds, in our conception of things who know but in part, than of the *cause* as respects the act itself, which is in God *one* and that *perfectly simple*; or if of the cause, it ought not to be understood *of the cause of the first act*, but of the cause as respects the integral effect in predestinating (as it is called).

“It is enquired also whether the integral act (in our conception) is made up of several acts, or whether the first is the sole act? and if they are many and diverse, what is the order, what the chain of acts?

“*Predestination, which cannot be without foreknowledge, is not but of good works. (Aug. de Prædest. Sanctorum, c. 10.) They are elect before the foundation of the world by that predestination in which God foresaw his own future acts. (c. 17, § 34.)*”

Here we must remark that the first quotation is equivalent to what goes a little before in the chapter from which it is quoted: ‘Predestination is the preparation of grace,’ *i. e.* the providing for its being given, ‘but grace is the giving itself.’¹

¹ Inter gratiam porro et prædestinationem hoc tantum interest, quòd prædestinatio est gratiæ præparatio, gratia verò jam ipsa donatio. (De Prædestin. Sanctorum, c. 10, § 19.)

“Will any one dare to say that God did not foreknow to whom he would grant that they should believe?”—De Dono Perseverantiæ, 14, § 35, and c. 17 passim.

The third article is, that the number of the predestinate is certain, and can neither be increased nor diminished. Dr. Andrewes here only notes that they are the very words of St. Augustine at the beginning of the third chapter of his Book *De Correptione et Gratiâ*, and adds to these a passage from Prosper *de Vocatione Gentium*, but citing it under the name of St. Ambrose, to whom it was sometimes but erroneously attributed.

The fourth article is: “Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily condemned for their sins.” He would have the word *necessarily* as being a new mode of expression changed to *without doubt*.

The fifth article is: “A true, living, and justifying faith and the Spirit of God sanctifying is not extinguished, does not fail and come to naught in the elect either totally or finally.”

Andrewes remarks upon this: “No one ever said (I believe) that faith fails finally in the elect. It does not then fail. But that it does not fail, arises, I think, from the nature of its subject, not from its own; from the *privilege of the person*, not of the thing. And this on account of apostates, who ought not to be condemned on the ground of their falling away from a faith which was never a true and living faith.

“But whether the Holy Spirit can be taken away or extinguished for a time, I think may yet be enquired into. I confess that I am in doubt.

“OF FAITH.

“Thou standest by faith: Be not highminded, but fear; otherwise thou also shalt be cut off, Rom. xi. 20, 22. Is not this an unmeaning precept, if faith cannot fail?”

“1. Beware lest ye also, being led away with the error of the wicked, fall from your own steadfastness, 2 Pet. iii. 17.

“2. Look that no man fail of the grace of God, Heb. xii. 15. Ye are fallen from grace who are in the law, Gal. v. 4.¹

¹ Some of these passages are not quoted accurately.

“3. *Take not thy Holy Spirit from me*, Psalm li. 13.

“4. *Quench not the Spirit*, 1 Thess. v. 19.

“On what ground can it be shewn that these prayers and precepts are not a mere mockery, if we can in no way fall from the firmness of our faith, or fail of grace, if the Spirit could in no way be taken away or extinguished?

“Although I am not ignorant that this [*cannot be lost totally*] can be so interpreted, as that it cannot be utterly altogether or entirely, although it may be lost as a whole, that is, so lost as that no room shall be left of returning thither whence they have fallen.”

Rivetus, who was contemporaneous with the Synod of Dort, thus expressed himself in his thesis on Final Perseverance—that those who once had true faith could not become enemies to God, or utter infidels.¹ The same is the explication which Hooker gives of the indefectibility of faith, in his second sermon, in which he observes: “Directly to deny the foundation of faith is plain infidelity; where faith is entered, there infidelity is for ever excluded: therefore by him which hath once sincerely believed in Christ, the foundation of Christian faith can never be directly denied.”² The Synod of Dort, if candidly judged by its own admissions, will be admitted to intend no more than that which was affirmed by Hooker, however it may use greater ambiguity of expression when it speaks of the predestinate not falling from the grace of adoption, the condition of justification.”³ Its meaning is that God still deals with them as his children; he does not utterly take his lovingkindness from them, but as he did not leave Peter to himself after he had denied him, so neither does he leave *them*. To say that he sees no sin in them in their departures from him, is not less contrary to the Synod of Dort⁴ itself than it is to both reason and religion.

And thus understood we see that Andrewes himself allowed

¹ Fidem etiam amittere et gratiâ excidere eatenus negamus, ita nimirum ut infideles fiant et Deo hostes.—*Synopsis Theologiæ*, p. 417. Lugd. Bat. 1625.

² Hooker's *Works*, vol. ii. p. 630. Oxford, 1845.

³ *Cat. 5, Canon 6.* Niemeyer's *Confess. Collect.*

⁴ *Canon 5*

the Lambeth article maintaining that the elect never totally fall from grace. And this is clearly consistent with both those exhortations and prayers which are adapted in Holy Scripture to the weakness of our mortal nature, by reason of which we cannot always stand upright, as we confess in the *Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Epiphany*; a collect derived from Gregory the Great, himself a follower of St. Augustine. If indeed it is but just to admit an opponent to explain his own terms, we may see from Bishop Morton's reply to Dean White in the Conferences concerning Montague's works, that the falling from the grace of justification (itself a sufficiently ambiguous term) was intended to denote, the total and irreversible loss of the divine favour.¹

The sixth article was, *Of the assurance of salvation*: "A truly faithful man, that is, one who is endowed with justifying faith, is certain, with the conviction [plerophoria] of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his eternal salvation through Christ." Andrewes would have substituted for the *assurance of faith* the assurance of *hope*, on the ground that we had not the same certainty of a conditionate as of a purely categorical proposition. To this however may be opposed St. Paul's conviction of security in the approach of death, in the fourth chapter of his Second Epistle to Timothy, *Henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness*. Neither is less certainty implied in his Epistle to the Philippians, when he writes, *I am in a strait betwixt two, having a desire to depart and to be with Christ, which is far better*. (i. 23.)

The seventh article, *On the conferring of grace*, is as follows:

"Saving grace (*gratia salutaris*) is not given, communicated, and granted to all men by which, if they will, they can be saved."

The observations attributed to Andrewes oppose to this that some previous dispositions are not only offered but conferred upon all men, and that saving grace would be conferred upon all, were they not wanting to it. And to this effect is cited an earlier work of Augustine upon the Creation against

¹ Bp. Cosin's *Works*, vol. ii. pp. 35, 36. Oxford, 1845.

the Manichæans, written in A.D. 390, the year before he was ordained priest. These remarks are in harmony with the known opinions of Andrewes' learned contemporary Bishop Overall.

Bishop Andrewes, in his Whit-Sunday Sermon 1612, thus speaks of the operation of the Holy Spirit: "And this (of blowing upon one certain place) is a property very well fitting the Spirit. *Ubi vult spirat*. To blow in certain places, where itself will; and upon certain persons, and they shall plainly feel it, and others about them not a whit. There shall be an hundred or more in an auditory; one *sound* is heard, one breath doth blow: at that instant, one or two and no more; one here, another there; they shall feel the Spirit, shall be affected and touched with it sensibly: twenty on this side them and forty on that shall not feel it, but sit all becalmed, and go their way no more moved than they came. *Ubi vult spirat*, is most true."¹

This certainly is not consistent with these anonymous remarks which long after the death of Andrewes were put forth in his name. The Remonstrants indeed were desirous of his patronage, and said that they had letters of his which he challenged them to produce.² He is supposed to have alluded to these strictures on the Lambeth articles in a conversation in 1617, but we know nothing of their history, only that they were published by some person or persons who retained neither the doctrine of Andrewes nor of Overall, but wholly favoured that of the Remonstrants.

The eighth article is: "No man can come unto Christ unless it shall have been given him, and unless the Father shall have drawn him. And all men are not drawn by the Father to come to the Son."

Andrewes, or whosoever the author of these strictures is, adds, "not drawn so as that they come"; and would have it added, "that the cause of their not being drawn or so drawn is the depraved will of man, not the absolute will of God." This indeed is in harmony with the remarks upon the seventh article.

¹ pp. 602, 603.

² Birch's *James I.* vol. ii. p. 47.

The ninth article is : " It is not placed in the will or power of every man to be saved."

The suggested form is, " It is not placed in the free will of any man, saving when made free by the Son, to be saved, or in the power of any, unless it be given him from above." Then, after observing that every one will explain the words in his own sense either by addition or subtraction, the writer recommends silence on both sides, and ends by submitting both himself and his opinions to the judgment of the queen.

Having now given a full view of the scope of the *Judgment of the Bishop of Winchester on the Lambeth Articles*, I leave it to the reader to decide upon the authenticity of the *Judgment*. It is singular that in the preface to these minor treatises of Andrewes and Overall (if indeed they are theirs), no allusion is made to them, no account is given of the manner in which they were transferred to the hands of the editor; only they are annexed to Ellis's Defence of the Thirty-nine Articles; the theology of which is not even that of Overall, as it observes, and truly according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, that men are said to cooperate in respect of subsequent, not of preventing grace.¹

The *Judgment upon the Lambeth Articles* is followed by the *Censure of the Censure of Barrett*. It relates simply to one point, the question whether the justified ought to feel certain of their salvation, or in other words, that they shall persevere to the end. Andrewes probably was not the author of this censure. It is written with a degree of warmth in favour of Barrett which Andrewes was not likely to have evinced. Neither does it embrace more than one of many points for which Barrett was censured. It is questionable whether Andrewes would have denied that to some at least the Spirit gave an assurance that he would abide with them for ever. Of his so abiding and working in the soul to the end, he thus speaks in his Whit-Sunday Sermon 1620, above twenty years after the date of these pieces published in 1600. " How take we notice of the Spirit? How knew they the angel was come down into

¹ p. 43. 4th edit. Amsterdam, 1700.

the pool of Bethesda, but by the stirring and moving of the water? So by stirring up in us spiritual motions, holy purposes and desires, is the Spirit's coming known. Specially if they do not vanish again. For if they do, then was it some other flatuous matter which will quiver in the veins, (and unskilful people call it the life-blood), but the *Spirit* it was not. The Spirit's motion, the pulse, is not for a while and then ceaseth, but it is perpetual, holds as long as life holds, though intermittent some time for some little space."¹

That the Holy Spirit never utterly forsakes the elect, but that they "have that grace which excludeth sin from reigning, and that this grace once had by them is never totally nor finally lost," is affirmed by Field in his *Book of the Church*, and, after his manner, explained with a clearness and minuteness that will enable the reader to judge fully of the grounds of his opinion, and to see the working of the more scholastic minds in that age of intense theological investigation.² Field moreover shews that these are at least no new opinions, but to be found in the works of the celebrated Hugo de Sancto Victore in the twelfth century, and in those of John Duns Scotus in the fourteenth. Even some amongst the members of the Romish communion have confessed that Calvin and Augustine were substantially agreed, as may be seen in the 399th chapter of the fourth book of John James Hottinger's *Fata Doctrinæ de Prædestinatione et Gratiâ Dei salutari*.³

¹ *Sermons*, p. 742.

² *Book of the Church*, pp. 833, 834. Oxford. 3rd edition.

³ *Zürich*, 1727, p. 421.

CHAPTER V.

Dr. Andrewes' Sermon on the Love of Souls, Good Friday 1597.—Andrewes refuses two Bishoprics, 1598—Preaches before the Queen on Ash-Wednesday.—Sermon on the Eucharist—On Justification—St. Paul and St. James—On the power of Absolution—On Repentance.

THE learned Whitaker on his return from Lambeth took cold which turned to fever and brought him speedily to his happy and peaceful but early end, on the 4th of December 1595, in his forty-seventh year. He was buried on the 10th, Dr. Goad the Vice-chancellor, provost of King's College, preaching the funeral sermon at the university church, and Robert, afterwards Sir Robert, Naunton, the Public Orator, delivering a funeral oration in Latin. Dr. John Overall, fellow of Trinity College, was elected to his professorship.

Overall had maintained a middle way between the theology of his times and that of the Antipredestinarians. He taught that God vouchsafed a certain measure of grace to all men, but secured salvation to the elect by a still more abundant measure. He taught that some had true faith and grace for a time and then fell away, but that those who are believers, who are included in the divine decree of election, cannot either totally or finally fall or perish, but by a special and efficacious grace so persevere in a true and lively faith, that at length they are brought to eternal life. This he maintained at the Hampton Court Conference.¹ He complained that some

¹ Cardwell's *Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer*. Second edition, p. 186. Oxf. 1841.

had exaggerated the doctrine of the indefectibility of faith, and had denied that the elect upon the commission of the greatest sins were *ipso facto* subject to the divine wrath and in a state of damnation until they repented. Overall was neither altogether a follower of Augustine nor of Calvin, but partly borrowed from Ambrose Catharinus, who taught that some were saved by special, others by their right use of common grace. Catharine of Sienna, archbishop of Conza, maintained at the same time in the Council of Trent, and afterwards in his writings, that the righteous might be certain of their justification. He also maintained that the inward intention of the minister was not requisite to the validity of the Sacraments.¹ Overall's system has been given from two of the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, by the R^{év.} Wm. Goode, in his *Effects of Infant Baptism*.² Overall and others after him have adduced St. Augustine as teaching that some have true faith and grace for a while, and yet fall away, whilst to the elect salvation is secured by the gift of final perseverance. There are a few passages in his works which favour this opinion, but of the principal of these the authenticity is not universally admitted, and it is certain that in his *Tractatus in Joannem* and some other of his Treatises he maintains the contrary. The reader may see these passages fully given by Dr. John Forbes, in the 20th chapter of the eighth Book of his *Instructiones Historico-Theologicæ*.³

On Sunday April 4, 1596, Andrewes preached before the court at Greenwich. This sermon, from 2 *Cor.* xii. 15, is upon the love of souls, '*soul-love*,' and upon the love of Christ to us. Nothing can excel the fervour, the tenderness, and the truly Christian charity that distinguish this truly apostolical discourse. O that all who profess to admire this venerable father and prelate of our Church would read, and that not once but often, the divine instruction, the paternal charge which he here has left to posterity, a savour of holy love never to fail. He shews how it was the love of Christ

¹ See *Du Pin*.

² 2nd edit. Lond. 1850. pp. 127—133.

³ And see also l. 8, c. 25, § 16.

that kindled in St. Paul such a love of souls, a love indeed copied from his. This love, a love not to be overcome by unkindness, this he reminds us is the only true Christian love; and what is all to that love of Christ which loved us not *as* but *more than* his own life? He hath changed the rule of the law; no longer is it, *Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself*, but, *as I have loved you*. “And if St. Paul were loved when he raged and breathed blasphemy against Christ and his name, is it much if, for Christ’s sake, he swallow some unkindness at the Corinthians’ hands? Is it much, if we let fall a duty upon them, upon whom God the Father droppeth his rain, and God the Son drops, yea sheds his blood,—upon evil and unthankful men?¹”

On the 14th October died the bishop of Salisbury, Dr. John Coldwell. He was the first married bishop of Salisbury after the Reformation. His name was also spelt Goldwell. He was B.A. of St. John’s College, Cambridge, 1554; M.A. 1558, and M.D. 1564. He was in 1571 made archdeacon of Chichester whilst Curteis the late dean was bishop of that see. He resigned this dignity in 1575. On the death of Dr. Thomas Willoughby, dean of Rochester and prebendary of Canterbury, he was preferred to the deanery, and installed 26th September, 1582.

After the see of Salisbury had been kept vacant three years, on the translation of Dr. John Piers to York, Coldwell was consecrated to Sarum, December 26th, 1591, at Lambeth by Whitgift, assisted by Aylmer bishop of London, Cowper bishop of Winchester, Fletcher bishop of Bristol, and Underhill bishop of Oxford. Dying October 14, 1596, he was buried in Salisbury Cathedral, in the same grave where bishop Wyville had been buried in 1484. Andrewes declined the vacant see, as he would not impoverish it.

On Good-Friday, March 25th, 1597, Dr. Andrewes preached before the court, from *Zech. xii. 10*, *And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced*; and set forth our Saviour’s sufferings in a discourse never perhaps surpassed but by himself.

¹ p. 331.

There have not been wanting some who have ventured to affirm that our Lord endured suffering equal to what the redeemed would otherwise have endured; that in short he suffered the pains of hell itself. Others again have gone into a contrary extreme, and have explained away our Lord's words on the cross, *My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me?* More piously and cautiously our learned and devout preacher: "It is the soul's complaint; and therefore, without all doubt, his soul within him was pierced and suffered, though not that which (except charity be allowed to expound it) cannot be spoken without blasphemy; not so much, (God forbid!) yet much, and very much; and much more than others seem to allow, or how much, it is dangerous to define."¹

He was invited to attend the annual election and examination at Merchant Taylors' School, but did not go. There was present its venerable patron, Dr. Gabriel Goodman, dean of Westminster. Mr. William Juxon, afterward archbishop Juxon, made a Latin oration.²

Juxon was born at Chichester of a good family. He was the son of Richard Juxon of that city. From Merchant Taylors' School he succeeded to a fellowship at St. John's College, Oxford. He applied himself to the law, and was a student of Gray's Inn about 1603; but afterwards, taking orders, was in 1609 instituted to the vicarage of St. Giles', Oxford, in the gift of his College. Buckeridge was at that time president of St. John's College, and Laud was elected to succeed Buckeridge in that office 10th May, 1611, Buckeridge being then bishop elect of Rochester. With Laud Juxon contracted an intimate friendship. He was also sometime rector of Somerton to the south-east of Deddington in Oxfordshire, where his coat-of-arms was, if it is not still, in the east window of the chancel. When Laud was made bishop of St. David's in 1621, Juxon was elected president of St. John's on the 29th December, appointed to the deanery of Worcester in 1628, when Dr. Joseph Hall was made bishop

¹ p. 337.

² Dr. Wilson's *Hist. of Merchant Taylors' School*, vol. i. p. 126.

of Exeter, and in 1633 was bishop elect of Hereford, but consecrated to the see of London. Laud was his friend with the king, who made him in 1632 Clerk of the closet. In 1635 he was constituted Lord High Treasurer. This produced great envy amongst the courtiers, as no ecclesiastic had held that office since the reign of Henry VII. He resigned it in 1641. He attended his sovereign on the scaffold, and afterward retired to his manor of Little Compton in Gloucestershire, but close upon Oxford and Worcestershires. He was raised to the see of Canterbury in 1660, and died at Lambeth June 20th, 1663, aged 81. He was a most munificent prelate, of great patience and moderation.

Bishop Buckeridge relates in his funeral sermon for Andrewes, that "when the bishoprics of Ely and Salisbury were void, and some things were to be pared from them, some overture being made to him to take them, he refused them utterly. If it please you," adds Buckeridge, "I will make his answer for him, *Nolo episcopari*, and I will not be made a bishop, because I will not alienate bishops' lands." This was probably in A.D. 1598, when Dr. Henry Cotton was promoted to the see of Sarum, and not long after Dr. Heton to that of Ely, who in 1609 was succeeded by Andrewes at that time bishop of Chichester. On June 16th Andrewes, as prebendary of St. Pancras, presented Harsnet, also of Pembroke Hall, to the vicarage of Chigwell in Essex.

In June he resumed his lectures on the third chapter of Genesis at St. Giles', Cripplegate, after an interval of about seven years.

On Sunday, October 1, before the administration of the Holy Communion, he preached at St. Giles', from *Isaiah* vi. 6, applying the passage as typical of Christ by whom alone our iniquities are taken away, and especially to the Holy Eucharist in which the remission of sins is dispensed; wherefore, as he observes, in the ancient church at the celebration of the Communion, the priest stood up and said as the seraph doth here, 'Behold this hath touched your lips; your iniquity shall be taken away, and your sin purged.'¹ And here he does not

¹ *Posthumous and Orphan Lectures*, p. 515.

deny, as do some who speak much of him, the assurance of forgiveness of past sins to those who come with true faith to this holy sacrament. It was his custom to speak most patristically of the Eucharist, but he calls the participation a spiritual feeding.¹

On October 15th he preached from *Matthew* vi. 1, against *desire of vainglory*. He said excellently, "God hath given us the joys and use of all his creatures, but reserveth the glory of them to himself. Therefore the apostle saith, *Do all to the glory of God*; for though he giveth us the use of all things, yet, *My glory will I not give to another*."²

On Sunday, December 3rd, he preached from 2 *Peter* i. 9. In this sermon he thus treats of justification. "At the first the doctrine of faith in Christ was hardly received; for men thought to be saved only by works: and when they had once received it, they excluded the doctrine of good works. All the difficulty that St. Paul found in the work of his ministry was to plant faith, and to persuade men that we are justified before God by faith in Christ without the works of the law. But St. Peter and St. James met with them that received the doctrine of faith fast enough, but altogether neglected good works. But because both are necessary, therefore St. Paul in all his Epistles joins the doctrine of faith with the doctrine of works. *This is a faithful saying, and to be avouched, that they which believe in God, be careful to shew forth good works*."³ Therefore with the doctrine of the grace of God, he joins the doctrine of the careful bringing forth of good works. *The saving grace of God hath appeared, and teacheth us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly and righteously and godly in this world*. The doctrine of grace is not rightly apprehended, until we admit of the doctrine of good works. *Wilt thou know, O man, that faith is dead without works? Was not Abraham our father justified by works, when he offered his son Isaac?* Therefore St. Peter saith, that is no true faith which is not accompanied with virtue and godliness of life. It is true that good works have no power to work justification, because they do not contain a perfect

¹ *Posthumous and Orphan Lectures*, p. 521. ² *Ibid.* p. 524. ³ Titus iii. 8.

righteousness. And inasmuch as they are imperfect, there belongs the curse of God unto them: *Cursed is he that continueth not in all things, &c.* (Gal. iii.) So far are they from justifying, but yet they are tokens of justification. *God had respect unto Abel and to his sacrifice.* (Gen. iv.) God first looked upon his person, and then upon his sacrifice. For before the person be justified, his works are not accepted in God's sight. The best works if they proceed not of faith are sin. Our Saviour saith, No branch can bring forth fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine. Therefore if we do any good works, they proceed from our incision and engrafting into Christ, by whom they are made acceptable unto God.

“Paul saith, Abraham was justified by faith before works, not when he was circumcised, but when he was uncircumcised. But James saith, Abraham our father was justified by works. To reconcile the apostles we must know, that the power of justification which is spoken of in Paul is *effective*, but that which James speaketh of is *declarative*. It was Abraham's faith that made him righteous, and his works did only declare him to be justified. Therefore Paul saith, that albeit good works have no power to justify, yet they are good and profitable for men. For they declare our justification which is by faith; and by them we make ourselves sure of our calling and election.”¹

On the Sunday after Christmas-day, December 31, he preached from *John* viii. 56, *Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad.* From the same words he preached before king James on Christmas-day 1613. Whosoever will carefully compare the two discourses will find that although the earlier is divided similarly with the latter, and some passages are common to both, yet they are far from being the same, and the parochial is by no means inferior to the court sermon, nay has some advantage over it; although of it we have but notes, those notes however very copious.²

On the Sunday after Epiphany, January 7, 1598, he discoursed learnedly and with a fertility of illustration peculiarly his own, upon *Psalms* xlvii. 10, *The princes of the people are*

¹ *Posthumous and Orphan Lectures*, pp. 544, 545.

² *Ibid.* 550—555.

gathered together, even the people of the God of Abraham: for the shields of the earth belong unto God: he is greatly exalted. The Epiphany he calls Christ's second nativity; "for as he was born at Bethlehem of his mother the Virgin, so hath he another birth foretold by the prophet, *I will think of Rahab and Babylon; behold Palestina, Tyrus, and Ethiopia, lo! there is he born,* Psalm lxxxvii. 4.

"This," he saith, "God hath from all times revealed, that the gate of faith should be opened to the Gentiles to enter into the flock of Christ. This was shewed by Abraham's matching with Keturah a Gentile; by Moses matching himself with Zipporah a Midianite and a Gentile; by Solomon matching with Pharaoh's daughter; as in the genealogy of Christ's birth Solomon is matched with Rahab, Boaz with Ruth, to signify that Christ should save both Jews and Gentiles. The same was shewed by the stuff whereof the tabernacle was made; by the first temple which was built upon the ground of Araunah a Gentile, with timber sent by Hiram a Gentile; and by the second temple which was founded by Cyrus and Artaxerxes, heathen princes."

On March 23, 1598, Andrewes succeeded Bishop Bancroft in the eleventh stall at Westminster.

On Friday, February 2, 1599, being the festival of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, he preached at his parish-church of St. Giles', from the history of Hannah, 1 Sam. xxvii. 28. The presentation of Samuel, and Samuel himself, he regards as typical of our Lord; and indeed the great similarity of the song of Hannah and of that of the Virgin, the miraculous birth as of Christ, so in a manner of Samuel, and the meeting of the triple office of prophet, priest, and king in Samuel, together with the singular inoffensiveness and purity of his character, and his love to the unthankful, all most amply vindicate the typical application of this history to our Lord as the fulfilment, the true Samuel of the Israel of God.¹

On the following Sunday, being the administration of the

¹ This sermon is one of the best of those that are contained in the *Posthumous Lectures*. See pp. 565-572.

Holy Communion, he preached excellently upon our conflict with the old serpent, from *Rev. ii. 7*, *To him that overcometh will I give to eat of the tree of life which is in the midst of the Paradise of God.*¹

On the 21st of the same month, being Ash-Wednesday, and the time that the earl of Essex was setting out on the Irish expedition, Dr. Andrewes, being one of the Queen's chaplains, preached before her at Richmond from those most seasonable words, *When thou goest out with the host against thine enemies, keep thee from all wickedness.*² Having treated of the justifiableness of war both offensive and defensive, quoting to this purpose the Septuagint version of the text, and alleging Jacob's war to win from the Amorite with his sword and bow,³ he shewed the folly of trusting in human power, from the defeat in the valley of *Achor*; he urged the need of the prayer of the prophet and of the priest, from the intercession of Moses whereby Israel prevailed over Amalek; and the utter inconsistency of those who were themselves in rebellion against God going forth to punish rebels. Nor did he fail to point out most plainly how peace was the blessing, war the scourge of God. Towards the end he adduced the exemplary fidelity of Uriah as an example to all in like manner to forbear, now of all times especially, from sin.⁴

On Friday, August 24, St. Bartholomew's day, he preached at his own church, Cripplegate, on the assurance of hope; nor can any one who is familiar with his writings fail to recognize him throughout.⁵

We find him, according to his custom on all holy days, preaching at his parish-church on St. Michael's day, Saturday, September 29, from *Rev. xii. 7, 8*; a sermon displaying, as we have seen in some former instances, his eminent patristic learning. He shews that Christ cannot be the Michael of the heavenly host, for that he is called 'one of the first princes,'⁶ but Christ is the King of Kings.⁷

¹ *Posthumous Lectures*, pp. 572—578.

² *Gen. xlviii. 22.*

³ *Posthumous Lectures*, pp. 578—585.

⁴ *Deut. xxiii. 9.*

⁵ *2 Sam. xi. 11.*

⁶ *Dan. x. 13.*

⁷ p. 588.

He notices, and very largely, the conjecture of the Fathers, that the fallen angels would not submit to adore Christ in our nature, and to see our nature exalted above their own.¹ He forgets not to remind his congregation of the war in which they themselves ought to be engaged, assured that the enemy shall not prevail over those who faithfully resist him. He touches also upon that reverence we ought to have of the presence of the angels as well in the house of God² as at other times.

On Sunday, October 7, being the celebration of the holy Eucharist, he preached from those most gracious and divine words of our Lord, *All that the Father giveth me shall come to me; and him that cometh to me I will in no wise cast out.*³ "Howsoever," he saith, "a man may know himself to be a sinner, that is, to have an unclean soul, yet he is not to despair, because Christ, by the confession of his enemies, is such an one as doth not only receive sinners, but eats with them; yea, he not only receiveth them that deserve to be cast out as unworthy to inherit the kingdom, but doth also wash, sanctify, and justify them in his own name and by the Spirit of God."⁴

Such was the diligence of Dr. Andrewes, that besides preaching on the Festivals and Sundays, he also delivered many of his lectures this year upon Genesis on other week-days.

In A. D. 1600, on March 30, Low-Sunday, he preached at Whitehall his well-known discourse upon the power of absolution, from *John* xx. 23. He maintained from these words a ministerial power of absolution granted to the Apostles, not as apostles but as ministers of Christ, and from them derived to all others; "yet not so that absolutely without them God cannot bestow it on whom or when he pleaseth; or that he is bound to this means only and cannot work without it. For *gratia Dei non alligatur mediis*⁵ [*i. e.* the grace of God is not tied to means], the grace of God is not bound but free, and can work without means either of word or sacrament; and as

¹ *Posthumous Lectures*, p. 591.

² 1 Cor. 11.

³ John vi. 37.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 596.

⁵ p. 57, *Certain Sermons*.

without means so without ministers, how and when to him seemeth good. But speaking of that which is proper and ordinary, in the course by him established, this is an ecclesiastical act committed as the residue of the ministry of reconciliation to ecclesiastical persons. And if at any time he vouchsafe it by others that are not such, they be in that case *ministri necessitatis non officii*, in case of necessity ministers, but by office not so." To shew the previous existence of a like power he refers to *Job xxxiii. 23*, to the priest's being ever a party in sacrifices, and to the prophet Nathan's being commissioned to declare to David the remission of his sin in God's name. He observes that besides this there are divers acts instituted by God and executed by us, which all tend to the remission of sins, namely, the two sacraments, the Word of God itself, and prayer. The word he interprets of the word preached.

He also treats of the need of the key of knowledge to open to men the true nature of repentance and the works of repentance, which is not only sorrow for sin, but a holy revenge upon ourselves for it, with works of restitution, &c. His doctrine of repentance may indeed be most fully and practically learnt from that little volume which alone might have obtained for his name the veneration of all ages of the Church, his *Manual for the Sick*.¹

He is said to have been called upon to explain himself to the Secretary of state in regard of this sermon, his doctrine being unusual for that time and strange in the ears of his audience. It is observable that it is confessedly imperfect, and deals very much in generalities. His quotation from St. Augustine belongs not to private but to public confession, as both Fulke remarks in his *Confutation* of the Notes in the Rhemish New Testament,² and also Dr. John Gerhard in his *Confessio Catholica*.³ Fulke farther refers his readers to his *Confutation of Dr. Allen's Books*, Pt. I., from c. 10 to the end.

¹ See the beautiful edition of 1674, *A Manual of Private Devotions, with a Manual of Directions for the Sick*.

² London, John Bill, 1617, p. 324.

³ Jenæ, 1661, tom. 4, p. 58.

Some would explain the words, *Whosoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosoever sins ye retain they are retained*, as though they had been, whosoever sins ye declare forgiven, when ye preach pardon to the penitent, they shall be forgiven; and whosoever sins ye declare still unforgiven, because of their unbelief, heaven shall confirm your words. Thus, indeed, Jeremiah and the prophets are said to do what they declare shall be done, (*Jer. i. 10*), *See, I have this day set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms to root out and to pull down, and to destroy and to throw down, to build and to plant*, compared with c. xviii. ver. 7.

Andrewes was present on St. Barnabas' Day, June 11th, at the annual election and examination at Merchant Taylors' School, and with three other (London?) clergymen, Dr. Grant of the university of Cambridge, master of Westminster School, and Drs. Montford and Hutchinson of the university of Oxford, was appointed to nominate four persons to the Merchant Taylors' Company for the living of St. Martin's, Outwich. A minute account of the proceedings may be found in Dr. Wilson's History of Merchant Taylors' School, in which he has done ample justice to the memory of Andrewes, and that with no small industry and ability.

Dr. Thomas Montford, or Mountfort, was the son of John Mountfort of Norwich. He was of the university of Oxford, was admitted to the rectory of Anstey near Barkway, Jan. 25, 1584. On May 26, 1585, he was made prebendary of the first stall, Westminster, took the degree of D.D. at Oxford July 4, 1588, and on March 24, 1596, was admitted to the stall of Harleston in St. Paul's, and became a canon residentiary on the presentation of the queen. On May 7, 1602, he was collated to the vicarage of St. Martin-in-the-fields by bishop Bancroft, and in 1612 appears to have been also rector of St. Mary-at-hill near St. Dunstan's in the East. He died Feb. 27, 1631, and was buried in the chancel of Tewyn near Welwyn, of which also he had (according to Newcourt) been rector. His son John succeeded to the rectory of Anstey on the presentation of Charles I., having before been made pre-

bendary of Sneating in the church of St. Paul by bishop King, 14 Nov. 1618. He was presented by Trinity College to the vicarage of Ware, Herts. 1633, but held it only for about a year. He was ejected from Anstey in 1643.

Dr. Edward Grant was master of Westminster School, prebendary of the sixth stall at Ely 1589, rector of Barnet in Middlesex and Tatsfield near Godstone in Surrey, vicar of Benfleet in Essex and Foulsham in Norfolk, prebendary of the twelfth stall at Westminster, 27 May, 1577. He died in October 1601, and was buried in the abbey, but no memorial was erected for him there.

Dr. Ralph Hutchinson was archdeacon of St. Alban's.

CHAPTER VI.

Andrewes' Sermon on Justification, 1600.

ON November 23rd Dr. Andrewes preached at Whitehall¹ his celebrated sermon on Justification, for a more copious notice of which no apology will be required.

This sermon is a very ample dissertation upon *Jer. xxiii. 6, This is the name whereby they shall call him, the Lord our Righteousness*. First he shews how this is the chief of names in the account of God himself. God is salvation and peace, but both these are branches of this name and effects of it. He then remarks that this name is peculiar to our Lord. Others are said to *do*, he alone to *be righteousness*. "Nor is this (he adds) a question of names merely. The name of God has virtue in it. By the name of Christ we are *justified*, so St. Paul (1 *Cor. vi. 11*); *forgiven*, so St. John (1 *Joh. ii. 12*); *saved*, so St. Peter (*Acts iv. 12*). Now this name is compounded of three words, *Jehova, Justitia, Nostra*.

"1. Of *Jehova*, touching which word, and the ground why it must be a part of this name, the prophet David resolveth us; *I will make mention*, saith he, *of thy righteousness only*. Because his righteousness and only his righteousness is worth the remembering; and any other's besides his is not meet

¹ "Of the royal chapel in Whitehall we know nothing except that it was the scene of various ceremonies in James's reign, as grand marriages and baptisms. It was burnt with great part of the palace in 1697, and its walls are probably now those of the Treasury or a contiguous building. From the time of the fire it was deserted, and the Banqueting-house converted into a chapel."—Nichol's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. ii. p. 212.

to be mentioned. For, as for our own righteousness which we have without him, Esay telleth us, it is but a defiled cloth, and St. Paul that it is but dung; two very homely comparisons, but they be the Holy Ghost's own, yet nothing so homely as in the original, &c.

"Our own then being no better, we are driven to seek for it elsewhere. *He shall receive his righteousness*, saith the prophet (*Psalms* xxiv. 5), and *the gift of righteousness*, saith the apostle (*Rom.* v. 17). It is then another, to be *given* us and to be *received* by us, which we must seek for. And whither shall we go for it? Job alone despatcheth this point. Not to the heavens or stars; for they are *unclean in his sight*. Not to the saints; for in them he found *folly*; nor to the angels, for neither in them found he any steadfastness. Now if none of these will serve, we see a necessary reason why *Jehova* must be a part of this name. And this is the reason why Jeremie, here expressing more fully the name given him before in Esay, *Immanuel, God with us*, instead of the name of God in that name (which is *El*), setteth down by way of explanation this name here of *Jehova*. Because that *El* and the other names of God are communicated to creatures; as the name of *El* to angels, for their names end in it; Michael, Gabriel, &c. And the name of *Jah* to saints, and their names end in it; Esaiah, Jeremiah, Zechariah. To certify us therefore that it is neither the righteousness of saints nor angels that will serve the turn, but the righteousness of God and very God, he useth that name which is proper to God alone; ever reserved to him only, and never imparted by any occasion to angel or saint, or any creature in heaven or earth.

"*Righteousness*. Why that? If we ask, in regard of the other benefits which are before remembered, salvation and peace, why 'righteousness' and not salvation nor peace? it is evident. Because (as in the verse next before the prophet termeth it) 'righteousness' is the branch; and these two, salvation and peace, are the fruits growing on it. So that, if this be had, the other are had with it."

"*Jehovah, Righteousness*. For except justice be satisfied,

and do join in it also [*the counsel of salvation*], in vain we promise ourselves that mercy of itself shall work our salvation: which may serve for the reason why neither *Jehova potentia* or *Jehova misericordia* are enough, but it must be *Jehova justitia*, and *justitia* a part of the name."

"Our. But if he be righteousness, and not only righteousness, but ours too, all is at an end; we have our desires. . . . For if he be, as the Apostle saith, *factus nobis, made unto us righteousness*, and that so as he becometh ours, what can we have more? What can hinder us, saith St. Bernard, but that we should 'use him and his righteousness; use that which is ours to our best behoof, and work our salvation out of this our Saviour.'

"And more significant it is by far to say *Jehovah our justice*, than *Jehovah our Justifier*. I know St. Paul saith much; that our Saviour Christ shed his blood to shew his righteousness, that he might not only be just, but a justifier of those which are of his faith, *Rom. iii. 26*. And much more again in that when he should have so said, *To him that believeth in God*, he chooseth thus to set it down, *To him that believeth in him that justifieth the ungodly*; making these two to be all one, God, and the justifier of sinners. Though this be very much, yet certainly this is most forcible, that he is made unto us by God very righteousness itself. (*1 Cor. i. 30*.) And that yet more, that he is made *righteousness to us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him*, *2 Cor. v. 21*. Which place St. Chrysostom well weighing, this very word righteousness, saith he, the Apostle useth to express the unspeakable bounty of that gift, that he hath not given us the operation or effect of his righteousness, but his very righteousness, yea his very self unto us. Mark, saith he, how everything is lively and as full as can be imagined. Christ, one not only that had done no sin, but that had not so much as known any sin, hath God made (not a sinner, but) sin itself; as in another place (not accursed, but) a curse itself; sin in respect of the guilt, a curse in respect of the punishment. And why this? To the end that we might be made (not righteous persons; that

was not full enough, but) righteousness itself; and there he stays not yet—and not every righteousness, but *the very righteousness of God himself*. What can be further said? what can be conceived more comfortable? To have him ours, not to make us righteous but to make us righteousness, and that not any other but the righteousness of God; the wit of man can devise no more. And all to this end, that we might see there belongeth a special *Ecce* to this name, that there is more than ordinary comfort in it; that therefore we should be careful to honour him with it, and so call him by it, *Jehovah our righteousness*.

“*There is no Christian man that will deny this name, but will call Christ by it, and say of him that he is Jehova justitia nostra, without taking a syllable or letter from it. But it is not the syllables, but the sense that maketh the name. And the sense is it we are to look unto; that we keep it entire in sense as well as in sound, if we mean to preserve this name of justitia nostra full and whole unto him. And as this is true, so is it true likewise that even among Christians all take it not in one sense; but some, of a greater latitude than other. There are that take it in that sense which the prophet Esay hath set down: In Jehovah justitia mea, that all our righteousness is in him, (Isaiah xlv. 24); and we to be found in him, not having our own righteousness, but being made the righteousness of God in him. (2 Cor. v. 21.) There are some other, that though in one part of our righteousness they take it in that sense, yet in another part they shrink it up, and in that make it but a proposition causal, and the interpretation thereof to be, ‘from Jehova is my righteousness.’ Which is true too, whether we respect him as the cause exemplary, or pattern, (for we are to be made conformable to the image of Christ); or whether we respect him as the cause efficient. . . . This meaning then is true and good, but not full enough; for either it taketh the name in sunder, and giveth him not all, but a part of it alone,¹ or else it maketh two senses, which may not be allowed in one name.*

“For the more plain conceiving of which point, we are to

¹ *Alone.* The common reading is *again*.

be put in mind that the true righteousness (as saith St. Paul) is not of man's device, but hath his witness from the law and the prophets; which he there proceedeth to shew out of the example first of Abraham and after of David. In the Scripture then there is a double righteousness set down, both in the Old and New Testament.

"In the Old, and in the very first place that righteousness is named in the Bible, *Abraham believed, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness*: a righteousness accounted. And again (in the very next line) it is mentioned, *Abraham will teach his house to do righteousness*: a righteousness done. In the New likewise. The former, in one chapter (even the fourth to the Romans), no fewer than eleven times, *Reputatum est illi ad justitiam*: a reputed righteousness. The latter in St. John: *My beloved, let no man deceive you; he that doeth righteousness is righteous*: a righteousness done, which is nothing else but our own just dealing, upright carriage, honest conversation. Of these, the latter the philosophers themselves conceived and acknowledged; the other is proper to Christians only, and altogether unknown in philosophy. The one is a quality of the party; the other an act of the judge declaring or pronouncing righteous: the one ours by influence or infusion; the other by account or imputation."

Then he proceeds from the context to fix upon the term the forensic and imputative sense, and observes that the tenor of the Scripture touching our justification all along runneth in judicial terms to admonish us still what to set before us. The usual joining of justice and judgment continually all along the Scriptures shew it is a judicial justice we are to set before us. The terms of a judge, *It is the Lord that judgeth me*, 1 Cor. iv. 4. A prison: *kept and shut up under Moses*, Gal. iii. 23. A bar: *We must all appear before the bar*, 2 Cor. v. 10. A proclamation: *Who will lay anything to the prisoner's charge?* Rom. viii. 33. An accuser: *The accuser of our brethren*, Rev. xii. 10. A witness: *Our conscience bearing witness*, Rom. ii. 15. An indictment upon these: *Cursed is he that continueth not in all the words of the law to do them*, Deut. xxvii. 26. And again, *He that*

*breaketh one is guilty of all, James ii. 10. A conviction: That all may be guilty, or culpable, before God. Yea, the very delivering of our sins under the name of debts; of the law under the name of a handwriting; the very terms of an advocate, 1 John ii. 2; of a surety made under the law; of a pardon, or, being justified from those things which by the law we could not; all these wherein for the most part this is still expressed, what speak they but that the sense of this name cannot rightly be understood, nor what manner of righteousness is in question, except we still have before our eyes this same *coram rege justo judicium faciente*?*

“For it is not in question, whether we have our inherent righteousness or no, or whether God will accept it or reward it, but whether that must be our righteousness *coram rege justo judicium faciente*; which is a point very material and in nowise to be forgotten. For without this, if we compare ourselves with ourselves, what heretofore we have been, or, if we compare ourselves with others, as did the Pharisee, we may take a fancy perhaps, and have some good conceit of our inherent righteousness. Yea, if we be to deal in schools by argument or disputation, we may peradventure argue for it and make some shew in the matter. But let us once be brought and arraigned *coram rege justo sedente in solio*, let us set ourselves there, we shall then see that all our former conceit will vanish straight, and righteousness (in that sense) will not abide the trial.

“Bring them hither then, and ask them here of this name, and never a saint nor father, no, nor the schoolmen themselves, none of them but will shew you how to understand it aright. In their commentaries, it may be, in their questions and debates they will hold hard for the other; but remove it hither, they forsake it presently, and take the name in the right sense.”

Then he adduces the examples of Job, David, Daniel, Isaiah, Paul, and amongst the fathers, of Ambrose, Augustine, and Bernard.

He then touches upon the devotional writings of the schoolmen, and the half admissions of Bellarmine and Stapleton,

conceding an imputation of the sufferings, but excluding the imputation of the obedience, or as it is sometimes called, the active righteousness of Christ.

Next he proceeds upon abstract grounds, the finite nature of our righteousness, its disproportion to our infinite reward, "especially if we add hereunto that as it cannot be denied but to be finite, so withal, that the antient fathers seem further to be but meanly conceited of it; reckoning it not to be full but defective, not pure but defiled; and if to be judged by the just judge, *districtè*, or *cum districtione examinis* (they be St. Gregorie's and St. Bernard's words), indeed no righteousness at all." Here Bishop Andrewes adduces that remarkable passage from St. Chrysostom, which Mr. Faber has also given at full length in his work upon Justification, from his eleventh homily on the second Epistle to the Corinthians, where that father declares that a justifying righteousness must needs be without spot, and that therefore the righteousness of God by which we are justified is not of works but of grace.

Adducing an admission of Stapleton's, that our righteousness needs indulgence, he observes, "Now indulgence (we know) belongeth unto sin, and *righteousness*, if it be *true*, needeth none."

Bellarmino is then shewn to destroy his own doctrine by qualifying it first, and next by entirely setting it aside, which, remarks our reverend preacher, "is enough to shew, when they have forgot themselves a little out of the fervor of their oppositions, how light and small account they make of it themselves, for which they spoil Christ of one half of his name."

Then he insists upon the jealousy of God in regard of this name, that He will not give his glory to another. "As we are justified in this name, so we are to glory in it, according to the prophet. For this very purpose the apostle asks, *where is boasting then?* as if he should admonish us, that this name is given with express intent to exclude it from us and us from it. And therefore in that very place where he saith, 'He is made unto us from God righteousness,' to this end (saith he) he is so made, *ut qui gloriatur, in Domino gloriatur* [that

he who glorieth might glory in the Lord]. All which I put you in mind of to this end, that you may mark that this nipping at this name of Christ is for no other reason but that we may have some honour ourselves out of our righteousness."

Then he gives an instance of this in the confession of Bellarmine, who makes justification to be on the title of merit, because it is more honorable so to receive it than simply on the title of inheritance; "So that it seemeth he is resolved, that rather than they will lose their honour, Christ must part with a piece of his name, and be named *Justitia nostra* only . in the latter sense: which is it, the prophet after (in the twenty-seventh verse of this chapter) setteth down as a mark of *false prophets*; that by having a pleasant dream of their own righteousness, they make God's people to forget his name; as indeed by this means this part of Christ's name hath been forgotten."

Such is the doctrine of good and learned Bishop Andrewes: they must be blind indeed who see not at once how unlike and opposed to the teaching of Mr. Newman and his advocates, as also of Jeremy Taylor, Archbishop Sharpe, Bishop Bull, Bishop Tomline, and others who have stumbled at this stone, and have, with all their talents, only laboured to obscure that great and most essential article of Christian faith, which our prelate, believing with his heart, knew so well how to defend.

CHAPTER VII.

The election at Merchant Taylors' School, 1601—Andrewes is made Dean of Westminster—His Sermon on giving to Caesar his due—Oversees Westminster School—Preaches before the Queen for the last time in 1602—Coronation of King James—Sermon on the Plague, 1603—He is at the Hampton-court Conference—Is appointed a translator—His famous Good-Friday Sermon, 1604, and 1605—He is made Bishop of Chichester.

ON St. Barnabas-day, June 11, 1601, we find Dr. Andrewes, with his old schoolmaster Mulcaster, and Dr. Goodman, dean of Westminster, Dr. Hutchinson, president of St. John's College, Oxford, Dr. Roger Marbeck,¹ and Sir Robert Wroth, knt.,² attending at the election and dinner at Merchant Taylors' School. It was at this time that Dr. Andrewes first patronised Matthew Wren, afterwards bishop of Norwich and Ely. Wren was born in St. Peter's Eastcheap, 1585. His father Francis was a citizen and mercer of London.

¹ Dr. Roger Marbeck was the son of that good confessor and musician, John Marbeck, organist of Windsor, who first printed the Prayer-book with musical notes in 1550. See of him in Burney's *History of Music*. He was educated first at Eton, then at Christ Church, was Senior Proctor in 1562, Public Orator (the first that was appointed) in 1564, and also was made Provost of Oriel in that same year. In 1565 he was installed Canon of the first stall in Christ Church, in 1566 resigned his Provostship, and in 1567 his stall. He betook himself to the study of medicine and was made physician to the queen, and in 1574 took the degree of M.D. He attended the Earl of Nottingham into Spain, and returning home died, and was buried in St. Giles', Cripplegate, 1606, or thereabout.—Wood's *Fasti*, and *Hist. and Antiq. Univ. Oxon.*

² Son of Sir Thomas Wroth, who for his religion fled to Germany in the reign of queen Mary. Sir Robert died and was buried at Enfield early in 1606.

Wren lost his election to St. John's College, Oxford, upon which Dr. Andrewes procured his admission at Pembroke College, Cambridge, on the 23rd of the same month.

This election was the last public occasion at which Dr. Goodman appeared. He died on June 17, and Andrewes was appointed to succeed him as dean of Westminster July 4, and Dr. Adrian Saravia was presented to the stall which Andrewes vacated, and installed on July 5.¹

In this year the learned Andrew Willet, prebendary of the fourth stall at Ely (July 22, 1584), in which he succeeded his father, Thomas Willet, M.A., as he did also in the rectory of Barley, Herts., was, amongst many excellent colleagues (ten in number), of whom were Dr. Downname, bishop of Derry (who wrote the most complete work that has ever appeared upon Justification, and also a very learned and elaborate work upon Antichrist), Dr. George Meriton (dean of York in 1617) that famous preacher, and others of no mean note, chosen to answer the Divinity Act in the Commencement House, Cambridge: "An. 1601, Publicis Comitibus, Respondente Dre. Willet, Quæst.

"Peccatum sola causa damnationis.

"Decimæ jure divino debentur."

Meriton, Downname, Milburne, &c., S.T.P., eodem anno."² Milburne was B.A. of Queens' College, Cambridge, 1581, elected fellow July 7, 1582, before he had completed twelve terms, and perhaps migrated from Trinity College. He was made M.A. 1585, treasurer of the College, 1589. He was of a Pembrokehire family, but born in London and educated at Westminster School. He was rector of Cheam in Surrey, and of Sevenoaks in Kent in 1611, chaplain to prince Henry, precentor of St. David's according to Anthony Wood, but his name does not occur in Hardy's *Le Neve's Fasti*. On the death of Dr. Thomas Blague (by a mistake in Hasted's *Kent* said to have been master of Clare Hall) he was made dean of Rochester 4th December 1611, and consecrated to the see of St. David's by Abbot, assisted by Andrewes, King,

¹ Widmore's *History of Westminster Abbey*.

² From T. Baker's *Notes*, and copy of Willet's *Synopsis Papiæmi*.

bishop of London, Buckeridge, bishop of Rochester, and Overall, bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, July 9th, 1615. Thence he was translated to Carlisle on the death of Dr. Robert Snowden, 11th September, 1621. He died in 1624, and was buried in the churchyard of Carlisle cathedral. Richard Senhouse, dean of Gloucester, was his successor at Carlisle, as Laud, a previous dean of Gloucester, had succeeded him at St. David's.

In the 11th volume of Bishop Andrewes' works, printed at Oxford in 1854, is given for the first time, A Discourse written by Doctor Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, against second Marriage, after Sentence of Divorce with a former Match, the party then living. In Anno 1601. Besides the two copies in the British Museum (*Birch MSS.* 4149, art. 38, p. 320, and *Lansdowne MSS.* 958) there is a third in the University Library at Cambridge. This last has been marked probably by its original owner as unworthy of Bishop Andrewes. However, in the Articles of Visitation for the years 1619 and 1625, immediately following the *Discourse*, the question is asked, "Do any being divorced or separated, marry again, the former wife or husband yet living?" (p. 120.)

The author of the Discourse, after giving that interpretation which is usually pleaded in behalf of this view to *Matth.* xix. 9, *Rom.* vii. 2, and 1 *Cor.* vii. 11, alleges the 9th Canon of the Council of Eliberis, the 17th Canon of the Council of Milevum, Origen's 7th Homily upon St. Matthew, St. Jerome's Epistle to Amandus (tom i. col. 296 A.), St. Ambrose on 1 *Cor.* vii. (or rather Hilary the Deacon), Op. tom. ii. Append. col. 133, the Epistle of Innocent I. to Exuperius (§ 6. Conc. tom. ii. col. 1256 C.), and to St. Augustine *de Adulterinis Conjugiis*, l. 2, c. 4.

The author, towards the conclusion, alleges that otherwise an encouragement is held out to the adulterer, if he is at liberty, having broken his vows, to marry again. He refers to St. Jerome on *Matth.* xix. 9, and to St. Ambrose on *Luke* xvi. 1, 8, § 4, though, observes the editor, the meaning appears to be mistaken. The decision of the Reformers, both English and Continental, was in favour of the validity

of the second marriage of the innocent and injured party after divorce on the ground of adultery. The *Reformatio Legum*, a noble monument of the high spiritual aims and apostolic simplicity of Cranmer and his associates in that great work, permitted such marriages. That they but walked in the steps of primitive antiquity is avouched by the authority of the most learned and impartial student of the fathers whom the present century has seen, the late bishop of Lincoln. In his very valuable work upon Tertullian he observes, "that the Roman Catholic notion of the indissolubility of marriage was then unknown. Tertullian on all occasions affirms that it may be dissolved on account of adultery: and though his peculiar tenets would naturally lead him to deny to either party the liberty of marrying again, yet he admits that such marriages actually took place in the church."¹

In 1821 was republished by the late munificent dean of Westminster, Dr. Ireland, *Nuptiæ Sacræ, or, an Enquiry into the Scripture Doctrine of Marriage and Divorce, addressed to the Two Houses of Parliament. First published in 1801, and now reprinted by desire.* In this very able and elaborate treatise, its learned author traces this notion of the indissolubility of marriage to the Shepherd of Hermas. For the history of this apocryphal writing the reader may consult the Dissertation of Ittigius *de Patribus Apostolicis*, § 55—65. Ittigius is opposed to the opinion advocated in Dr. Burton's Lectures,² that the works bearing the name of Hermas were written by a brother of Pius, bishop of Rome, in A.D. 141 or 142. The late venerable Dr. Routh observes its condemnation by all the Councils of the Catholic Church, as affirmed by Tertullian *de Pudicitia*, c. 16. See Routh's *Scriptorum Eccles. Opusc.* tom. i. p. 176, Oxon. 1832, and Bp. Kaye's *Tertullian*, 3rd ed. p. 242.

A second marriage, upon divorce on account of adultery, was allowed the innocent party to the time of archbishop Bancroft, who was swayed by some divines in the opposite direction. Amongst these perhaps was Edmund Bunney,

¹ p. 380. 3rd edit. Lond. Rivingtons, 1845.

² *On the Eccles. Hist. of the Second and Third Centuries*, p. 104. Oxf. 1833.

who wrote very zealously against such marriages, but did not make good his claim to the general authority of the fathers on his side. This Edmund Bunney added the arguments of the books and chapters to the London edition of Calvin's *Institutes* in 1576. He was, like Bernard Gilpin the apostle of the north, an indefatigable preacher, travelling about the north of England to supply as far as possible the then great lack of preachers. He was B.D. and fellow of Merton College, Oxford, rector of Bolton Percy, prebendary of Oxgate in St. Paul's, March 20, 1564, subdean of York 1570; he resigned the subdeanery in 1575, and was made prebendary of Wistow in St. Peter's, York, October 21, 1575. On July 2, 1585, he was admitted to the first stall in Carlisle, which he resigned in 1603. The village of Bunney, seven miles south-east of Nottingham, took its name from his family. He sometime before his death, which occurred Feb. 6, 1612, gave up his paternal inheritance to his brother Richard. His effigy and monument are against the wall of the south aisle of the choir in York-minster, near the monument of archbishop Lamplugh.

But by far the most learned treatise that has appeared upon this subject, is the posthumous work of that prodigy of learning, Dr. John Rainolds, sometime dean of Lincoln and afterward president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the reign of James the First. There antiquity is clearly shewn to be far more in favour of the permission of a second marriage after divorce on the ground of adultery than against it.

Heylyn, in his *Life of Laud*, calls the prohibiting of such marriages the *Romish* doctrine. The Greek Church has on the other hand always allowed them.

Of the authorities cited in the Discourse ascribed to Andrewes, the Council of Eliberis forbids the remarriage of the woman, but makes no mention of the man. Origen, in *Tract.* 7 in c. 19 *Matth.*, spoke of divorces not granted for adultery, but for lighter reasons after the custom of the Jews: St. Jerome, with Athenagoras and the so-called Apostolical Constitutions, condemned all second marriages: St. Ambrose, on *Luke* xvi., did not refer to these marriages, but reprov'd men for marrying

after they had put away their chaste wives: St. Augustine himself, in his *Retractations*, acknowledged his partial dissatisfaction with what he had previously advanced upon this subject: 'Scripsi duos libros de conjugii adulterinis, quantum potui secundum scripturas, cupiens solvere difficillimam quæstionem. Quod utrum enodatissimè fecerim nescio, imò verò non me pervenisse ad hujus rei perfectionem sentio, quamvis multos sinus ejus aperuerim, quod judicare poterit quisquis intelligenter legit.' (l. 2, p. 83. *Lugd.* 1563.)

To this should be added his concession in his book *De Fide et Operibus*, c. 19, p. 98, tom. iv. *Et in ipsis divinis sententiis ita obscurum est, utrum et iste cui quidem sine dubio adulteram licet dimittere, adulter tamen habeatur si alteram duxerit, ut quantum existimo, venialiter ibi quisque fallatur.*

It should be borne in mind that for a long time in the Western church, where Scripture was regarded as leaving every liberty of opinion, there St. Augustine's opinion was received as the rule.

St. Chrysostom is plain for the dissolubility of marriage, *Hom.* 19, in 1 *Cor.* 7: "The marriage is dissolved by fornication, neither is the husband a husband any longer." This testimony is allowed by Covarruvias in 4 l. Decretal, Part 2, c. 7, D 6.

Theophylact, on *St. Luke* c. xvi., says expressly that our Lord's words here must be supplied from St. Matthew.

Bellarmino has recourse to a chapter fathered on the Council of Basle by Pope Eugenius IV. St. Basil's Canons 9 and 21, approved by General Councils (Conc. in Trullo, Canon 2), authorize the man to marry again after divorce from an adulterous wife, and check the custom that would forbid the same liberty to a woman divorced from an adulterous husband.

The reader may find many other authorities in Dr. Rainolds; he may also consult the 14th chapter of the seventh book of the *Theologia Moralis* of Dr. John Forbes, and the 2nd chapter of the third part of the second book of Dr. John Gerhard's *Confessio Catholica*.

On November 15th the Dean of Westminster preached at

Whitehall, upon giving to Cæsar his due, instancing out of both the Old and New Testament the duty of obedience to princes be they good or bad; for it is not to Tiberius but to Cæsar that the tribute is due, (not to the person but to the office). The gospel recognizes the doctrine that every man must regard his property as belonging of right to God and to Cæsar, himself being interested in it but as a third person; a doctrine consonant enough to reason and revelation, but not very acceptable to the philosophy of covetousness, which would misrepresent it as subversive of the laws of property, whereas it is the only true foundation of them. Certain it is that in proportion to the prevalence of more selfish principles, property has been rendered insecure by the natural revulsion that always follows the oppression of covetousness.

Whilst dean of Westminster, Dr. Andrewes frequently superintended the school in person; but bishop Hacket shall relate in his own words the sedulousness with which he fostered that school, and the delight which he took in encouraging the studious. In his *Life of Archbishop Williams* Hacket says: "He had heard much what pains Dr. Andrewes did take both day and night to train up the youth bred in the public school, chiefly the *alumni* of the college so called. For more certain information he (Williams) called me from Cambridge, in the May before he was installed, to the house of his dear cousin Mr. Elwes Winn in Chancery-lane, a clerk of the Petty Bag, a man of the most general and gracious acquaintance with all the great ones of the land that ever I knew. There he moved his questions to me about the discipline of Dr. Andrewes. I told him how strict that excellent man was to charge our masters that they should give us lessons out of none but the most classical authors; that he did often supply the place both of the head-schoolmaster and usher for the space of an whole week together, and gave us not an hour of loitering time from morning to night: how he caused our exercises in prose and verse to be brought to him, to examine our style and proficiency; that he never walked to Chiswick for his recreation without a brace of this young fry; and in that wayfaring

leisure had a singular dexterity to fill those narrow vessels with a funnel. And, which was the greatest burden of his toil, sometimes thrice in a week, sometimes oftener, he sent for the uppermost scholars to his lodgings at night, and kept them with him from eight till eleven, unfolding to them the best rudiments of the Greek tongue and the elements of the Hebrew grammar; and all this he did to boys without any compulsion of correction, nay, I never heard him utter so much as a word of austerity among us."

Hacket adds, after a rapturous eulogy, that this good and great prelate was the first that planted him in his tender studies, and watered them continually with his bounty.¹ It is recorded of Duppa, bishop of Winchester, on his monument in Westminster Abbey, that he learnt Hebrew of Lancelot Andrewes, at that time dean.² Dr. David Stokes was also at Westminster School at this time.

On Ash-Wednesday, 1602, dean Andrewes preached before the queen at Whitehall, February 17, from *Jer.* viii. 4—7, a very ingenious and forcible sermon against neglecting and delaying of repentance. Towards the conclusion he notes how the very season of Lent, coming earlier in the year, is an intimation of the duty of an early return to God.

On St. Barnabas' Day, June 11, we find him, with his old schoolmaster Mulcaster and Dr. Friar,³ as an examiner at Merchant Taylors' School.

On Thursday, March 24, 1603, died queen Elizabeth, the prosperity of whose reign, the wisdom of whose councillors, the security of whose subjects raised her memory upon an imperishable basis, and deeply rooted her name in the affections of all ranks.⁴ Her remains were followed to the tomb

¹ *Life of Archbishop Williams*, pp. 44, 45.

² Cassan's *Lives of the Bishops of Winchester*, vol. ii. p. 166.

³ Thomas Fryer was Prebendary of Norton Episcopi in the church of Lincoln, and Christopher in that of Llandaff.

⁴ "Possessed of a vigorous and comprehensive mind, she discerned the true interests of her kingdom, and she steadily promoted them. Admirable as were her talents, she did not trust solely to her own judgment; but whilst she guided the councils of the nation, she availed herself of the political sagacity, of the acquaintance with human nature, and of the profound knowledge by which

by fifteen hundred persons in deep mourning, and this a voluntary attendance. Fuller observes, that most of the London and many of the country churches had pictures or models of her tomb. Under these were inscriptions which may be seen in Stow's *Survey of London*.

On St. James's Day, July 25, Dr. Andrewes, as dean, assisted at the coronation of king James. The plague was meanwhile raging in London, and carried away thirty thousand inhabitants. Andrewes probably retired to Chiswick to the prebendal house, and preached in the church there on August 24, from *Psalm* cvi. 29, 30. Very excellently does he urge that if not a sparrow falleth to the ground without our heavenly Father, much less can such a visitation as the plague be attributed to chance. He inveighs against inventions in religion, and new modes of luxury in common life. He enumerates the causes of plagues (or sicknesses) mentioned in Holy Writ, namely, fornication, the sin of *Peor*; pride, the sin of *David*;¹ blasphemy, the sin of *Rabshakeh*; and neglect and profanation of the Sacrament, the sin of the Corinthians. Some in our day have, amidst their other superstitious scruples (unscrupulous enough in points of greater moment) been forward to censure the common application of this term '*the Sacrament*' to the holy Eucharist. Nevertheless we here find one, who is a giant in comparison of them all, using the term without hesitation, as being in truth not likely to lead men into error, nor inappropriate to that sacrament which is confessedly the highest part of Christian worship.

On the 26th of August he was put in a commission with Dr. Richard Field, archbishop Whitgift, the earl of Nottingham,

many of her ministers were eminently distinguished. In every season of alarm and danger, the greatness of her mind and the dignity of her character were strikingly displayed; and although she ruled with absolute sway,—although she pressed severely upon some of her conscientious subjects, who could not conform to the ceremonies which she introduced, or which she retained in the services of the Church, she was beheld with veneration by her people, and regarded throughout Europe as the strenuous defender of the Protestant faith."—Dr. Cooke's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 128. Edinb. 1815.

¹ 2 Sam. c. xxiv.

Lord Admiral, the bishop of Winchester, Sir John Herbert, Knt., Second Secretary, Sir Thomas West, Knt., Sir Julius Cæsar, Knt., a master of Requests, Sir David Dunn, Knt., also a master of Requests, Sir Thomas Fleming, Knt., solicitor, Sir Edward and Sir George Moore, Sir Richard Mill, Sir Richard Norton, Sir William Uvedale, Sir Benjamin Tytchborne, Knts., the Chancellor of the bishop of Winchester, the Dean and Archdeacon, and others, for visiting the diocese of Winchester for the punishment of recusancy, nonconformity, fornication, adultery, misbehaviour in the church or churchyards,¹ &c., &c.

On Saturday, January 14, 1604, he was appointed to be present at the Hampton-court Conference, held between the Conformists and the Puritans. The dean of the chapel, Dr. Montague, also dean of Worcester (afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells and then of Winchester), Dr. Thomas Ravis, dean of Christchurch (afterwards bishop of London), Dr. Overall, dean of St. Paul's (afterwards bishop of Norwich), Dr. Barlow, Dr. Bridges, dean of Sarum, and Dr. Giles Thompson, dean of Windsor (afterwards bishop of Gloucester), were summoned with Andrewes, and were in the presence-chamber; but only Montague, dean of the chapel, Andrewes, Overall, Barlow and Bridges were called in on the first day. Andrewes does not appear to have taken any part, except that on the second day, Monday the 16th, upon the king's making inquiry into the antiquity of the use of the cross in baptism, Andrewes made answer, "It appears out of Tertullian, Cyprian, and Origen, that it was used in *immortali lavacro*."²

This conference was followed by the appointment of a Committee who were entrusted with the preparing the present version of the Scriptures. Both Dr. Andrewes and his brother Roger, a fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, were appointed translators, and besides Andrewes, four other Merchant Taylors, Tomson, dean of Gloucester, Perin, who on November 24th was made a canon of Christchurch, Dr. Ravens,

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi. pp. 548—551. Lond. 1715.

² "The life-giving fountain."—Fuller's *Ch. Hist.* B. 10, p. 17; Cardwell's *Conferences on the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 198. Oxford, 2nd edit. 1841.

vicar of Dunmow, Essex, and Spenser, chaplain to the king, and (on the death of the very learned Dr. Rainolds) president of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, and also a fellow of the Royal Controversial College of Chelsea. Andrewes was in that division to which was allotted the Old Testament from Genesis to the end of the books of Kings. Previously to the appointment of the Committee of Translators, Dr. Andrewes discovered his wonderful eloquence to the king by a sermon such as hath never been equalled in an age of greater fastidiousness but not of greater strength.

On Good Friday, April 6th, he preached before him at Whitehall, from *Lam. i. 12, Have ye no regard, O all ye that pass by the way? Consider and behold, if ever there were sorrow like my sorrow, which was done unto me, wherewith the Lord did afflict me in the day of the fierceness of his wrath?* If any discourse could ever be said to be at all worthy of the subject, the unspeakable mystery of the love of Christ in our redemption, this is it. Bishop Horne, a great admirer of our prelate, but not for a moment to be put in comparison with him, is said to have delighted in using the substance of, or preaching this sermon in a more modern style; but indeed the great simplicity of Bishop Andrewes is amongst his greatest perfections. Bishop Horne was too ornate and polished to be powerful, but to Andrewes both the king and the peasant might have listened with unequal, but both with great profit.

This passage in *Lamentations*, and that of *Hosea, Out of Egypt have I called my Son*, with many more of the like kind, he regarded as typical, and most perfectly applicable to our Saviour; a rule in accordance with the spirit of scripture and Christian antiquity, and that tends to the more complete understanding of the scripture testimony to Christ—an internal evidence of its correctness.

In regard of the sermon itself, it is a very full and glowing declaration of the great doctrine of our redemption accomplished in that day of the wrath of God when the innocent suffered for the guilty, *the lamb as a sacrifice*, who could not justly suffer *merely as a lamb*.

“The cause then in God was wrath. What caused this

wroth? God is not wroth but with sin; nor grievously wroth but with grievous sin. And in Christ there was no grievous sin, nay, no sin at all. God did it (the text is plain), and in his fierce wrath he did it. For what cause? For God forbid God should do as did Annas the high-priest, cause him to be smitten without cause. God forbid (saith Abraham) the Judge of the world should do wrong to any; to any, but specially to his own Son, that his Son of whom, with thundering voice from heaven, he testifieth all his joy and delight were in him, in him only he was well pleased. And how then could his wrath wax hot, to do all this unto him?

“There is no way to preserve God’s justice and Christ’s innocency both, but to say as the angel said of him to the prophet Daniel, *The Messiah shall be slain*, וְאֵינְלִי ve-en-lo; *shall be slain, but not for himself*. Not for himself? for whom then? For some others. He took upon him the person of others; and so doing, justice may have her course and proceed.

“Pity it is, to see a man pay that he never took: but if he will become a surety, if he will take on him the person of the debtor, so he must. Pity to see a silly *poor lamb* be bleeding to death, but if it must be a *sacrifice* (such is the nature of a sacrifice) so it must. And so Christ, though without sin in himself, yet, as a surety, as a sacrifice, may justly suffer for others, if he will take upon him their persons; and so God may justly give way to his *wrath* against him.

“And who be those others? The prophet Esay telleth us, and telleth us seven times over for failing: *He took upon him our infirmities, and bare our maladies: He was wounded for our iniquities, and broken for our transgressions. The chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes were we healed. All we as sheep were gone astray, and turned every man to his own way: and the Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all. All, all; even those that pass to and fro, and for all this, regard neither him nor his passion.*”¹

¹ pp. 358, 359. This sermon was printed in 4to. by the king’s printer, Robert Barker. 1604.

The king was from the very first anxious to effect a legislative union of the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. But the jealousy that arose in consequence of the king's partiality for his Scottish courtiers defeated his intentions, intentions that were commended to the consideration of Parliament as early as May 19, 1603, soon after his accession. We find his very learned and excellent kinsman John Gordon, of the noble house of Huntley, and whom he had made dean of Sarum in the preceding February, preaching before him at Whitehall on the 28th of October, the 21st Sunday after Trinity (the 7th Nov. N.S.) in favour of the Union of Great Britain. This sermon is entitled, *Henoticon, or, A Sermon of the Union of Great Brittannie, in antiquitie of language, name, religion, and kingdom*. It was printed by Geo. Bishop, London, 1604. This sermon, consisting of above fifty pages, is written in an excellent style, simple, clear, and vigorous, full of sound maxims and sound theology, and abundantly illustrated by examples from history, both civil and ecclesiastical. We are not to look indeed for critical acumen. The legendary account of Joseph of Arimathea, and the sway of Lucius over the whole of Britain, are introduced into his account of our early Christianity. For his notices of the dispersion of mankind after the flood he refers to the *Anchoratus* of *Epiphanius*,¹ a work the principal object of which was indeed to set forth the doctrine of our Lord's divinity against the Arians, and of the Holy Ghost against the Macedonians. Gordon shewed how Divine Providence ever favoured those kingdoms that discountenanced idolatry and maintained the true worship of God. He unreservedly condemned the Romish worship of the host and of images as Gentilism under the profession of Christianity. He had in the preceding year, 1603, written: *Assertiones theologicæ pro verâ veræ ecclesiæ notâ, quæ est solius Dei adoratio, contra falsæ ecclesiæ Creaturarum Adorationem. Theological Theses in maintenance of a true mark of a true Church, namely, the worship of God alone, against the false Church's adoration of the Creatures*. Rupell, 1603, 8vo.

¹ p. 22.

Gordon was of Balliol College, Oxford, but had first received a very extensive education both in Scotland and France, and especially in the Eastern languages. He derived the names of Britain, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland from the Hebrew, and commented upon them accordingly in his sermon upon *Union*. He had been gentleman of three Kings' chambers in France, namely, Charles IX., Henry III. and IV.; and, adds Anthony Wood, "whilst he was in the flower of his age he was there assailed with many corruptions as well spiritual as temporal, and in many dangers of his life, which God did miraculously deliver him from. At length K. James the first of England did call him into England, and to the holy ministry, he being then 58 years of age, and upon the promotion of Dr. John Bridges to the see of Oxon in the latter end of 1603, he made him Dean of Salisbury in February 1604."¹ Lord-Chancellor Egerton gave him, in June 1608, the rectory of Upton Lovel near Heytesbury, close by the road to Salisbury.

On the following Good-Friday, March 29, 1605, Dean Andrewes preached before the King at Greenwich, from *Heb. xii. 2*. It is difficult to say which is the more incomparable of his three Good-Friday sermons. In this there is not a sentence that could be spared, there is not a passage but deserves to be studied. Truly did he live in the contemplation of his heavenly Master's love and in the view of his cross; of looking to which he saith here, "blessed are the hours that are so spent." The reading of these pages makes us regret the loss of those discourses which he most probably delivered either in his college chapel or his abbey church at Westminster upon Christmas and Easter Day. For truly St. Chrysostom himself was, in naturalness and in setting forth the love of Christ, nay altogether as a divine, far his inferior. Here we have not the undue austerity of that age, not the unmeaning pomp of words, not the occasional bursting forth of Christian light; but the heart speaks from its fulness, of that love which passeth knowledge, which despised both pain and shame, which bowed itself to the death of

Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, vol. i. p. 312.

a slave, a malefactor, a derided person. Here both our love and hope are fed; as he himself saith, "if either of these will serve us, will prevail to move us, here it is. Here is love, love in the cross; *who loved us and gave himself for us* a sacrifice on the cross. Here is hope, hope in the throne: *To him that overcometh will I give to sit with me in my throne.* If our eye be a *mother's* eye, here is love worth the looking on. If our eye be a merchant's eye, here is hope worth the looking after. I know it is true, that *verus amor vires non sumit de spe.* (It is Bernard.) Love, if it be true indeed, as in the *mother*, receiveth no manner of strength from hope. Ours is not such, but faint and feeble and full of imperfection: here is hope therefore to strengthen our weak knees, that we may *run* the more readily to the high prize of our calling."¹

Early in the reign of James the plague broke out in Oxford, so that although he received Dr. Abbot, Master of University College and Dean of Winchester, Vicechancellor of the university, with the proctors (of whom Laud was one) and several doctors and other members of the university at Woodstock, in September, he did not then venture to visit Oxford. He was presented with the Holy Scriptures in the name of the university, and then promised that when the plague had abated he would visit the university.²

5, ^ The King however resolved on visiting the university in August 1606, taking in his way Havering-atte-bower to the north of Romford, where he remained two nights, July, Tuesday 16th and Wednesday the 17th. This Havering had been a royal seat from the reign of Edward the Confessor, and was frequently visited by his illustrious predecessor Elizabeth. Thence he proceeded to Loughton Hall, westward below the east side of Epping Forest, another resort of the late Queen. On Saturday the 20th, the King came to the Earl of Salisbury at Theobald's, a little to the west of Waltham Abbey. Here he and the Queen remained three days. Theobald's had been the seat of the great Lord Burleigh, where he was often visited by Queen Elizabeth. James received it of

¹ p. 370. ² Nicholl's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. p. 258; and *Wake*, p. 3.

the Earl of Salisbury in exchange for Hatfield, frequently retired hither, and in 1625 here breathed his last. Charles I. sometimes came to this place, and in 1642 the petition of both houses of parliament was presented to him here; and hence he withdrew to put himself at the head of his army. During the commonwealth the greater part was taken down, and sold to pay the troops. James II. greatly enlarged the park. In 1689 it was given by William III. to the Earl of Portland, whose descendants sold it in 1702 to Mr. Prescott. Every vestige of the ancient palace was removed in 1765, and a new house erected about a mile from the site.

On Tuesday the 23rd, the King and Queen went to Hatfield palace, where they stayed three days. Here the Bishops of Ely had formerly a palace, which was conveyed to Queen Elizabeth by Bishop Cox. James, in the fourth year of his reign, exchanged it for Theobald's with Sir Robert Cecil, whom he had in 1603 made Baron of Essendine in Rutlandshire, and in 1604 Viscount Cranborne in Dorsetshire, and whom, on May 4, 1605, he raised to be Earl of Salisbury. He erected the present noble mansion. Hence he went one day to visit Sir Goddard Pemberton at Hertford Bury,¹ of an ancient family in Lancashire, and, some years after, sheriff for Hertfordshire.

On Friday the 26th, the king visited Mr. Sandy, afterward Napier, whom in 1612 he made a baronet. He had purchased about this time the capital manor of Luton, with the fine seat and park there called Luton Hoo, from the ancient family of Hoo, and which since came into the hands of the Marquis of Bute. The Queen went to Sir John Rotheram's, a mansion on Farley Green in the parish of Luton. At Mr. Sandy's Sir George Peryam, of Oxfordshire, received the honour of knighthood. On the same day, Thursday the 27th, the King proceeded to Houghton Bury in the parish of Houghton Conquest, the seat of Sir Edward Conquest,

¹ He afterwards removed to St. Alban's, and died there 1615. Of this family was Sir Francis Pemberton, Chief Justice of the King's Bench and afterwards of the Common Pleas, from whom are descended the Pembertons of Cambridge and Trumpington.

by whom he was entertained five days. The little that now remains of the mansion is a farm-house of brick and timber. The male line of this family became extinct in Benedict Conquest, esq., father of Lady Arundel (1828). The manor was purchased by the Earl of Upper Ossory in 1741.

The Queen was entertained by Sir Robert Newdigate at Hawnes. The house has been modernised and mostly rebuilt by Lord Carteret, whose family has possessed the manor from 1667. Sir Roger Newdigate, the last who bore the title, died in 1806, leaving by his will the annual prize at Oxford for the best English verses on ancient sculpture, or painting, or architecture.

On the 28th, it being the feast day at Houghton, the King with his court, consisting of the Duke of Lenox, the Earls of Northampton, Suffolk, Salisbury, Devonshire, and Pembroke, the Lords Knowles, Wotton, and Stanhope, and Dr. Watson Bishop of Chichester, his almoner, attended divine service at the parish church.

On the 30th the King visited the Queen at Hawnes, and there attended divine service. The rector of Houghton Conquest, the Rev. Thomas Archer, preached from the Song of Solomon, ii. 15, *Take us the foxes, the little foxes which destroy the grapes, for our vines have small grapes*. Some of his MSS. (and amongst them this sermon) were in the possession of a late rector, Dr. Pearce, Dean of Ely and Master of Jesus College, Cambridge. Archer was immediately sworn one of the King's chaplains in ordinary.¹

During this visit the King devoted himself to his favourite field sports in the parks of Houghton and Ampthill.²

On Thursday, August 1st, the King went from Houghton to Thurleigh, the seat of Sir Wm. Hervey, between Bletsoe to the west and Bolnhurst to the east, above Bedford. He

¹ He preached before the King and Queen at Teddington, July 24, 1608, and before the King at Bletsoe, July 26, 1612. His monument, erected by himself in the chancel of Houghton church, represents him in canonicals in his pulpit, with a cushion and book before him. He died in 1631, aged 75.

² The noble mansion at Houghton was unroofed and reduced to a shell by Francis Duke of Bedford, in 1794, and most of the materials were used in building the Swan Inn at Bedford.—Lyson's *Bedfordshire*, p. 96.

had amply deserved the honours to which he afterwards rose, by numerous acts of unparalleled valour in the memorable 1588, and on many subsequent occasions. He had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth, and was made a baronet by James, May 13, 1619, and in 1620 Lord Ross in the county of Wexford, and finally by Charles I. a baron of this realm by the title of Lord Hervey of Kidbrook in Kent, February 7, 1628. His title became extinct on his death in 1642. He was buried, July 8th, in Westminster Abbey with great solemnity.

On the same Thursday, August 1st, the Queen went from Hawnes to the seat of Oliver third Lord St. John at Bletsoe, "the residence in times past of the Pateshulls, after of the Beauchamps, and now of the honourable family of St. John (1610), which long since by their valour attained unto very large and goodly possessions in Glamorganshire, and in our days," says the more ancient editor of Camden, "through the favour of Q. Elizabeth of happy memory, unto the dignity of barons, when she created Sir Oliver, the second baron of her creation, Lord St. John of Bletneshe, unto whom it came by Margaret Beauchamp on inheritance, wedded first to Sir Oliver St. John, from whom these barons derive their pedigree, and secondly to John duke of Somerset, unto whom she bare the Lady Margaret Countess of Richmond, a lady most virtuous and always to be remembered with praises; from whose loins the late Kings and Queens of England are descended."¹ At Bletsoe, overlooking a country of considerable extent to the south around and beyond Bedford, was Lady Margaret the mother of Henry VII. born. Vestiges of the old castellated mansion were discernible some years ago near a farm-house, the remains of the more modern quadrangular mansion of the St. John's. This family held lands in Oxfordshire in the reign of Henry I.

Oliver the third Lord, who had the honour of entertaining the king, succeeded to the title in 1596, and died in 1613. His son Oliver, the fourth baron, was in 1624 advanced to the title of Earl of Bolingbroke. The earldom became

¹ Holland's *Camden*, p. 399.

extinct in 1711. The barony devolved to the posterity of Sir Rowland St. John, a younger son of Oliver the third baron. But the family residence is a few miles northward near Risely at Melchbourn. In the north aisle of the venerable and cruciform church of Bletsoe, which is the burial-place of the noble family of St. John, is a monument with the effigies of a knight in armour, with his lady, intended for Sir John St. John, father of Oliver the first Lord. This son was created Lord St. John Jan. 13, 1559. His father married Margaret daughter of Sir William Waldegrave, of a noble Saxon family, and by her had two daughters, Margaret who was married to Francis second Earl of Bedford, one of the greatest ornaments of his house.

On Saturday the 3rd of August, the King and Queen were received for three days, at the noble mansion of Drayton to the west of Daventry on the borders of Northamptonshire, by Henry Lord Mordaunt. His son was created Earl of Peterborough in 1628. On the following Tuesday the 6th, the King, accompanied by the Queen, renewed the pleasure he had received on his former visit to Sir Anthony (son to Sir Walter Mildmay the founder of Emmanuel College, Cambridge,) at Apthorp, where he had dined in April 1603, on his way from Scotland to London.

Apthorp is in the neighbourhood of Kingscliffe, the residence for some months of the truly venerable Archdeacon of Lincoln, the early friend of the late ever to be revered Bishop of that see, Dr. Kaye.

Sir Walter Mildmay has been very gratefully memorialized by the eccentric but kind-hearted George Dyer, himself of Emmanuel College, in his interesting History of the University of Cambridge.

Sir Walter, fifth son of Thomas Mildmay of Little Baddow below Chelmsford, was a student of Christ's College. Fuller observes of him, "Sir Robert Naunton, in his *Fragmenta Regalia*, did leave as well as take, omitting some statesmen of the first magnitude, no less valued by than useful to Queen Elizabeth, as appears by his not mentioning of this worthy knight. True it is, toward the end of his days he fell into

the Queen's disfavour, not by his own demerit, but the envy of his adversaries. For he being employed by virtue of his place to advance the Queen's treasure, did it industriously, faithfully, and conscionably, without wronging the subject, being very tender of their privileges, insomuch that he once complained in Parliament that many subsidies were granted, and no grievances redressed. Which words being represented with his disadvantage to the Queen, made her to disaffect him, setting in a court cloud, but in the sunshine of his country and a clear conscience."¹

"Coming to court after he had founded his college," (1584) the Queen told him, "Sir Walter, I hear that you have erected a Puritan foundation." "No, Madam," saith he, "far be it from me to countenance anything contrary to your established laws; but I have set an acorn, which when it becomes an oak, God alone knows what will be the fruit thereof." "Sure I am at this day," adds Fuller (1634), "it hath overshadowed all the University, more than a moiety of the present Masters of Colleges being bred therein."²

Sir Anthony was son to Sir Walter. He was knighted by Queen Elizabeth and sent over to France on an embassy to Henry IV. in 1596. "He was at Geneva," says Fuller, "when Theodore Beza their minister was convened before their consistory and publicly checked for preaching too eloquently: he pleaded that what they called eloquence in him was not affected but natural, and promised to endeavour more plainness for the future. Sir Anthony, by Grace coheir to Sir Henry Sherington, had one daughter Mary, married to Sir Francis Fane, afterwards earl of Westmoreland."

In Apthorp chapel, within Nassington park, both Sir Anthony and his lady Grace, "one of the coheirs of Sir Henry Sherington, knt., of Lacock in the county of Wilts, who lived fifty years married to him, and three years a widow after him," lie buried. He died September 11th, 1617, and his lady Grace July 27th, 1620.

¹ Dyer quotes this secondhand from Lloyd's *Statesmen and Favourites of England*, p. 366; Dyer's *Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 348.

² *Hist. of the Univ. of Cambridge*, pp. 277, 278. Camb. 1840.

The present mansion, the seat of the Earl of Westmoreland, is neatly built of freestone, and consists of a quadrangle with open cloisters. On the south side is a stone statue of James I., who gave the timber for building the east and south sides. There are chambers still called the King's and the Duke's chamber. Among several good portraits are a quarter piece by Vandyke, in the king's chamber, of the first Earl of Westmoreland, and a full-length portrait of Frances Howard, Duchess of Richmond and Lenox, daughter to Thomas Lord Howard of Bindon. In the ceiling are the arms, crest, and supporters of England in fretwork. On the staircase is a full-length portrait of James, created Duke of Richmond in 1641, May 8th, the faithful friend of Dr. Thomas Fuller, and a faithful servant of Charles I., at whose interment at Windsor he was present. Here are also portraits of the Mildmay family here mentioned, and of Philip and Mary, supposed to have been painted by Holbein.¹

The King, after enjoying his favourite sport around Apthorp, went on Friday the 9th to Rockingham Castle, the mansion of Sir Edward Watson, and the Queen to Kirby, the seat of Sir Christopher Hatton, in the parishes of Gretton and Bulwick, thus going southward on their way to Oxford. Sir Edward Watson had been high-sheriff of Northamptonshire in 1591, and was knighted by the King at the Charterhouse May 12, 1603. He died in 1617. The mansion and castle are now the property of Lord Sondes, descended of Lady Margaret, youngest daughter of Sir Edward's son, Sir Lewis the first Earl Rockingham.

Kirby, the seat of Sir Christopher, a godson of the Lord-chancellor Hatton, was celebrated for its gardens.² Sir Christopher sold Holdenby to the King in 1608, resided at Kirby, and died in 1619.

On Monday the 12th August, the King and Queen visited

¹ Nicholl's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. p. 97.

² "The gardens here are beautiful, stocked with a great variety of exotic plants, and adorned with a wilderness composed of almost the whole variety of English trees, and ranged in an elegant order."—Bridges' *Northamptonshire*, vol. ii. p. 34.

Mr. Edward, brother of Sir Thomas Griffin, at Braybrooke Castle. Scarcely any remains of the castle now exist. On the death of Sir Thomas in 1615, he succeeded to the family estates at Braybrooke and Dingley. His son Edward was created Lord Griffin of Braybrooke by James II. in 1688. The title became extinct in 1742, but revived August 3rd, 1784, in favour of John, son of Anne, sister of the last Lord. He took the title of Lord Howard of Walden. The title of Baron of Braybrooke was revived September 5th, 1788, in the person of Richard Neville Aldworth, esq., on the death of John Lord Howard of Walden. He was descended from the ancient family of Aldworth¹ of Stanlakes in Berkshire, and in the female line from the Nevilles of Billingbear near Binfield in Berkshire, contiguous to which is the park with the old mansion of the Lords Braybrooke.²

In the afternoon their Majesties left Braybrooke Castle for Harrowden, the seat of Lord Vaux, some miles to the south-west of Braybrooke Castle, and about two miles above Wellingborough. The ancient manor-house has long been demolished. Edward the fourth Lord Vaux succeeded his grandfather William in 1595. The first Lord was Sir Nicholas Vaux, captain of Guisnes in Picardy, created by Henry VIII. Lord Vaulx of Harrowden.³

On Tuesday the 13th, the king and queen visited Castle Ashby, the princely seat of Lord Compton,⁴ a little to the north

¹ From a branch of which proceeded the Viscounts of Doneraile in Ireland.

² It was granted by Edward VI. to Sir Henry Neville, second son of Lord Abergavenny. Lord Braybrooke added the name and arms of Griffin to that of Neville in 1798.

³ Hubert de Vaulx or de Vallibus was made Lord of Gilleland in Cumberland by Henry II. His shield of arms was *checky or and gules*. His son Robert founded and endowed Llanercost Priory. But the inheritance, after a few years, was by marriage translated to the Moltons, and from them by a daughter to Ranulph Lord Dacre.—Holland's *Camden*, p. 786.

⁴ The Greys, Lords of Ruthin and Earls of Kent, possessed it for a long time, until Richard, who died in 1503, parted with it to Lord Hussey, who alienated it in the reign of Henry VIII. to Sir William Compton of Compton Wyngates, to the north-east of Shipton-upon-Stour in Warwickshire. The noble mansion here, the birthplace of Compton Bishop of London, is still standing. It was erected by Sir William.

of the road from Northampton to Bedford. The old mansion was enlarged in the seventeenth century under the direction of the famous Inigo Jones. Within the stone balustrade is wrought in open-work in Latin, *Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it.*

Here they remained until Friday the 16th, when the King proceeded to Grafton Lodge, then an honour of the King's, but in the fifteenth century the mansion of the Widvilles or Woodvilles. It was once the residence of the renowned George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland. This heroic and disinterested nobleman died October 30 this same year. But little remains of this venerable mansion.

The Queen on the same day went to Alderton, which was annexed to the manor of Grafton. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth it was in the hands of William Gorges, esq., who, dying without issue in 1589, left it to Frances, his only daughter and heir, the wife of Thomas Heselrige, esq. William, the Queen's host, was the son of Sir Thomas, who had been knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1577, and died in 1600. The son entertained the King at Alderton in August 1608, when he was knighted. He was sheriff for Leicestershire in 1613, knight of the shire in 1614 and 1623, and was created a baronet July 21, 1622. He died January 11, 1629, aged 66.

On Tuesday the 20th, the King and Queen passing westward into Oxfordshire came to Hanwell, within four miles of Banbury, the seat of Sir Anthony Cope, now, like so many more of the mansions they visited, reduced to a shadow of its former greatness. Sir Anthony, who had been knighted by Elizabeth, is said to have been a mirror of integrity and hospitality. His first wife was Frances, daughter of Sir Rowland Litton of Herts. This family, becoming connected with Hampshire in the last century, was seated at Bramshill Park in that county, where the upright Primate Abbot met with that unhappy casualty, July 24, 1621, whilst on a visit there to Lord Zouch.

On the same day the King visited Sir William Pope of Wilcote, at Wroxton Park, about a mile nearer Banbury,

“probably,” says Warton, “in the old abbey house, where he entertained the King with the fashionable and courtly diversions of hawking and bearbating. As the King was on a visit to Sir Thomas Watton at Halsted in Kent, near Sevenoaks, his granddaughter Anne¹ was presented to the King, holding the following humorous epigram in her hand, with which his Majesty was highly pleased.

See this little mistress here
Did never sit in Peter's chair,
Or a triple crown did wear,
And yet she is a POPE.

No benefice she ever sold,
Nor did dispense with sins for gold;
She hardly is a sevensnight old,
And yet she is a POPE.

No King her feet did ever kiss,
Or had from her worse look than this;
Nor did she ever hope
To saint one with a rope,²
And yet she is a POPE.

A female Pope you'll say; a second Joan.
No, sure; she is Pope Innocent, or none.

It is supposed, says Warton in his *Life of Pope*, to have been written by Richard Corbet, then a student at Christchurch, afterwards Bishop of Norwich. His poems, with a life of him prefixed, were edited with many additions by Octavius Gilchrist in 1807.

Wroxton Abbey stood in the garden on the east side of the present house. It was a priory of Augustine Canons, founded early in the reign of Henry III. It was granted by Henry VIII. to Sir Thomas Pope, who bestowed the site and lands, or great part of them, on his new foundation of Trinity, which

¹ The King was on this visit June 25th, 1618. Anne was born at Wroxton 1617, and was afterwards mother to Sir Samuel Danvers, of Culworth, Northamptonshire, between Banbury and Towcester. Her mother Elizabeth was only child and heiress of Sir Thomas Watson, and wife of Sir William Pope, eldest son of the first Earl of Downe.—See Nicholl's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 483.

² An allusion to the semi-canonization of Garnet.

he grafted on to Durham College, a great part of which still remains under the appellation of Trinity College, Oxford. Sir William, the King's host, built from the ground the present mansion. The chapel he caused to be decorated with painted glass by Van Ling in 1623. Wroxton Abbey is engraved in Skelton's *Antiquities of Oxfordshire*.

Sir William's lady was Anne, daughter of Sir Owen Hopton, lieutenant of the Tower, and relict of Henry Lord Wentworth, Baron of Nettlestead. She died at Wroxton 1625.

On Wednesday the 21st, the King and Queen left Wroxton for their ancient palace of Woodstock, where they remained three nights. Woodstock was a royal residence from the reign of Henry I.

The Earl of Dorset, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford, had sent his instructions to the Heads of houses as early as the month of June.

On Thursday the 22nd, on which day Philip Stringer, Fellow of St. John's college and Solicitor to the University of Cambridge, M.A. 1571, and some years esquire bedell, probably from 1568 to 1591, came to Oxford in the afternoon, bringing with him from the King's Attorney-general a book ready for his Majesty's signature, for the endowing of the regius divinity professorship of Cambridge with the livings of Somersham and Colne in Huntingdonshire; the Earls of Worcester, Suffolk, and Northampton, with Lord Carey, were in Oxford surveying the preparations making at Christchurch and elsewhere for the royal visit.

Edward Earl of Worcester, descended of Sir Charles Somerset, natural son to Henry Duke of Somerset, was Master of the Horse, and, "amongst other laudable parts of virtue and nobility," is said to have highly favoured "the studies of good literature."¹ He was a knight of the garter, and ancestor to his grace the Duke of Beaufort. He was one of the most complete gentlemen of his time, and excelled in those manly exercises, a proficiency in which then constituted so material a part of the character of an accomplished courtier, particularly tilting and horsemanship. He possessed abilities which quali-

¹ Holland's *Camden*, p. 579.

fied him for the highest public offices, but avoided politics, and chose to shine at the court and in his own house. He died March 3rd, 1627, aged 84.¹

The Earl of Suffolk, on the death of Henry Howard Earl of Northampton in 1614, was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. He was ever in high favour with the King, who, on his entry into England, made him his Lord-chamberlain and afterwards Lord-treasurer. He erected the once more than royal mansion at Audley End.

The Earl of Northampton was a scholar and a man of the world, versed in the art of dissimulation, without honour and principle, an accomplished and successful criminal, implicated in the darkest tragedy of this period, the death of Sir Thomas Overbury; but a contemporary speaks of him thus: "Lord Henry Howard, brother to the last Duke of Norfolk, a man of rare and excellent wit, and sweet, fluent eloquence, singularly adorned also with the best sciences, prudent in council, and provident withal."² Thus wrote Camden of this talented but worthless person. He was born at Shottesham, about eight miles south of Norwich. He was first of King's College, Cambridge, and afterwards of Trinity Hall, where he took the degree of M.A. He was incorporated M.A. of Oxford, April 19, 1568. His learning has procured him a place in Lord Orford's *Royal and noble Authors*.³ He was unable to obtain the countenance of Queen Elizabeth, but sought to rise through the Earl of Essex, paying court at the same time to his inveterate enemy, secretary Cecil, whose correspondence with James passed through his hands, which paved the way for his promotion by that monarch. Though, as Anthony Wood says, a papist,⁴ he was chosen on Cecil's death to the Chancellorship of the university of Cambridge, in 1612. He died in 1614, June 15th, not long before the full discovery of the crimes that succeeded upon the divorce of his great niece the Countess of Essex with Carr, Earl

¹ Nicholl's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. p. 162.

² Holland's *Camden*.

³ Vol. ii. ed. Park, pp. 148—167; also Lodge's *Portraits of Illustrious Persons*.

⁴ *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, i. 183.

of Somerset. On his death the king conferred the earldom of Northampton on the Lord Compton.

Lord Carey, also called Carew, was called Baron Carew of Clopton, close upon Stratford-upon-Avon, having married into the family that owned the manor of Clopton. He had distinguished himself in 1595 at the siege of Cadiz, was a favourite of Queen Elizabeth, who appointed him president of Munster and master of the Ordnance in Ireland. In 1603 he was made governor of Guernsey, and being now vice-chamberlain to the Queen, was created Baron Carew of Clopton in the county of Warwick, and in 1625 Earl of Totness. He died without issue March 27, 1629, aged 73.¹ "He was," says Camden, "a most affectionate lover of venerable antiquity." Thus a similar taste united these noblemen, the earls of Worcester, Suffolk, and Northampton, and Lord Carey.

On Saturday the 23rd, very late in the evening, the Chancellor of the university and Lord-Treasurer of England, the Earl of Dorset, came to Oxford. He was welcomed at Christchurch with an oration, and took up his lodgings at New College. Never was Oxford graced with a more accomplished and unsullied Chancellor. It has enjoyed indeed one unrivalled in the field, but in the arts of peace none ever shone with a serener brightness than this star of the Elizabethan era. Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, was born at Buckhurst in the parish of Withiam in Sussex, 1536. He was admitted of Hart Hall, Oxford, but removed thence, before he had taken a degree, to St. John's College, Cambridge. As a poet he is regarded as the model of Spenser. His life was one of vicissitude although of honour. He was a diligent and eminent student of the law, served in parliament for the county of Westmoreland in the reign of Queen Mary, and for that of Sussex in the first parliament of Elizabeth. He suffered a short imprisonment at Rome. On his return he found himself in possession of a most ample fortune by the death of his father, but his magnificence of

¹ Nicholl's *Royal Progresses of James I.*, vol. i. p. 208; Holland's *Camden*, p. 585.

living brought him into difficulties, from which however he recovered himself, having been wounded by the incivility of an alderman who had greatly enriched himself by his purchases of him, and who kept him sometime waiting, when he was once obliged to apply to him. His father died in 1566. He was in the following year created Lord Buckhurst, and in 1571 sent ambassador to France. In 1572 he was one of the peers who sat in judgment on the Duke of Norfolk. He was in 1586 one of the commissioners for the trial of Mary Queen of Scots. In 1587 he was sent to the states of Holland upon their complaints of the Earl of Leicester's proceedings, in order to examine that affair and to compose the differences that had arisen out of it. Although he performed his office faithfully, Leicester's interest with the Queen prevailed so far as that he was confined to his house above nine months. Upon the death of the Earl he was restored to the favour of his sovereign, and soon after made a knight of the garter. Sir Christopher Hatton dying on the 20th November, 1591, Lord Buckhurst was chosen Chancellor of the University of Oxford in preference to the Earl of Essex, who was supported by the favourers of Puritanism. In 1598 he was appointed Lord High-Treasurer of England, and in 1601 Lord High-Steward for the trial of the Earl of Essex, and conducted himself with remarkable candour and humanity towards that nobleman, whose sentence of death he was compelled by his office to pronounce. He married Cecily daughter of Sir John Baker. His son Robert succeeded to his honours. His daughter Jane married Anthony Viscount Montagu, grandson of Antony Browne who was created first Viscount in the reign of Queen Mary, whose grandmother was a daughter of John Neville Marquess Montacute, from Montacute in Somersetshire, who was slain at Barnet in 1472. His daughter Mary married Henry Neville, seventh Lord Abergavenny. King James advanced Lord Buckhurst to the dignity of Earl of Dorset on March 13, 1604. He died suddenly at the council-table April 19th, 1608, and was buried with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey. He was kind and hospitable, and generous to his tenants.

His household consisted of one hundred and twenty persons. He was zealously pious, and an unbending upholder of the Protestant religion.

On Saturday the 24th, the King removed to Langley, some miles to the west of Woodstock. Some remains of the palace were visible here in the last century. It stood near the village of Shipton-under-Whichwood. Here the royal party continued until their coming to Oxford on the 27th. The Chancellor, Vicechancellor, Dr. Abbot, and the doctors following two by two, attended at St. Mary's, it being St. Bartholomew's Day. The preacher is said to have been a Mr. Gryme or Graham. The church was already prepared for the acts and sermons of the ensuing week with a raised throne to the back of the chancel, double galleries on the north and south sides, seats rising one above another at the west end, and forms in the mid-space of the nave for bachelors in divinity, &c., and masters of arts.

Doctor Gordon, who had been recently created doctor in divinity, preached before the court on the following day, being Sunday, and thither went the Chancellor of the university, not to Langley, but to Woodstock.

On Monday, at seven in the morning, there was an English sermon at All Saints, and so every morning at the same hour to Friday inclusive. This church, in the twelfth century, was given or confirmed to the Canons of St. Frideswide. Thence it came into the hands of the Bishops of Lincoln, in the 20th year of Edward II., until Richard Fleming Bishop of Lincoln, early in the fifteenth century, appropriated it to Lincoln College, of which he was the founder in 1427. The old church was so much injured by the fall of the spire in 1699 as to render the rebuilding of the whole indispensable, which was accordingly done after a design from Dean Aldrich. At eight all public lectures were read in their several schools, and from nine till eleven they continued their disputations on *Quodlibets* in the schools of arts. These disputations were between masters and bachelors. And in the same schools from one to three disputations were continued by bachelors and sophisters. This day the Earl of Suffolk, Lord Chamberlain and several

other Earls and Lords came to Oxford, and reviewed the King's and Queen's lodging in Christchurch, and the Prince Henry's lodging in Magdalene College, and dined with the Chancellor in the Warden's lodge at New College, with whom dined also Dr. Abbot the Vice-Chancellor, with some other Doctors and the Bedells.

On Tuesday the 27th of August, in the forenoon, all things were performed as on the day before. At one in the afternoon the Vice-Chancellor and Doctors went to the Chancellor at New College, and thence presently to meet the King in the following order. First three esquire Bedells rode on footcloths, in fair gowns, with gold chains, in velvet caps, carrying their staves as at other times, but bare-headed, as did the Serjeant of the Mace, who rode next behind them. Immediately after them rode the Chancellor talking with the Vice-Chancellor, the Vice-Chancellor bearing back about half the length of his horse. After them six or eight Doctors also in scarlet, two by two upon the footcloths. Then the two Proctors in their civil hoods, upon the footcloths, riding two by two. These were some of them heads of halls, and some of them ancient bachelors in divinity. All these university men did wear square caps. They stayed first at a place called *Aristotle's Well*, being about a mile from the city. "*Aristotle's Well*," says Hearne in his Diary, "is in the midway between Oxford and Wolvercote. Before we come to it, is another way called Walton Well, from the old village of Walton now destroyed. I have mentioned both these wells in my preface to John Rowse. Aristotle's well was so called from the scholars, especially such as studied his philosophy, going to it, and refreshing themselves at it, there being an house for these occasions just by it."¹ But as it was a narrow place much annoyed with dust, the Lord-Chamberlain sent word to them to come a little forward into a fair meadow, where they all, saving the Serjeant of the Mace, alighted from their horses, and stayed a little while beside the highway expecting the

¹ Hearne's *Diary*, vol. i. p. 391, ed. by Dr. Bliss, 1857. Wolvercote is on the road to Woodstock.

King. In the meantime the Mayor of the city, twelve aldermen in scarlet, and some six score commoners in black coats guarded with velvet and laid on with Bellament lace, passed forward by them some forty score. The Vice-Chancellor and Doctors acquainted the Chancellor with this circumstance, who sent his Serjeant-at-Arms to them, upon which they turned back behind the Chancellor some twenty score.

And now the King came up on horseback, with the Queen on his left-hand, and the Prince before them, the Duke of Lenox carrying the sword. Esme Stuart, or (as formerly spelt) Steward, Duke of Lenox, was son to John Lord D'Aubigny younger brother to Matthew Earl of Lenox upon whom Henry VIII. bestowed his niece. From this marriage with Margaret daughter of King Henry's sister, Margaret Queen-dowager of Scotland by her second husband the Earl of Angus, sprang Henry Stuart Lord Darnley, father of James I. The Chancellor first accosted the King, and kneeled down at his feet with the rest, and kissed the sole of his stirrup. The Vice-Chancellor accosted him with a speech in honour of both the University and the King. As was the custom of that age, it was mixed up with mythological allusions. The speech is given by Sir Isaac Worke, from which it would appear that Stringer has not recorded the substance of it with exactness. Probably any other university would have rivalled Abbot in his praises of his *Alma Mater*. Oxford had, some centuries previously, been reckoned inferior only to Paris. But Abbot did not claim absolute precedency for Oxford above every other university. The Vice-Chancellor then presented the King with a splendid and splendidly bound copy of Stephens' New Testament, which the King looked into again and again with evident admiration, observing that it was a present worthy of the University to give, and of a Prince to receive. Oxford was then famous for its gloves: so the Vice-Chancellor also presented to the King two pairs of Oxford gloves with a deep fringe of gold, the turnovers being wrought with pearl. There were also presented two pairs to the Queen, and one to the Prince. So they went on a little forward, the Bedells preceding the King,

as also after them three Serjeants-at-Arms, and the Duke of Lenox, sword-bearer. So they came next to the Mayor and his brethren in office. The Town-Clerk, in the absence of the Recorder, made a long speech in English, highly extolling the late Queen and her government, not without dutiful allusions to the hopes entertained of happiness under her successor. The Mayor meanwhile laid his gold mace at the King's feet, and afterwards presented him, in the name of the city of Oxford, with a gold cup, having £50 of gold in it, another to the Queen, gilt and covered, worth £40, and to the Prince another worth £30; so Stringer; but Wake, who is rather to be followed, speaks only of a richly embossed cup given to the King, a purse adorned with Indian pearls presented to the Queen, and a smaller cup with gold coin in it (as was also in the others) presented to the Prince.¹

The procession to Oxford was headed by the Lieutenant for the County. After the company that attended him, the royal guard in their glittering habiliments; then the trumpeters; after them the royal herald, called after the most noble order of the Garter; at his right the Vice-Chancellor, at his left the Mayor of Oxford, then the Vice-Chamberlains of the King and Queen, Lord Stanhope of Harrington, Vice-Chamberlain to the King, and Lord Carey of Clopton, to the Queen: then the most noble the Earl of Dorset, High-Treasurer of England and Chancellor of the University. On his left Thomas, Earl of Suffolk, Lord-Chamberlain to the King: next came the Duke of Lenox bearing the sword; then the King, Queen, and Prince Henry on horseback. Around them the Earls of Arundel, Oxford, Northumberland, Worcester, Rutland, Cumberland, Southampton, Pembroke, Essex, Nottingham Lord High Admiral, Devon Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Northampton, Salisbury Secretary of State, Montgomery, and Perth.

Most of these have been already noticed. Thomas, Earl of Arundel, conformed to the Protestant religion in this reign. He was one of the greatest patrons of the fine arts of this

¹ p. 16.

period. A part of his collection is still at Oxford.¹ Charles created him Earl of Norfolk.²

Henry Vere, Earl of Oxford, whose family was originally from Zeeland in the Netherlands, was the eighteenth of his race in lineal descent. He died at the siege of Breda, 1625.³

Roger Manners, fifth Earl of Rutland, succeeded his father February 24th, 1588. He was early sent to the university of Cambridge, where he took the degree of M.A. He was an eminent traveller and good soldier. In 1595 he visited France, Switzerland, and Italy; was Colonel of foot in the Irish wars in 1598. In that year, July 10th, he was incorporated M.A. of Oxford. He was appointed Constable of Nottingham Castle, and Chief-Justice in Eyre of Sherwood Forest in 1600, and in 1603 was honoured with a visit from the King. He was in that same year made Lord-Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and was sent ambassador into Denmark to the christening of the King's eldest son, and to invest the King of Denmark with the order of the Garter. He was made Knight of the Bath at the coronation of James in 1603, and that same year Steward of the manor and soke of Grantham. He married Elizabeth only daughter and heir of the famous Sir Philip Sidney. He died without issue June 26, 1612, and was buried at Bottesford. His Countess survived him little more than two months. He was succeeded in his titles and estates by his brother Francis.⁴

¹ Given to the University in 1755 by the Countess of Pomfret.

² This nobleman was a devoted upholder of the dignity of the aristocracy. He feared the effects of that want of dignity which so unhappily characterized the deportment of James, whom he served faithfully, and who shewed him more regard than did his son and successor. His character has been severely handled by Lord Clarendon, but vindicated in the Duke of Norfolk's *Anecdotes of the Howard Family*. See also Sir Edward Walker's *Historical Discourses*, pp. 210, 211.

³ This nobleman was charged by Villiers with treachery, but no proof appears to exist that can justify the charge. The Earl treated it with disdain, and replied that 'he neither cared for his friendship nor feared his hatred,' and thenceforth joined with the Duke's enemies to the Duke's great disadvantage, for he was of the most ancient and loyal of the nobility.—Clarendon's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, vol. i. p. 32.

⁴ See Sir Egerton Brydges' *Memoirs of the Peers of England during the Reign of James I.*, p. 279.

Henry Percy, the most generous Earl of Northumberland, a great friend to learning and learned men, especially of mathematicians. He died 5th November 1632, and was buried at Petworth in Sussex.¹

The famous Bevis, whence Bevis Mount near Southampton, is said to have been the first Earl of Southampton, and the only one until Henry VIII. created William Fitzwilliam, descended from the daughter of Marquess Montacute, both Earl of Southampton and Admiral of England in his old age. He married Mabel daughter of Henry Lord Clifford, but left none to inherit his honours. He was the son of Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams, of Aldwarke near Easingwold in Yorkshire. He was in 1512 made one of the esquires of the body to Henry VIII., and in 1513 had the command of the fleet which fought the French off Brest; and though very severely wounded, distinguished himself in 1514 at the siege of Tournay. After having fulfilled the office of Vice-Admiral in the absence of the Earl of Surrey, and that of Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland in 1520, he was in 1537 appointed Lord High-Admiral and Earl of Northampton, and soon after Lord Privy-Seal, being succeeded in the Admiralship by John Lord Russell. He died at Newcastle as he was on his way to Scotland to assist in the expedition sent against that country under the command of his friend the Duke of Norfolk.

Next, Edward VI., in the first year of his reign, conferred the Earldom of Southampton upon Thomas Wriothesley, Lord Chancellor. This the King did not of his own will, but as a minor, Wriothesley being left one of his father's executors; but he was very early compelled to resign the Chancellorship. He had rendered himself execrable by taking part himself in applying the rack to Anne Askew previously to her martyrdom.

¹ He spent the greater part of James's reign in the Tower by a sentence of the Star Chamber, on suspicion of too close a connection with his kinsman Percy, who was engaged in the Gunpowder Plot. He was thus compelled to pay to the King £20,000. He relieved his time in the Tower with the company of the most eminent scholars.—See *Brydges*, p. 8.

His grandson Henry was now Earl of Southampton. He having taken part with the Earl of Essex in 1599, was brought to trial and found guilty. His life was spared, but he remained in the Tower until his release by King James, April 10th, 1603. On the 21st of July following he was restored to his title by a new patent. He was a nobleman of great courage, and henceforth high in favour with his sovereign and his court. He was a patron of learning. In 1614 Richard Brathwayt dedicated to him *The Scholar's Medley*. In 1617 he, with other munificent patrons of learning, contributed to relieve the distress of Minsheu, the laborious author of the *Guide to Tongues*. He was a great promoter of the first Virginia Company. He was sworn a Privy-Councillor on the 19th August 1619. He made a successful motion against illegal patents in Parliament 1621.¹ At the sitting on the 14th March he had a dispute with the Marquess of Buckingham which was moderated by the Prince of Wales, but was put under restraint for some time after the adjournment of Parliament. He did not however desist from serving his country in the Parliament of 1624, but lost his life at Bergen-op-zoom on the 10th November that year, together with his eldest son. His son Thomas was the last Earl of Southampton, the Lord High-Treasurer, whose name has been commended to posterity by the pen of Clarendon.

William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, was son of Henry Earl of Pembroke and of Mary the famous sister of Sir Philip Sidney. He was born at Wilton April 8, 1580, and was educated at New College, Oxford. He succeeded to his father's title January 19th, 1601, and was made K.G. by James in 1603. In 1604 he married Lady Mary one of the three daughters and coheirs of Gilbert Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury. He was in 1610 appointed Governor of Portsmouth, and in 1616 Lord-Chamberlain of the King's household, and that same year Chancellor of the University of Oxford, on the death of Egerton Lord-Chancellor Ellesmere. He was opposed to the Spanish interest. He died April 10th,

¹ *Lords' Journal*, vol. iii. pp. 10.46.62.

1630, at his house, Baynard's Castle, on the banks of the Thames.

The Earl of Essex was the restored son of the late Earl who was beheaded in 1601. He was of Merton College, Oxford. He, after having been appointed Lord-Chamberlain to Charles I., went over to the Parliament. He was sworn of the King's Privy Council in 1641, when indeed the King was endeavouring to make himself popular. The King however ~~took~~ all by demanding the six members of the House of Commons to be delivered up to him on a charge of treason, the Lord Kimbolton, Denzil Hollis, Sir Arthur Heselrige, Pym, Hampden, and Strode, on January 3, 1642. These were followed by as unconstitutional acts on the part of the Commons.¹ The King now tempted Essex to disloyalty, by requiring of him and the Earl of Holland to resign the staff and key of their offices. So he accepted in the course of this year the command of the Parliamentary army. The Earl laid down his command on the 2nd April 1644, which was taken up by Sir Thomas Fairfax. He was unwelcome to Cromwell and all the more violent of the popular party; the more moderate lost a firm friend by his death, September 14, 1647.

Charles Howard, son of Lord William Howard Baron of Effingham, was born in 1536, and early served at sea under his father. He was highly serviceable in putting down the insurrection in the north under the Earl of Warwick, against the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland. He succeeded to his father's title on his death in 1572, having been elected to represent Surrey in Parliament in the preceding year. He was made Chamberlain of the Household in 1573, and K.G., and in 1585 Lord High-Admiral. He signalized himself and did immortal service to his country in the memorable year of the Armada, 1588, and again chastising the Spanish in 1596, he was in 1598 created Earl of Nottingham. He was as humane as he was valorous. In 1590, a time of renewed apprehension from the Spaniards,

¹ Hallam's *Constitutional Hist.* ii. 192.

he was made Lord-Lieutenant of all England. In 1600 he quelled the insurrection of the Earl of Essex, but shewed his magnanimity by treating the Earl with the greatest kindness possible. He was employed at the Spanish court by James, and received with the greatest respect. He was one of the greatest of that age of great men, and lived to enjoy his honours and the veneration of his country for an unusual period. He died December 14th, 1624, aged 88.

Charles Blount the eighth Lord Mountjoy, created afterwards Earl of Devonshire, was born in 1563, being the second son of James Lord Mountjoy. He was of the University of Oxford, M.A. June 16th, 1589.¹ He studied also at the Inner Temple. He was early a favourite at court, and was one of the volunteers who engaged in pursuit of the Armada with ships at their own charge. He served in the House of Commons until 1594, when he succeeded to his brother's title of Lord Mountjoy, and was made Governor of Portsmouth. In 1597 he was made K.G., and was employed in the expedition to the Azores. In 1599 he was made Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, which was subdued to order under his government. He was continued in this office by James I., appointed one of his Privy Councillors, and on July 21, 1603, created Earl of Devonshire. He died in the prime of life at the Savoy, April 3, 1606, and was buried with great pomp in St. Paul's chapel in the Abbey.

Philip Herbert Earl of Montgomery was younger brother of William Earl of Pembroke. Antony Wood is unsparing in his attacks upon his memory, as one so intolerably choleric, quarrelsome and offensive while he was Lord-Chamberlain to Charles I., "that he did not refrain to break many wiser heads than his own."

The Earl of Perth was James Baron Drummond, whom the King had advanced to that Earldom. Drimein Castle, on the banks of the Earn in the old district of Strathern, was the ancient seat of this family, "advanced to highest honours ever since that King Robert Steward the third took to him a wife out of that lineage."²

¹ Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 250, ed. Bliss.

² Camden, *Scotland*, p. 38.

With these noblemen were Lord Knowles Treasurer of his Majesty's household; Lord Wotton Comptroller of his Majesty's household; Lord Erskine Captain of the yeomen of the guard; the learned Lord Buckhurst son of the Earl of Dorset; and Lords Monteagle and Haddington.

Sir William Knowles (formerly Knolles) resided at Greys Rotherfield, near Henley-on-Thames. He was created Baron Knowles May 3, 1603, Viscount Wallingford 1616, and Earl of Banbury by Charles I. in 1626. He had been of Magdalene College, Oxford.

Sir Edward Wotton had been Comptroller of the household to Queen Elizabeth, was of the Wotton family of Boughton Malherb near Lenham in Kent, and had been created by James Baron Wotton of Merlay, or Marley. His son and heir Thomas Lord Wotton died in the sixth year of Charles I., leaving four daughters his coheirs, of whom Catherine the eldest married Henry Lord Stanhope. So the title became extinct.

Lord Erskine, originally Sir Thomas Erskine, was second son of Sir Alexander Erskine of Gogar or Gogyr in Edinburghshire, an ancient parish now included in that of Costorphine. He was born in 1566, the same year with the King, and was brought up with him from his childhood. The King, who was not insensible to kindly affections, appointed him one of the gentlemen of his bed-chamber 1585. He had charters of Mitchellis, Eastertown and Westertown in the county of Kincardine, 17th October 1594, of Windingtown and Windingtown Hall, June 1st, 1598, and of Easterrow in Perthshire, 15 January, 1599. He was one of the happy instruments in the rescue of the King from the treasonable attempt of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother Alexander Ruthven of Perth, August 5th, 1600, and killed Ruthven with his own hand. For this signal service he had the third part of the Lordship of Dirleton, belonging to Gowrie, conferred on him by charter dated 15th November 1600, and in warrandice thereof the King's barony of Corritown in Stirlingshire. In that charter he is designated eldest *lawful* son of the deceased Alexander Erskine, Master of Marr. He accom-

panied the Duke of Lenox in his embassy to France in July 1601. Attending James into England, he was in 1603 constituted Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard in the room of Sir Walter Raleigh, and held that command until 1632. He was created a Knight of the Bath at the King's coronation, raised to the peerage with the title of Lord Dirleton, and admitted a Privy Councillor. In 1606 he was appointed Groom of the Stole, and created Viscount Fentown or Fenton, 18th May, being the first who was raised to that order of nobility in Scotland. In 1615 he was made K.G., and on March 12, 1619, Earl of Killie, a district of Fifeshire, and formerly called Kellieshire. He had charters of Rycroft 16th July 1622, and of the barony of Restersrioth May 13th, 1624. He married Anne daughter of Gilbert Ogilvie, of Powrie, esq., by whom he had one son and one daughter. He died in London, June 12th, 1639, in his 73rd year, and was buried at Pittenweem in Fifeshire. His descendants suffered greatly for their loyalty to both Charles I. and II.

William Parker Lord Monteagle was eldest son of Edmund Parker Lord Morley, who married the sole daughter and heir of William Stanley Lord Monteagle, fifth son of Thomas Earl of Derby. Lord Morley lived at a house at Mile End Green, died at Stepney April 1, 1628, and was buried in Stepney church. He had a grant of £200. a-year in land, and a pension of £500. per annum for life, as a reward for discovering the letter that led to the detection of the Gunpowder Plot in 1605. On his father's death in 1618 he succeeded to the barony of Morley. He married Elizabeth daughter of Sir Thomas Tresham, by whom he had three sons and two daughters. Catherine married John Savage Earl Rivers, from whom descended George Pitt, created Baron Rivers 1776, who was coheir to the baronies of Morley and Monteagle. However they were not revived in him, but the title of Monteagle was conferred upon the Rt. Hon. T. S. Rice in 1839, as a descendant of Sir Stephen Rice, Chief Baron of the Irish Exchequer, created Lord Monteagle by James II.

Lord Monteagle died at Haslingbury Morley in Essex,

the residence of the Barons Morley, now called Hallingbury near Hatfield Broad Oak.¹

Viscount Haddington had as Sir John Ramsey defended the King in the Gowrie conspiracy.

Of the ladies who graced the procession, Sir Isaac Wake is most lavish in his praises of the beautiful and accomplished Arabella Stuart,² who afterward, as being descended from Henry VII., suffered so severely from the jealousy of King James. Next are recounted Lucy Countess of Bedford, "dear to the Muses." As servants of the Muses both Donne and Daniel have transmitted her name to posterity. She was daughter of John Lord Harrington of Exton in Rutlandshire, to whom and to her mother, brother, and sister she erected a costly tomb at Exton, sculptured by Nicholas Stone, statuary to the King, at the cost of £1020.³

With her are mentioned the Countesses of Suffolk, Nottingham, and Montgomery. The Countess of Suffolk was celebrated for her beauty and also for her rapacity. Pennant, in his *Journey from Chester to London*, has given an engraved portrait of her from a painting at Gorhambury.

The Countess of Nottingham was the Earl's second wife, a young Scotch lady, Margaret daughter of James Stuart Earl of Murray, by Elizabeth daughter and coheir of James Earl of Murray natural son to James V. of Scotland.⁴

The Countess of Montgomery was the Lady Susan Vere, daughter of Edward Earl of Oxford, the poet, by his first wife Anne the daughter of Lord Burleigh. She was born 26 May 1587, and married to Philip Herbert Earl of Montgomery on St. John the Evangelist's Day, December 27th, 1604.⁵

¹ Of the Lords Morley, see Camden in *Norfolk. Hengham*, p. 472.

² Daughter of Charles Earl of Lenox, younger brother of Henry Lord Darnley, the King's father.

³ See Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting*, ii. p. 62. A print of it is in Wright's *History of that county*, p. 57; Brydges' *Peers of James I.*, p. 319. There are two portraits of her, one by S. Pass, another by Richardson.

⁴ Brydges' *Peers of James I.*, p. 190.

⁵ A long account of these costly nuptials is given both in Brydges' *Peers of James I.*, p. 164, and in Nichol's *Progresses*, vol. i. pp. 470—472.

And now they approach the suburb of St. Giles, and see, says Sir Isaac Wake, how fitly this ancient city was termed *Bellositum*, a name however of comparatively modern date, perhaps suggested by the name of the palace of Henry I., *Beaumont*, the birthplace of the valorous Richard Cœur de Lion. Camden delights to record the beauty and salubrity of the situation of this venerable and interesting city: "a fair and goodly city, whether a man respect the seemly beauty of private houses, or the stately magnificence of public buildings, together with the wholesome site or pleasant prospect thereof. For the hills beset with woods do so environ the plain, that as on the one side they exclude the pestilent south wind, and the tempestuous west wind on the other, so they let in the clearing east wind only, and the north-east wind withal, which is free from all corruption."¹

It was an important city in the times of the Saxons, in fact, one of the chief cities of England. Of fourteen of the present churches, the majority was represented by eight churches before the Conquest, namely, St. Peter's-in-the-East, St. Mary's, Carfax, St. Aldate's, St. Ebb's, St. Peter's-le-Bailey, St. Mary Magdalene, and St. Michael.² There were also formerly several other churches, as another St. Michael, near the South-gate, St. George since represented by the recent church of St. George, an excellent specimen of the decorated or curvilinear style as revived in the nineteenth century, a monument of the good taste of the architect, and of the

¹ Holland's *Camden*, p. 377.

² St. Michael's South-gate stood on the site of the Professor of Hebrew's lodgings, and was taken down by Wolsey. Ingram's *Oxford*, *St. Aldate's*, p. 7. Wood also mentions the Church of Dantesburne or Dantesbourne near South Bridge, given to Godstow nunnery by Ralph Bloet about 1250. *Ibid.* p. 7. St. Budock's Church was 900 feet to the west of St. Benedict's, which was adjacent to the West-gate on the west side. The Friars de Sacco applied to Henry III. for some ground without the West-gate on the south side of the street leading to the mills under the castle. But because *St. Michael's* lately stood there, they were bound to let the cemetery remain. Afterwards, with the aid of the Countess of Warwick, they built a house and chapel out of the ruins of *St. Benedict*. They diligently resorted to the schools of the Franciscans, who in 1307 had their buildings and lands granted to them.—Dugdale, from Wood's *Hist. and Antiq. of Oxford*, p. 111.

munificence of the Rev. Jacob Ley, the present incumbent of St. Mary Magdalene's. Add to these St. Budoc's, St. Edward, St. Mildred,¹ and St. Frideswide, now the Cathedral.

Down to 1771 the North and East gates were still standing, the north joining the old church of St. Michael with its Saxon tower, the east a little to the east of Coach-and-Horses-lane leading to King-street, in which stand St. Alban Hall, Merton, Corpus Christi, and Oriel Colleges. The South and West gates, as also Little-gate, had been removed by the middle of the last century. The West gate stood at the junction of St. Ebbe's and Castle-street, in the neighbourhood of the Franciscan Monastery or Grey Friars. In their church was buried the celebrated Roger Bacon in 1292. Paradise Garden, once the garden of the monks, still remains to the south of the Castle. The site of Little-gate below St. Ebbe's still retains its name. And just below Christ Church Almshouses formerly stood the South-gate, and near it another church dedicated to St. Michael.²

When the royal party entered Oxford by the road to the west of which stand the Observatory and Infirmary, they found the way lined on each side with the students in their several university habits. Now might St. Giles, says Sir Isaac Wake, have looked for the restitution of its ancient honours. For there was a tradition that there was once another church, of which this took the place although nearer or within the city, which had the honour of being the University Church before that privilege was divided between St. Mary's and St. Peter's-in-the-East.³ The whole line of street from St. Giles' to the Bocardo, even to the South-gate,

¹ St. Mildred's was in Brasenose-lane. It was taken down probably A.D. 1400, as was also St. Edward's, which was between High-street and Christ Church Gardens. St. Frideswide's was on the site of Christ Church.

² "An old distich, quoted by Leonard Hutten and others, thus refers to the proximity of four parish churches in Oxford to the four principal gates—two dedicated to St. Michael, and two to St. Peter:

Invigilat portæ australi, boreæque Michael;
Exortum solem Petrus regit atque cadentem."

Ingram's *Oxford, St. Peter's-in-the-East*.

³ Sir J. Wake's *Rex Platonicus*, p. 26, ed. 2nd. 1607.

hard by which the King was to enter Christ Church, was graced with members of the University, Doctors, Bachelors of Divinity, Law, &c., all in their proper habits, all exulting at the presence of their royal patrons. At St. John's College fifty of the members, with the President, Ralph Hutchinson,¹ came forth to congratulate their sovereign. Three youths apparelled as three sybils came forth out of the quadrangle, and recited, each having his several part, some Latin verses annexed by their author Dr. Gwynne to his *Vertumnus*, printed in 4to. 1607.² These are founded upon the legend of Macbeth and Bancho, who are said to have been met by three sybils, who foretold that Macbeth should be a king, but without any to succeed him, and that from Bancho, who should not be a king himself, should descend a race of Princes.

When the King had passed through North-gate and had come to *Carfax* (Quatre Vois), so called from the four principal streets meeting at that point, where on the east side of St. Martin's stood Pennyless Beach, chiefly known to modern readers by T. Warton's humorous description of it in his *Companion to the Guide, and Guide to the Companion*. At this point Dr. John Perin of St. John's College, who had the year previously resigned the College living of Wartling in Sussex (not Watling, as in Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 273), but now no longer in the hands of that Society, and who was now Greek Professor and Canon of Christ Church, addressed the King in Greek in a brief and apposite oration. And now the King entered the great gateway of Christ Church, not as yet adorned with that light and lofty tower which now evinces the originality of the great classical architect Sir Christopher Wren. Sir Christopher was B.A. of Wadham College March 18, 1650, and afterwards Fellow of All Souls. He erected the tower, with the upper parts of the two turrets which flank the entrance, in 1682. The father of the celebrated Dr. Henry

¹ He was also Vicar of Crapthorne, Worcestershire, and Charlbury, Oxfordshire. He left the study of medicine for that of divinity, was elected President of St. John's College, Oxford, June 9, 1590, and died January 16, 1605, in his 55th year, and was buried in his College Chapel.

² See Nichol's *Royal Progresses*, vol. i. p. 545.

Hammond was present on this occasion. He was Dr. John Hammond, M.D. of the University of Cambridge, and Physician to the King and to Prince Henry. He commended Perin's oration as being in good familiar Greek. The King heard him willingly, and the Queen still more so, as she said that she had never heard that language before. At the foot of the hall stairs thrones were erected for the King, Queen, and Prince, and Mr., afterwards Sir, Isaac Wake made a Latin oration. He was of Merton College, and had been elected Orator in the preceding year. In 1609 he travelled in France and Italy, and on his return became secretary to Sir Dudley Carleton, at that time Secretary of State. He was afterwards ambassador to Venice, Savoy, and elsewhere. He was knighted April 19, 1619, before proceeding to Savoy. In 1623 he was elected M.P. for the University of Oxford. Some few years after this *Anthony Sleep*, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, was Deputy Orator in that University. The King is said to have often remarked upon the two Orators *Wake* and *Sleep*; that *Wake* had a good Ciceronian style, but his utterance and matter were so grave, that when he spake before him he was apt to *sleep*; but *Sleep* the Deputy Orator of Cambridge was quite contrary, for he never spake but he kept him *awake*, and made him apt to laugh.¹ In his oration *Wake* commended the King as being after Plato's mind, a lover of wisdom,² whence the title of his very amusing and learned narration of this royal progress, *Rex Platonius*. He also took this opportunity of returning thanks as Public Orator for the favour which the King had shewn the University by conferring upon it the right of sending two representatives to Parliament.³

The King with a benignant smile evinced his readiness to encourage the genial eloquence of the Public Orator, which was followed up by loud and universal acclamations, imploring long life, glory, and eternal happiness for the King, the Queen and Prince. The King was then conducted to the venerable Cathedral. Before the doors splendid cushions

¹ Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 345. *Anthony Sleep* was M.A. 1609, B.D. 1617.

² *Rex Platonius*, p. 48.

³ *Ibid.* p. 49.

were placed, upon which the King offered his devotions previously to entering in. The royal party proceeded up the nave toward the choir under a rich canopy of crimson taffety, carried on six staves gilt with silver, surmounted with great silver knobs and pikes, borne by six Doctors of Divinity in their scarlet costume. Stringer says that they were six out of the eight canons of the Cathedral.

On each side of the nave stood the members of the College in surplices and hoods, and the younger nobility, members of the University, Thomas Lord Wentworth, of Nettlestead to the north-west of Ipswich, O'Bryen Lord Thomond, descended of the ancient kings of Ireland, the two brothers Somerset, and the two Stewarts, the Seymours and Sackvilles, and the Lords Dudley and Grey.¹

Just as the King was about to enter the choir Dr. King the Dean, who was six years after raised to the see of London, presented the King on his knees with a little book of congratulatory verses; the Latin verses to the King are given by Sir Isaac Wake in his *Rex Platonicus*.² The two other addresses in English he presented to the Queen and Prince. Dr. John Bridges, formerly a Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, afterward Dean of Salisbury, and with Cooper Bishop of Lincoln a defender of the Church against Martin Mar-Prelate, and now Bishop of Oxford, with the Dean and Canons, assembled with the rest of the procession in the choir, where the King heard divers anthems, probably far superior to the popular adaptations of Mozart, Beethoven and Mendelssohn now in use in our Universities. It was the age of true Church musicians, when the marvellous Dr. Bull³ was the King's chief Organist, and Morley, Dowland, and the gifted family of the Tomkyns, and the brothers Weelkes, and the other madrigalists who celebrated the Triumph of Oriana, were rivalling the continental composers. At this time William Stonard was organist of the Cathedral, some of whose works remain in the Music School at Oxford,

¹ *Wake*, pp. 54, 55.

² pp. 60, 61.

³ See Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, vol. i. p. 235.

“sent by Walter Porter” (son of Henry Porter of Christ Church, and gentleman of the Royal Chapel to Charles I., and Master of the Choristers, Westminster Abbey) “to his kinsman John Wilson, Doctor of Music and the public Professor of the praxis of that faculty in Oxon, to be reposed and kept for ever in the archives of the said school.” Stonard composed certain divine services and anthems, the words of some of which are in *Clifford's Collection of Divine Services and Anthems*, 1663. Of Dr. John Wilson, “now,” says Anthony Wood, of 1644, “the most noted musician of England,” Wood gives an account in his *Fasti* under that year, from which we learn that by the mediation of Mr. Thomas Barlow, then Lecturer of Churchill, Oxfordshire, afterward Provost of Queens’ (his) College at Oxford and Bishop of Lincoln, with Dr. John Owen then Dean of Christ Church, he was made Professor of Music in 1656. He had rooms allowed him in Balliol College, was an industrious composer of music both sacred and secular, and died, aged 78 years, Feb. 22nd, 1674, at his house at the Horse Ferry within the liberty of Westminster. He was buried in the Little Cloisters of the Abbey.

At Magdalene College, Richard Nicholson, B. Mus. and Professor of Music, was organist. He was a madrigalist and a contributor to the *Triumphs of Oriana*.

And now, after the Dean had officiated in the liturgy, in the course of which other instruments were used in addition to the organ, the King and Queen retired to their lodgings at the Deanery. The Prince was accompanied through the High-street and the Eastgate to Magdalene College. Thither he was attended by the Earl of Worcester and Lord Knowles, the Earls of Oxford and Essex, William Viscount Cranborne, son and heir to Cecil Earl of Salisbury, Sheffield, Harrington, Howard and Bruce, with the other flower of the nobility, and with his honorary guardian Sir Thomas Chaloner,¹ who had himself been educated at Magdalene College.

¹ He was the son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, who died in 1565, and had been ambassador in France from Edw. VI.; to the Emperor Ferdinand from Elizabeth. Like his son he was a learned author, and wrote a poem in ten books, *De Re-*

At the College gate the Prince was received by Dr. Nicholas Bond, the President, who was Rector of Brightwell, Berks, May 3, 1586, Chaplain to the Queen, and Prebendary of the fifth stall at Westminster, 1582. He was constituted President of Magdalene College by the Queen, by lapse, against the will of the College.¹ He died February 8, 1608, and was buried in the College chapel.

The Rev. James Mable, a noted wit and orator, who was afterwards made Prebendary of Wells, accosted the Prince with an elegant oration. Verses were affixed to the walls in honour of his arrival. Thence he was conducted to the cloistered quadrangle, the most beautiful and truly collegiate court of any university. Having surveyed these incomparable structures and the hieroglyphical figures, the statue of Moses whereby is represented Theology, with those of the lawyer, the physician, the schoolmaster, the fool making a mock of learning, the lion, the pelican, indicating the duty of masters and teachers sternly to set themselves against the evil-disposed youth, and to nourish the good as parents, the Prince is conducted to his apartments in the President's lodge. No sooner does the lodge receive him than the College entertains him with the academic fare of scholastic disputations. William Seymour, second son of Edward Lord Beauchamp and grandson of Edward Earl of Hertford, performed the part of respondent. The opponents were Charles Somerset sixth son of the Earl of Worcester, Edward Seymour eldest son of the Lord Beauchamp, Mr. Robert Gorge son of sir Thomas Gorge by the Marchioness

publica Anglorum instauranda, which was published some time after his death. The son distinguished himself at Magdalene College by his verses, but before he could take a degree left the University to travel. Elizabeth knighted him in 1591. James on his accession appointed him governor to the Prince, and he made him his Chamberlain on his becoming Prince of Wales. He in 1584 published *A Treatise on the Virtue of Nitre*. About the end of the Queen's reign he discovered an alum mine near Guisborough in Yorkshire, where he had an estate. But his family did not enjoy it until 1640, when, being voted a monopoly, it was restored to them. He died in November 1615, and was buried at Chiswick.

¹ See *The Proceedings against Magdalene College*, printed 1688, pp. 20, 21; Baker's MS. notes on Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 216, ed. Bliss.

of Northampton, two sons of Sir Thomas Chaloner, and Mr. William Borlace son of a Knight; to all of whom, in testimony of his approbation, the Prince gave his hand to kiss. The Prince then returned to the King at Christ Church, in the hall of which a Latin Comedy, entitled *Vertumnus*, was acted by the students of that College. It began between nine and ten, and ended at one. Its tediousness and other uninviting features are said to have wearied the royal party. But this is on the authority of the Cambridge critic given in Nicholl's *Progresses*. A more favourable account is given by Sir Isaac Wake, to whom we remit the reader.

On Wednesday, the 28th of August, the bell rang at seven to an English sermon at All Saints. About nine the King came in great state to St. Mary's; the Earl of Southampton was sword-bearer for this day. In St. Mary's the Prince sat on the King's right hand, and on his left Christopher de Harlay Count de Beaumont, ambassador from the court of France, and Nicolo Malino, ambassador from that of Venice.

The two theses for the disputants were, *Saints and Angels have no knowledge of the thoughts of men's hearts*, and, *The Pastors of the Church are not bound to visit the sick whilst a pestilence is raging*. The respondent was Dr. John Aglionby, Principal of St. Edmund Hall. Dr. Aglionby was of Cumberland, had taken his degrees as a member and Fellow of Queen's College, Oxford, and had been admitted to the Principalship of St. Edmund Hall, April 4, 1601, being at that time chaplain to the Queen. James continued him as one of his chaplains, and appointed him one of the translators of the Bible, for he bore a high character for the vastness of his theological learning. He died Feb. 6, 1610, and was buried in the chancel of Islip church near Oxford, of which church he had been Rector. His son George was educated at Westminster School and at Christchurch, where he was entered in 1619. Lord Falkland, when he visited Oxford, especially sought the company of George Aglionby. He was appointed tutor to George the young Duke of Buckingham, after he had taken his B.A.

at Christchurch in 1623. In 1638 he was made a Prebendary of Westminster, and in 1642, whilst attending the court at Oxford, was nominated Dean of Canterbury, but never installed. He died not long after, in November 1643, in his 40th year, and was buried in Christchurch Cathedral, near Bishop King's monument in the south aisle, but without any memorial.

The opponents were :

1. Dr. Thomas Holland, who, when Fellow of Balliol College, had been appointed Regius Professor of Divinity in 1589, on the death of the celebrated Lawrence Humphrey of Magdalene College. He took all his degrees at Balliol College, and was elected Rector of Exeter College on the death of Thomas Glasier, LL.D., late of Christchurch, by virtue of the Queen's letters written in his behalf April 24, 1592. He died March 17, 1612, and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's, Oxford. Wood says of him, "He was esteemed by the precise men of his time, and after, another Apollos mighty in Scriptures, and so familiar with the Fathers, as if he himself was a Father; and in the schoolmen, as if he had been *the Seraphical Doctor*."¹ He is said by Wood to have been a predestinarian of the higher or supra-lapsarian kind, as was his predecessor Humphrey. In this respect Wood² distinguishes them from the pious and learned Abbot afterward Bishop of Salisbury, and, like Holland, of Balliol College. In Fuller's *Abel Redivivus* he is by a mistake said to have been educated at Exeter College. It is reported of him that when he went any journey, he would call the Fellows of his College together, and commend them to the love of God, and to the hatred of Popery and superstition. He spent all his time in his declining health in fervent prayers and heavenly meditations, and when his end drew near, often sighed out, *Come, O come, Lord Jesus! I desire to be dissolved and to be with thee*. He died in his 74th year.³

2. Dr. Giles Thompson, Dean of Windsor, and in 1611 Bishop of Gloucester. He was B.A. of University College, Oxford, July 5, 1575, and B.D. of All Souls' College, March 21,

¹ *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 111.

² *Ibid.* ii. 225.

³ *Abel Redivivus*, p. 501.

1591; Bp. Andrewes assisted at his consecration to Gloucester June 9, 1611. Andrewes, now Dean of Westminster, came to Oxford, but probably on the Thursday, for Buckeridge relates in his Funeral Sermon, that "when he came to Oxford attending King James *in the end of his progress*, his custom was to send fifty pound to be distributed among poor scholars."¹

3. Dr. Field, Chaplain to the King. He was first entered at Magdalene College, but was B.A. of Magdalene Hall, November 8, 1581, M.A. June 2, 1584, B.D. January 14, 1593, D.D. of Queen's College, December 7, 1596. No divine of his own or of any age rendered a greater theological service to the Church than did Dr. Field, by his comprehensive *Treatise on the Church of Christ*. It first appeared in 4to. A copy of the volume in 4to. is to be seen in the library of Magdalene Hall. The next was a much enlarged edition. The third was published at Oxford in 1635. But as he took a more hostile view of the Church of Rome, and one more agreeable to the faith of his own Church than that of the courtiers in the following reign, his work fell for a while into unmerited neglect. It has been more than once reprinted in the present century, and is a library of itself. James was not insensible to his merits. He admired his preaching, and appointed him Dean of Gloucester 1609, as he had also been previously appointed Canon of Windsor 1603, having had a grant from Elizabeth, 30th March 1602, of the next vacant prebend. He was born at Hemel Hempstead, Herts. He spent his time partly at Windsor, partly on his living in Hampshire. He died November 20, 1626, and was buried in St. George's, Windsor.

4. Dr. John Harding, Regius Professor of Hebrew, to which Professorship he was appointed whilst Fellow of Magdalene College, 21 September 1591. He resigned in 1598. and was succeeded by William Thorne, A.M., Fellow of New College, 27 July 1598.² Thorne resigned in 1604, and Harding had the Professorship conferred upon him a second

¹ p. 20.

² B.A. New College April 12, 1589; M.A. January 18, 1593; B.D. July 16, 1600.

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ge, June 17, 1626. He was appointed
1635, and of Durham 1645, but died the
following, before his installation. He was
of Oxon, Oxfordshire, which belongs to Queen's

John Huntley, Dean of Sarum, who has been
created. He was now actually created a Doctor
with the ancient ceremonies of putting on the
bare cap, the gold ring,¹ the boots,² the delivering
scriptures into the Doctor's hands; then the Vice-
chancellor kisses his son, as the newly created Doctor is
concludes with giving him his solemn benediction.
The bell is now sounded, and Dr. Holland calls forth the
respondent. The respondent proclaims the theses aloud in
verse. He then proceeds to maintain the first thesis,
1 Kings viii. 39, *Whose heart thou knowest*; 1 Cor.
*For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the
of man which is in him?* and Jer. xvii. 9, 10, *The
is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked: who
know it? I the LORD search the heart; I try the reins.*
that the dead (the saints) have no knowledge of men's
arts, Dr. Field confirms out of St. Augustine, in the 22nd
chapter of the Appendix to his third Book. Bellarmine
indeed, after the manner of Romish controversialists, charged
Melancthon with falsehood for having asserted in his *Loci
Theologici*, that the papists attributed to the saints the power
of knowing the thoughts of men's minds; yet in his answer
to the third argument, in the 20th chapter of his first Book
on the Blessedness of the Saints, he himself expressly affirmed
such a power, as Dr. John Gerhard shews in his *Confessio
Catholica*.³

Holland, Gordon, Field, and Ryves were the opponents
in the first; Thompson, Harding, and Airay in the second
thesis. The King himself, with the Scriptures in his hand,
took part in these exercises, examining the quotations and com-
menting upon the arguments. Wake has given his obser-

¹ *Rex Platonius*, p. 87.

² p. 88.

³ Lib. 2, pars. 2, art. 10, c. 2, § 6. 1661.

vations upon the second thesis, which was maintained in the negative. Bishop Andrewes, in his *Parochial Circulars*, expressly exempted his clergy from visiting in a time of pestilence. The King answered the passage in St. James, *Is any among you sick, let him call for the elders of the church, &c.*, that those who were called in that age were called not only to pray, but also to heal. Finally, Dr. Abbot the Vice-Chancellor gave his own learned determination upon the two questions.

After the King had dined he came again about two, with the Queen and Prince, to hear two disputations in the Civil Law. The questions were, first, Whether in giving judgment a judge is invariably bound by the legal proofs in opposition to the truth, of which he is privately assured? And secondly, Whether covenants are of the nature of good faith or strict law? The first was affirmed; the second was decided in favour of sincere intention and candid, in contradistinction to legal, interpretation. The moderator was Dr. Alberic Gentilis,¹ who, after he had been created D.C.L. at Perugia in 1572, came over to England on account of his religion, and obtained permission in 1580 to reside at Oxford. Queen Elizabeth appointed him Regius Professor of Civil Law 8th June 1587. His learned writings were all the fruit of his tranquil studies at Oxford. He died in the beginning of 1611, and was buried in the Cathedral.

The respondent was Dr. Anthony Blencoe, Provost of King's or Oriel College or Hall Royal, for all these names have been applied to Oriel. He had held the Provostship from February 4, 1573, having previously served the office of Proctor in 1571 and 1572. He died January 25, 1618, and was buried in St. Mary's church, which belongs to his college.

The opponents were:

1. William Bird, D.C.L., of All Souls' College, son of William Bird of Walden in Essex. He was D.C.L. February 13, 1588, and afterwards principal Official and Dean of the Arches, a Knight, and Judge of the Prerogative Court

¹ See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ii. 90. *Fasti*, i. 217.

of Canterbury. He died without issue, and was buried in Christ Church, Newgate Street, London, 5 Sept. 1624. His nephew, William Bird, D.C.L. of All Souls' College July 4, 1622, was son of Thomas Bird of Littlebury near Saffron Walden, was Master of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, and died on the 28th November 1639, aged 51, and was buried in Littlebury church.

2. John Weston, of Christ Church, the only son of Robert, who was Chancellor of Ireland, D.C.L. 1590. His father Robert was D.C.L. of All Souls' July 8, 1556. He conformed to the Protestant religion, and was made Dean of Wells 1570. He was for six years Chancellor of Ireland, died there 20 May 1573, and was buried in St. Patrick's Dublin.¹ John Weston was first M.A., and on July 14, 1590, D.C.L. of Christ Church, Oxford. He was installed Canon of the sixth stall of Christ Church September 3, 1591, and was eighteen years Treasurer of that church. He died July 20, 1632, being about eighty years old. His epitaph records his virtues worthy of his descent, his Ciceronian eloquence, his aptness in casuistry, his truly Christian life, and the painful disease that carried him to his grave.²

3. Henry Martin, of New College, D.C.L. 1592, being at that time an eminent advocate at Doctors' Commons, as afterwards in the High Commission Court. He became successively Official of the Archdeacon of Berkshire, King's Advocate, Chancellor of London, Judge of the Admiralty Court, twice Dean of the Arches, a Knight Dec. 21, 1616, and in 1624 Judge of the Prerogative Courts. Bishop Andrewes left him a mourning ring. He died in 1641, aged 81.³

4. James Hussey of New College, D.C.L. 1600, Principal of Magdalene Hall 1602, having been previously a Fellow of New College and Registry of the University. He afterwards became Chancellor of Salisbury, was knighted Nov. 9, 1619, and made a Master in Chancery. He died of the plague at Oxford the day after his arrival, July 11, 1625,

¹ See more in Wood's *Fasti*, ed. Bliss, vol. i. p. 151.

² See *Brown's Willis*, Oxford, p. 459.

³ See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, vol. iii. p. 17.

and was buried late at night in St. Mary's Church without any funeral rites. He died in New College, and shortly after Dr. Chaloner, Principal of St. Alban Hall, who had supped that night with him, died also.

5. John Budden, D.C.L., B.A. of Trinity College, Oxford, Oct. 19, 1586, but M.A. of Gloucester Hall (now Worcester College) June 27, 1589. He was B.C.L. of Magdalene College July 8, 1602. He became Philosophy Reader at Magdalene College, was made Principal of New Inn Hall June 28, 1609, there being then neither gentleman-commoner nor commoner at New Inn Hall. He was son of John Budden of Canford in Dorsetshire. He was admitted at Merton College at the Michaelmas Term 1582, and thence to a scholarship at Trinity College May 30, 1583. He was D.C.L. 1602; in 1611 was appointed Regius Professor of Civil Law, then Principal of Broadgate's Hall, to which Pembroke College has succeeded. He died there June 11, 1620, and was buried in the chancel of St. Aldate's Church.

6. Oliver Lloyd, D.C.L. 1602, of All Souls. He was afterwards Chancellor of Hereford, Canon of Windsor 1615, May, 20, Dean of Hereford 1617, in which city he died in 1625.

The second question is thus put in Wake: "Whether a stranger and an enemy detained by contrary winds in an enemy's port beyond the time of an armistice, may be lawfully killed by the inhabitants of that port? The respondent held the negative. The King interposed in this dispute, alleging the saying of one, that *he who judges against his conscience builds for hell*. He instanced in the unjust judgment passed upon our Lord himself, and thus, as Wake remarks, confirmed the words of another, who asked, *What shall become of the good citizen when the evil spirits shall have carried away the bad man to hell?*

In regard of the second question the King said, that a prisoner detained unawares should be remitted by the judge to the King, who can and ought to save his life. Alas that the King did not always exemplify his own wise *dicta*, but forgot both law and equity when he was tempted to

forfeit the life of a subject, as in the case of Sir Walter Raleigh.

The evening drew on as Gentilis concluded the Act. In the course of the Act the scholars gave a *plaudite*; the graver men cried out *Vivat Rex*, and on the King speaking a third time there was a general acclamation. After supper the *Ajax flagellifer* was acted in the Hall of Christ Church. The stage was varied thrice, and the actors were all clad in suitably antique apparel. The name alone was borrowed from Sophocles.

On Thursday the 29th, the Physic Act commenced at nine at St. Mary's, and lasted until noon. The two questions were: 1. Whether the dispositions of nurses were imbibed with their milk? 2. Whether the frequent use of tobacco was good for persons in health? The moderator was Dr. Bartholomew Warner of St. John's College, Regius Professor of Medicine 1597, and in 1617 superior Reader of Linacre's Lecture. He died January 26, 1619, and was buried in St. Mary Magdalene's Church, Oxford.

The respondent was the munificent Sir William Paddy, M.D. of Oxford and Leyden, President of the College of Physicians, of St. John's College, Oxford, and Physician to the King, whom he attended on his death-bed. He was of the county of Oxford. He was a great, and one of the first benefactors to the Bodleian Library, although by an oversight not mentioned as such in Dr. Ingram's very valuable *Memorials of Oxford*. He has, however, not omitted to commemorate his bounty to his college, where on the south wall of the chapel is his monument, with an epitaph recording his legacy of £2800. (a great sum in those days) for the endowing of the choir, after having provided the college with an organ. He left also £150. for the encouragement of learning. His will, says Dr. Ingram, is dated Dec. 10, 1634, in his 81st year, in which year he died.

The opponents were:

1. Dr. Matthew Gwinne, B.A. of St. John's College May 14, 1578, M.A. May 4, 1582, Proctor April 17, 1588, B.M. July 17, 1593, and M.D. on the same day. He was

the author of *Vertumnus*. He was Physician to the Tower of London, the first Professor of Medicine at Gresham College, and a member of the College of Physicians. He died in 1627.

2. Anthony Aylworth, M.D. 1582, of New College, Physician to Queen Elizabeth, and Regius Professor of Medicine in the University of Oxford, 29th June, 1582. He resigned his Professorship to Dr. Warner of St. John's College 1597. He was of an ancient family in Gloucestershire, born in London, educated at Winchester School and New College. He "died happily in the Lord" April 18, 1619. He had disputed before Elizabeth in 1592. His two sons, Martin the elder and Antony the younger, survived him. Martin erected a memorial to him in New College Chapel, and was D.C.L. of All Souls' College, Nov. 27, 1621.

3. John Gifford, also M.D. of New College, December 7, 1598, a member of the College of Physicians. "He died in a good old age in 1647, and was buried in the parish Church of Hornchurch in Essex, near to the body of his wife."¹

4. Henry Ashworth, M.D. of Oriel College August 13, 1605. He rose to eminent practice in Cat-street, (to the east of the present Radcliff Library) where his son Francis was born.²

5. John Cheynell, M.D. of Corpus Christi College August 13, 1605. Cheynell extolled the virtues of the obnoxious weed above all others, and with his pipe in his hand suited the action to the word, not however omitting to vindicate in the sequel the royal aversion to tobacco. Wake, who was one of those serious men who could enjoy if he could not make a joke, has not lost this opportunity of enlivening his narration by ample notes of the King's facetiousness as well as the Professor's. Warner, in his peroration, exhorted both sexes to wreak their vengeance on their pipes by every term of reprobation which he could bring together.³

The Act concluded, the King went to New College, then more faithfully displaying the consummate skill of its munifi-

¹ Wood's *Facts*, ed. Bliss, i. 279.

² Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* iii. 307.

³ *Rer. Platoniarum*, p. 135.

cent architect and founder than now, when it has lost so many of its ancient features, and has been enlarged in a more modern style, yet venerable and majestic, and adorned as much by nature as by art, owing more than can be expressed to its beautiful gardens, the most impressive, although not the most extensive in the University. At New College the noble Chancellor kept open house daily during the King's visit. Verses were attached to the walls of the college. Dr. Ryves, the Warden, congratulated his Majesty in a Latin speech, in the name of the Chancellor and of the members of New College, and was on the following day added to the number of the royal chaplains. The King sat in the hall beneath a canopy; Prince Henry at some distance on his right hand; the Queen on his left, and at the other end of the table, opposite to the Prince, the two ambassadors. There was a magnificent show of plate, and the Chancellor's private musicians played during the banquet. But the whole university contributed to this hospitality. The King, before he rose from the table, called the Chancellor to him, returned him his thanks, and bade him drink out of the royal goblet.

From the banquet the King returned to St. Mary's to hear the following disputations: the first, Whether gold can be produced by artificial means? Secondly, Whether imagination can produce real effects?

The moderator was Roger Porter, of Brasennose College. The respondent was Richard Andrewes, of St. John's College, M.B. June 1, 1607, M.D. June 1, 1608. He improved himself by foreign travel, and was esteemed amongst the literati of that age.

The opponents were:

1. Simon Baskerville, B.A. of Exeter College July 8, 1596, Proctor in the year following the royal visit, M.D. 1611, knighted by King Charles. He was of an ancient Herefordshire family. He was eminent in his profession. He died July 5, 1641, aged 68 years, and was buried in the north aisle of old St. Paul's.

On the same day with him was the celebrated Robert Vilvaine, of Exeter College, also created M.D. in 1611. He

was B.A. of Exeter College May 9, 1597, M.A. July 11, 1600. Vilvain was also a theological author and student. He, with Mr. Richard Sandy, alias Napier, Mr. William Orphord, and Mr. William Helme, fellow-students, was a benefactor to Exeter College, all assisting in rebuilding the kitchen. At their expense also was the old chapel (superseded by Dr. Hakewill's, the late chapel) turned into a library in 1624.¹ He was son of Peter Vilvain, steward of the city of Exeter, was born in All Saints' parish, Exeter, in Goldsmith Street, and was a Fellow of Exeter College in 1599. He resigned his fellowship in 1611, and returned to Exeter. About 1644 Fuller's acquaintance with Dr. Vilvain commenced. They spent much of their time together so long as Fuller remained at Exeter. Dr. Vilvain gave a library to the Cathedral there, and endowments, in the way of exhibitions, to the Grammar School. He wrote *Theoremata Theologica*, 1654, 4to., a *Compendium of Chronography*, 1654, 4to., and some other pieces. He died in his 87th year, Feb. 21, 1663, and was buried in the Cathedral of Exeter.

Baskerville attracted the especial notice of the King. After he had disputed, the King, who had himself prolonged the time of his disputation beyond what the Proctor would have granted, said to the nobles about him, "God keep this fellow in a right course; he would prove a dangerous heretic; he is the best disputer that ever I heard."

2. Edward Lapworth, M.D., of Magdalene College (where he had been educated) 1611, on the same day with Baskerville and Vilvaine and Clayton of Balliol College, but previously of Gloucester Hall. Lapworth was in 1618 appointed the first Professor of Natural Philosophy at Oxford, by the will of the founder, Sir William Sedley, Knt. and Bart. He usually practised in the summer at Bath, where he died May 28, 1636, and was buried in the Abbey church.

8. Thomas Clayton, of Gloucester Hall. He removed to Balliol College, and succeeded Dr. Warner as Regius Professor of Medicine March 9, 1611. He was the last Principal of Broadgates Hall 1620, and the first Master

¹ *Gutch*, p. 116.

of Pembroke College 1624. In 1607 he had been chosen Professor of Music in Gresham College, which place he resigned November 17, 1610. He died in 1647, and was buried in St. Aldate's church July 13. His son, Sir Thomas, was also Regius Professor of Medicine, and in 1661 Provost of Merton College. He died October 4, 1693.

4. Richard Mocket, B.A., of Brasenose College Feb. 16, 1596, M.A. of All Souls' College 1600, B.D. 1607, D.D. 1609, Warden of All Souls' April 12, 1614, domestic Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, Rector of St. Clement's, East Cheap, London, Dec. 29, 1610, which he resigned in December 1611, when he was Rector of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane. He was Rector of Monks Risborough, Bucks, and of Newington, Oxfordshire. He died July 5, 1618, aged 40, and was buried in the college chapel, where his relation, Sir Thomas Freke, erected a monument to his memory. His monument was removed into the ante-chapel in 1664.

5. Robert Pinke, born at Wenslade, Hants, 1572, Proctor 1610, M.B. 1612, B.D. 1619, D.D. 1620, Warden of New College July 17, 1617. James, who gave himself a Latin determination on the first question, admired his disputing. He was seized at Aylesbury for his loyalty in raising the University militia, and was for a time imprisoned in the Gate-house, Westminster. He died November 2, 1647. Dr. Brideoak, Bishop of Chichester, erected a monument to him in his college chapel.¹

6. Robert Bolton, B.A., of Brasenose College Dec. 2, 1596, M.A. July 1602, B.D. 1609. Bolton was born at Blackburn in Lancashire 1572. He removed from Lincoln College to Brasenose College, of which he was made Fellow. He was brought to true repentance and seriousness of mind by his college tutor, Thomas Peacock, who was B.D. 1608, a native of Cheshire. Peacock died in 1611, and was buried in December in St. Mary's Church. He was incumbent of Broughton in Northamptonshire, and there devoted himself most exemplarily to his duties. He had a fluency and eloquence truly Chrysostomian, with as great energy, so that

¹ See also Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 225.

his sermons are to this day far from antiquated or unworthy of perusal. He died aged 60 years in 1631. There is an account of him in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*.

The King resolved upon hearing a second Act after but a short interval, upon two questions appointed by himself: Whether it be a greater object to preserve than to extend the bounds of a kingdom? and, Whether the origin of right and wrong is to be sought in law or in nature?

The moderator was Richard Fitzherbert, of New College, Senior Proctor. He was installed Archdeacon of Dorset August 27, 1620, and died probably some time after 1640.

The respondent was William Ballow, of Christ Church. He had been Senior Proctor in 1604. He was created D.D. November 29, 1613, and died in December 1618. He was Rector of Milton Bryant, near Woburn, Bedfordshire, Canon of the first stall at Christ Church January 3, 1615, and dying in 1618 was buried in the Cathedral without any memorial. He is highly commended by Wake as a most polished scholar and of a most courteous disposition.

The opponents were:

1. Thomas Winniff, B.A. of Exeter College July 12, 1592, M.A. May 17, 1601, B.D. March 27, 1610, D.D. July 5, 1619. He was born at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, was Rector of Lamborne and Willingate Doe near Chipping Ongar, Essex, Dean of Gloucester November 20, 1624, of St. Paul's April 18, 1631, consecrated Bishop of Lincoln February 6, 1642, but he had no enjoyment of that dignity, but retired to Lamborne where he had purchased both the advowson and an estate, and there died September 19, 1654, in his 78th year. He was raised to the see of Lincoln on account of the blamelessness and popularity of his character, when Charles sought but too late to conciliate the nation by this and similarly good appointments.

2. Simon Jux, (or perhaps Jukes) D.D. of Christ Church 1618. One probably of the same family was a benefactor to the present chapel at Brasennose College, Rowland Jucks, Esq.¹

¹ *Gutch*, p. 373.

3. Richard Thornton, Vicar of Cassington and Rector of Westwell near Burford, Canon of the first stall of Christchurch, July 13, 1596, Prebendary of the ninth stall at Worcester, March 20, 1612. He died January 2, 1615, and was buried on the 6th in the Cathedral at Oxford without any memorial.

4. John King, D.D. of Merton College, July 6, 1615, Canon of the twelfth stall, Westminster, on the death of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln 1613, and Canon of Windsor November 23, 1616, on the decease of Murdoch Aldem. He died August 7, 1638, and was buried in St. George's, Windsor. Murdoch (in *Wood* Mardochay) Aldem succeeded another John King, Fellow both of Peter House and of Exeter College. Dr. King of Merton College was nephew to King of Peter House.¹ Dr. King was some time Fellow of Merton College. He was uncle to Dr. George Aglionby, already mentioned as the friend of Falkland, and as designated in 1643 for the Deanery of Canterbury.² He succeeded Dr. King in his stall at Westminster 1638.

5. William Langton, President of Magdalene College November 19, 1610, on the death of Dr. Harding, already mentioned amongst those who disputed in the Divinity Act. He was born at Langton in Lincolnshire near Wragby, of an ancient and celebrated family. He was as conspicuous for his modesty as for his learning. He died Oct. 10, 1626, aged 54 years. His monument with his effigy, after the manner of that age, is in his college chapel, with an inscription of no common character for its reality and force of expression.³

6. John Barkham, of Corpus Christi College, is said to have applied himself in his earlier years to heraldry, and to have suffered his collections to be published with Gwillim's name as the author. He was born in the parish of St. Mary the Greater, Exeter, in 1572, entered at Exeter College, Oxford, 1587, and removed thence to Corpus Christi College in 1588. He wrote the life of King John published in

¹ John King, Dean of Christchurch in 1605, was B.A. Jan. 26, 1580.

² *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 476.

³ See *Gutch*, p. 330.

... chiefly that of Henry II. ... designed ... Bolton, a Papist. Gwillim's ... London, 1610. Barkham was ... Bancroft and Abbot. He was ... Bocking 1615, the other Dean being ... Precentor of St. Paul's. Of Goad, ... a posthumous work appeared, entitled, ... *sive Goadus Redivivus*. A disputation, ... partly metaphysical, concerning the necessity ... of events in the world, in respect of God's ... written above twenty years since by that reverend ... Divine Thomas Goad, Doctor of Divinity, and ... of Hadleigh in Suffolk. London, for Will. Leake, ... 4to, with a Preface by J. G. He wrote also, *Eclogæ ... ac juridicæ*. Dr. Barkham was Prebendary ... of Brownwood in St. Paul's, London, and died at Bocking ... on March 25, 1643. At the conclusion of the Act the King, ... in a brief speech, engaged to continue, as he had ever been, ... a patron of learning and of learned men. He promised in ... particular his patronage and encouragement to the University ... of Oxford. He bade them continue to maintain the setting ... forth of the pure Word of God, to fly from and to put to flight ... all Romish superstitions, and to avoid and reject all schisms ... and innovations in religion; to advance in their peculiar ... studies both in theory and practice, that so their lives might ... agree with their profession, God's glory, and his own ... expectation be fulfilled, himself augmented in honour, and ... abundant fruit meanwhile redound to themselves.¹

The King and nobility were attended with acclamations and by torchlight (for the evening had closed upon them) to Christchurch. Others of the nobility attended Prince Henry to Magdalene College. He occupied the middle seat at the high table. Down the middle of the hall the noblemen were seated, and along the sides the Fellows and other members of the foundation. The Prince graciously bade them keep their square caps on their heads. He drank their

¹ *Res Publicæ* p. 169.

healths, to which they responded, all standing. He more than once called Magdalene *his* college, and himself of Magdalene. William Grey, the younger son of Arthur Lord Wilton, at the command of Dr. Bond the worthy President, presented the Prince with a richly-bound MS., the *Apologues of Pandulf Colinucius*, the binding set with pearls and enriched with ornaments of gold. Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton was son of William Lord Grey de Wilton, a brave soldier, who being Captain of the Castle of Guisnes after the surrender of Calais 1558, was at length obliged to deliver it up and yield himself a prisoner, and afterwards to pay a ransom of 24,000 crowns, which much weakened his estate.¹ In 1560 he was made a Knight of the Garter, and died 1562, leaving issue by Mary, daughter of Charles Somerset, Earl of Worcester, a daughter Honora, married to Henry Denny (who had issue by her Edward, created by James I. Earl of Norwich), and two sons, Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton and William Arthur, the father of William at Magdalene College in 1605, died in 1593. Edward, the son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, presented the Prince with a pair of splendid gloves in the name of the whole College, and an illustrious youth, Richard Worsley, presented him with a volume of verses in various foreign languages. Edward Chaloner was B.A. of Magdalene College July 8, 1607; May 15, 1610, M.A. He removed to All Souls' College, where he was B.D. May 30, 1617, and D.D. November 6, 1619. From his fellowship at All Souls' College he was raised to be Principal of St. Alban's Hall December 29, 1624, and died of the plague July 25, 1625. He had on the evening of 10th July supped with his friend Dr. Hussey of New College, who is supposed to have brought the plague with him from London. He was buried in St. Mary's churchyard.

Richard was second son of Sir Richard Worsley, the first Baronet of that name, and Frances, daughter of Sir Henry Neville. The family took their name from their lordship in Lancashire, Workeseley or Workedeley.

¹ Holinshed's *Chronicle*, 1558.

After supper the King and Prince met again at St. John's College, where a comedy, but in tragic measure, says Sir Isaac Wake, representing the *revolving year*, was acted by the members of that College. The scene was made in the form of the zodiac, with the sun passing through all the twelve signs. All kinds of allegories were introduced into this piece. It began with the sun entering the ram, it ended with the fishes broiled by the heat of the sun.

On Friday morning, the day of the King's departure, a pastoral by Samuel Daniel was acted at Christ Church, and was highly applauded. It was published shortly after with the following title, "The Queen's Arcadia, a Pastoral Trago-Comedie, presented to Her Majestie and her Ladies by the University of Oxford in Christ's Church in August last 1605. At London: printed by G. Eld, for Simon Waterson. 1606." A copy of this edition is among Garrick's Plays in the British Museum. It was reprinted in 1611, in 12mo. It is also to be found in the edition of Daniel's Poems in 1620.¹

At the same time a Convocation was held at St. Mary's. The Bedell appears at this time to have fulfilled his office in the old fashion to the letter, making oral proclamation of the Convocation. The nobles began to assemble at eight. The Earl of Northampton was the first that went in with Abbot, Master of University College and Vice-Chancellor, and sat on his right hand upon a form, for there was but one chair, on which the Vice-Chancellor sat. He went in a black gown and a regent's hood, having been before incorporated there. And first there passed a grace for the Earls of Northumberland, Oxford, Essex, and others, to which consent was asked of the Doctors by the Proctors, and then the Proctors turning to the House gave their consent by general acclamation, saying *Placet*; so the Earl was presented, as were most of the nobility, by Sir William Paddie. Then the Earl was sworn to observe the privileges and statutes of the University. The Vice-Chancellor admitted the noblemen to their degrees standing, but remained seated whilst he admitted the knights and others. Sir John Davies² presented the knights and

¹ See Nichols' *Royal Progresses*, vol. i. p. 561. ² See *4th. Ann.* A.D. 1626.

courtiers, the Prince's servants, and others. Doctors presented the Doctors and Bachelors of Divinity from Cambridge, and Masters of Arts the Masters of Arts. Of Cambridge were incorporated Dr. John Hammond, one of the King's Physicians, father of the learned Henry Hammond; George Ruggle, first of Trinity College, then Fellow of Clare Hall, and author of the celebrated comedy *Ignoramus*; the Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Bridges, who was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge; Alexander Serle, LL.B., Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk; Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury; and Dr. Barnabas Gooch, Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, and highly regarded by Williams when Lord Keeper. Amongst those who were honoured with degrees were, Esme Stuart, Duke of Lenox, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke; his younger brother Philip, Earl of Montgomery; William Cecil, Viscount Cranbourne, who succeeded his father Robert Cecil as Earl of Salisbury; Theophilus Howard, Lord Walden, Earl of Suffolk on the death of his father, the wealthy builder of Audley House; Charles, son of the famous Lord High Admiral; Thomas West, Lord de la Warr; Grey Bridges, Lord Chandos, commonly called King of Cotswold from the great number of his attendants when he went to court; William Compton, afterwards Earl of Northampton; Edward Bruce, Master of the Rolls and Baron of Kinloss in Scotland,¹ father of Thomas, Earl of Elgin and Baron of Whorlton in Yorkshire; Lord Erskine, Sir Henry Neville, Sir Thomas Chaloner, John Egerton, Knight, afterwards Earl of Bridgewater; Sir Thomas Monson, of Magdalene College, of Burton Hall, near Lincoln; David Foulis, Knight; George More, Knight;² John Digby, Esq., of Magdalene College, afterwards Earl of Bristol.

About nine the King went to the Bodleian Library, the noble foundation of Sir Thomas Bodley, of the ancient family of the Bodleighs of Dunscombe near Crediton. He was born at Exeter March 2, 1545. His father removed with his

¹ He died January 14, 1611, aged 62 years, and was buried in the Rolls Chapel, Chancery Lane, London.

² See *Ath. Oxon.*

family to Geneva to avoid the Marian persecution, but returned in 1558 and settled in London. In 1559 or 1560 Bodley was admitted at Magdalene College, whence he removed to Merton College, where he took his B.A. July 26, 1563, and M.A. July 5, 1566. He was chosen to a fellowship, and having studied under the most learned professors at Geneva, he was appointed to read a public lecture on the study of Greek literature in the hall of his College. In 1569 he was Junior Proctor. From 1576 to 1580 he travelled on the Continent, then returned to Merton College, but was afterwards employed by Elizabeth both at home and abroad till 1597. He afterwards lived in London or at Parson's Green, Fulham. From 1597 he employed himself in restoring and supplying the University Library. On the 8th of November, 1602, there was a solemn procession from St. Mary's to the Library, for the purpose of opening it and devoting it to the use of the University. More than two thousand choice volumes had been deposited in it by that time. Sir Thomas Bodley was assisted in his noble undertaking by Sir Henry Saville and Sir John Bennet. Sir Henry was also B.A. of Merton College, Sir John Bennet of Christ Church. The latter fell under the displeasure of the House of Commons in 1621, was imprisoned for a short time, fined £20,000, and deprived of his office of Judge of the Prerogative Court. He died in the parish of Christ Church, Newgate Street, in the beginning of 1628. The original founder of the Library was indeed Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester, son of Henry IV. about 1445.¹ Sir Thomas Bodley's work is the eastern wing of the present Library. This was finished in 1613, the year after his death. The western was added between 1630 and 1640. The Divinity School, over which the original Library was built, was founded about 1427, but not completed until 1480. The Proscholium was a part of the work of Sir Thomas Bodley. The remainder of the square rose from 1613 to 1619. The effect was doubtless far superior before the removal of the transoms from the windows of this venerable quadrangle.

¹ Ingram's *Memorials*.

The architect was Thomas Holt of York, who died Sept. 9, 1624, and was buried in Holywell churchyard.¹ The King, upon casting his eyes round the Library, expressed his satisfaction upon seeing whence these stores of learning had been drawn which had recently yielded him so much satisfaction, and looking upon *Bodley's* effigies said, he should rather be called *Godly*. Amongst other MSS. of that kind he was shewn the Ethiopic version of the Scriptures, and that monument of impurity under the garb of piety, *Gaguinus de Puritate Conceptionis B. M. V.* Paris, 1497.² The King promised himself to become a benefactor to the Library. The Earl of Salisbury and Charles Lord Effingham, son of the Lord High Admiral, seconded the King's expressions of good will. The King further said, that were he not king he could have lived as an academician; and, alluding to the chains with which the books were then fastened to their shelves, added that should it ever be his fate to be led captive in chains, if his choice were given him, he would be shut up in *this* prison, bound with these chains, and pass his time with these captives for his companions. From the Library the King went into the Divinity School, and visited all the other schools in the quadrangle.

Next the King visited Brasenose College, of whose huge brazen nose on the great gate Sir Isaac Wake does not fail to remind his reader. Dr. Thomas Singleton, the Principal, at the head of all the members of his house, accosted the King. Dr. Singleton had been presented by Lord Keeper Egerton to the Rectory of Whitchurch, Oxfordshire, in 1596; he was made Prebendary of Bromesbury in St. Paul's, London, 10th May, 1597. Thomas Powell, B.D. of his College, dedicated to him a sermon upon Exod. xxviii. 34, preached at St. Mary's in 1613. He died November 29, 1614, and was buried in the chancel of St. Mary's; for, until the consecration of their present chapel, which was founded June 26, 1656, and consecrated November 17, 1686, by the Bishop of Oxford, the Society had only a small oratory over

¹ Holt was the architect of the east front; the rest was designed and commenced in the reign of Queen Mary.

² *Rex Platonius*, p. 171.

the buttery on the south side of the quadrangle. The King entered into discourse with the Principal respecting Friar Bacon, of whose brazen head a tradition went that the prodigious nose aforesaid was a part. Roger Bacon is said to have lectured in Little University Hall, one of the Halls since swallowed up in Brasenose College, and once occupying the north-east angle near the lane. Adjoining to this was the ancient hostel called Brasenose Hall as early as 1278, whence the College, founded in 1509¹ by William Smyth, Bishop of Lincoln, took its name. The brazen head of Roger Bacon, with its portentous nose, brings to Sir Isaac Wake's mind a pleasant story of Thomas Aquinas and his master Albertus Magnus. Albertus had made an image which, by the help of machinery, could articulate a few sounds, nay words—so the story; and Aquinas was sent into the room utterly unprepared for his strange companion, whom, when he began to speak, he in his terror broke to pieces with a staff; whereupon Albertus said, *Pol, triginta annorum opus uno momento contrivisti*; In one moment you have dashed to pieces the work of thirty years.² The quadrangle of Brasenose was then beautified with flowers and shrubs, (probably in the antique style, as once was that of Peterhouse at Cambridge,) which the King failed not to observe with approbation. His Majesty next visited All Souls' College. There he was accosted by Dr. Robert Hoveden the Warden, who had been elected to the wardenship in his 28th year, 12 Nov. 1571. He was Rector of Nowington near Oxford, and had been Chaplain to Archbishop Parker, of whose diocese he was a native. Under Crindal he was made Prebendary of the fourth stall at Canterbury in 1580. The next year he was also Prebendary of Wells, and in 1570 or 1571 of Clifton, in the Cathedral of Lincoln. He wrote the life of Chichely, the founder of All Souls' College.³ He died in his 69th year, March 25, 1615, and was buried in his college chapel.

Thence passing down the High Street by the ancient Colleges of University and Queen's, both now replaced by more modern edifices, the King enters his son's adopted

¹ *Cent.*, p. 224.

² *Rer. Platonius*, p. 198.

³ See *Atk. Oxon.*

College of St. Mary Magdalene. There Douglas Castilion made him an oration, probably of the same family with John Castilion, Dean of Rochester in the reign of Charles II. and of Francis Castilion, Knight, who had been created M.A. this same morning. The King thence returned to dinner at Christ Church, where Dr. Edmund Lilly, who had been of Magdalene College and was at this time Master of Balliol College and Archdeacon of Wiltshire, made another and valedictory oration. His wonderful patristic knowledge made him the admiration of his age. At the stairs' foot, where the King entered into the Court, John Hanmer, of All Souls' College, the Junior Proctor, made a short oration. He rose to be Bishop of St. Asaph 1624. Upon this the Chancellor delivered to the King his Majesty's grant of the Rectory of Ewelme to the Regius Professor of Divinity, which the King took and returned to the Vice-Chancellor. Then both the King and Queen presented their hands to the Vice-Chancellor and the Doctors to kiss, and bade them farewell, and to leave him to take his departure without farther state. Then the King, Queen, and Prince went all into one coach, and passed through the town, the Mayor and other civic officers of the city in scarlet preceding the King through the town to the farther end of Magdalene Bridge. The Lord Treasurer stayed till Monday next after the King's departure. He sent to the disputers and actors £20 in money, and five brace of bucks; so he sent to every College and Hall venison and money after this proportion; to Brasenose College five bucks and ten angels; to St. Edmund's Hall four red deer pies and four angels. The King slept the evening of his departure at Rotherfield Grey's near Henley, the mansion of Lord Knowles, and on Saturday, proceeding by Bisham Abbey, the seat of the Hobies, returned to Windsor.

On Nov. 3rd Andrewes, who had thrice nobly refused a mitre, was consecrated to the see of Chichester¹ on the

¹ The King also gave him the Rectory of Cheam, in Surrey, to hold in commendam. He was admitted to this July 25, 1609. This living had been held successively by his predecessors, Dr. Thomas Bickley and Dr. Anthony Watson. Dr. Watson was born at Cheam, his father Edward was of the county of Durham. He was B.A. of Christ's College, Cambridge, 1671; M.A.

decease of Dr. Anthony Watson. He was consecrated by Archbishop Bancroft, assisted by Dr. Richard Vaughan, Bishop of London, Jegon, Bishop of Norwich, Dr. Thomas Ravis, Bishop of Gloucester, and Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, afterwards of Lincoln. His elevation was owing to the King's especial regard for him.² The King also appointed him his Almoner, and at the same time granted, in augmentation of the King's alms, all the goods, &c. of all who were *felones de se*, as well as all deodands in England and Wales, exempting Andrewes also from rendering an account of his receipts from these sources.³ Andrewes resigned the mastership of Pembroke Hall on the 5th, on which day Wren was elected a Fellow of that Society, Andrewes voting for him by his deputy, the President. In his mastership Andrewes was succeeded by a far inferior person, Dr. Samuel Harsnett, who was afterwards compelled to resign in consequence of the complaints of the Fellows, headed by Wren, who was himself a devoted friend of both Peter House and Pembroke Hall.

1575; and B.D. 1582. He was made Dean of Bristol 16th April, 1590, and installed 21st July. He was (in the place of Thomas Manton, M.A., who succeeded Dr. Roger Goad in that preferment,) made Chancellor of Wells, and installed 15th July, 1592, and at the same time made also (in the place of Manton) Prebendary of Wedmore Secunda, in that Church. He was nominated to the see of Chichester 1st June, 1596, elected by the Chapter on the 14th, confirmed August 14th, and the temporalities were restored to him 13th September. He had been previously consecrated August 15th by Whitgift, assisted by Dr. John Young, Bishop of Rochester; Richard Vaughan, Bishop of Bangor (afterwards translated successively to Chester and London); and Bilson, who on June 13th this same year was consecrated to the see of Worcester, having been previously Fellow of New College, Oxford, and Warden of Winchester College. Bishop Watson lived in celibacy, was Almoner to King James, and died at his house at Cheam 10th September, 1605. He was buried in his church there on the 19th. His will is in the Prerogative Office, London. He left £100 to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he had been educated, and whence he was chosen to a fellowship at Corpus Christi College. Bishop Hacket was afterwards Rector of Cheam. On March 14th, 1606, Abbot granted a license to Andrewes, now Bishop of Chichester, to demolish sundry ruined and superfluous buildings attached to the episcopal houses at Chichester and Aldingbourne near Chichester. "Upon the house belonging to the bishopric of Chichester he expended above £420." So his biographer Isaacson.

² Sir John Harrington's *Brief View*, p. 141. Lond. 1652.

³ Rymer, vol. ii. 143.

CHAPTER VIII.

Bishop Andrewes' Sermon on Christmas Day, 1605—King James's policy in regard to the Scotch Church—Bishop Andrewes' Sermon on the anniversary of the King's Accession, 1606—His commendations of the King—Sermon on Easter-Day—On Whit-Sunday—Of the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit's operations—Sermon at Greenwich before King James and the King of Denmark—His notice of the Jesuits—The Scotch Conference and Sermons at Hampton Court—Bishop Andrewes' Sermons on the right of Kings to call Councils—On 5th November—On Christmas Day—Of the merits of Christ—Sermon on Easter Day, 1607—On being doers of the Word—Sermon at Romsey on 5th August—On 5th November at Whitehall—On Christmas Day on the mystery of Godliness—On Easter Day, 1608—On Whit-Sunday—At Holdenby on August 5—Consecration of Bishop Neile—Dr. John King, Bishop of London.

ON Christmas Day 1605, Tuesday, our prelate preached before the King at Whitehall from Heb. ii. 16, in the then version: *For he in nowise took the angels; but the seed of Abraham he took.* In page 5 he observes, "And emergent or issuing from this are all those other apprehendings or seisures of the persons of men (by which God layeth hold on them, and bringeth them back from error to truth, and from sin to grace,) that have been from the beginning, or shall be to the end of the world. That, of Abraham himself, whom God laid hold of and brought from out of Ur of the Chaldeans, and the idols he there worshipped. That, of our Apostle St. Paul, that was apprehended in the way to Damascus. That

of St. Peter, that in the very act of sin was seized on with bitter remorse for it. All those, and all these, whereby men daily are laid hold of in spirit, and taken from the bye-paths of sin and error, and reduced into the right way, and so their persons recovered to God and seised to his use;—all these apprehensions (of these branches) came from this apprehension (of the seed): they all have their beginning and their being from this day's taking, even *semen apprehendit*" [he took the seed]. "Our receiving His spirit for His taking our flesh. This seed, wherewith Abraham is made the son of God, from the seed wherewith Christ is made the son of Abraham."

Of the word used in the original he notes that it is the same word that was used of St. Peter, when, being ready to sink, Christ *caught him by the hand* and saved him, and of Lot and his daughters¹ in the like danger.

"And," he proceeds, "it may truly be said—(inasmuch as all God's promises, as well touching temporal as eternal deliverances, and as well corporal as spiritual, be in Christ Yea and Amen; Yea in the giving forth, Amen in the performing)—that even our temporal delivery from the dangers that daily compass us about, even from this last [the 5th of November], so great and so fearful as the like was never imagined before, all have their ground from this *great apprehension*, are fruits of this seed here, this blessed seed, for whose sake, and for whose *truth's* sake, that we (though unworthily) profess, are by him caught hold of, and so plucked out of it."

Having set down St. Augustine's reason why more mercy might have been shewn to us than to the angels, that they had no tempter; and Leo's, that not all the angels fell, but that all fell in Adam, he adds: "And thus have they travailed, and these have they found why he did apprehend us rather than them. It may be not amiss; but we will content ourselves for our *inde nobis hoc*—whence cometh this to us? with the answer of the Scriptures, whence, but from the tender mercies of our God, whereby this day hath visited us? *Zelus Domini* (saith Esay), The zeal of the Lord of hosts

¹ Gen. xix. 6.

shall bring it to pass. *Propter magnam charitatem* [for his great love wherewith he loved us], saith the apostle. *Sic Deus dilexit* [God so loved the world], saith he, he himself. And we are taught by him to say, *Even so, Lord, for so it was thy good pleasure thus to do.*"¹

King James set the example to his son Charles of endeavouring to effect a conformity in Scotland to the established discipline and ritual of the Church of England; nor was the indiscretion of the royal father less than that of the misguided son. In England James was as fulsomely flattered as in Scotland he had been undutifully browbeaten. The boldness of the Scottish clergy was at times rash and intemperate, and could not but have been most offensive to him; yet to that body did Scotland owe much of its security from the plottings of Romanism on the one hand, and of civil despotism on the other. Those who can see nothing in the kirk of those days to admire, are as intolerantly blind as those who would condemn them in nothing. But the impolicy and insincerity of James frustrated his own designs, and laid the foundation for those troubles which afterwards fell upon King Charles. It was insincere in him, who had not privately alone, but publicly declared² for the discipline of the Kirk, to force upon it episcopacy. His impolicy is repeatedly admitted by one who has spared no pains for the most part to exculpate him.³

In 1606 James early in the year proceeded to an act of the most consummate injustice in procuring the condemnation of six of the Presbyterian clergy upon a false charge of treason.⁴ This took place on the 10th of January. Others were some

¹ p. 7.

² Cooke's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. pp. 73, 130, 158.

³ Dr. (afterwards Bishop) Russell. See his *History of the Church in Scotland*, vol. ii.

⁴ This topic, which is very briefly touched upon by Dr. Russell, is given at more length by Dr. Cooke. The jury were threatened to be prosecuted as traitors if they hesitated to bring in the desired verdict. With this threat before their eyes, six out of fifteen—a noble proportion considering the usual self-love and timidity of human nature—declared the ministers innocent. See Cooke's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. pp. 160—168.

time hence commanded to London, apparently to hold conferences, really to be inquisitorially examined and for a while detained, and some of them to be banished from their native land. But we shall find them in London in the month of August; so we return to our prelate, whom we find, from the 31st March to the 22nd June inclusive, engaged in his parliamentary duties in various committees; first, on a committee for the repeal of an Act of the 14th Eliz. concerning the length of kersies, which forbade their being made above the length of eighteen yards; the committee to meet on Thursday, April 3, by eight A.M. in the Little Chamber near the Parliament presence; and also for the relief of John Roger, gent. against Robert, Paul, and William Taylor. The House of Commons desired a conference on the 5th of April on the silencing of ministers, the multiplicity of ecclesiastical commissions, the manner of citations, and on excommunication. The Bishop was one of the Lords appointed to confer with them. The conference was appointed to be on Monday the 14th April, at two in the afternoon.¹ The day was changed to the 17th. The prelates were Abbot, Andrewes, Bilson, ~~Bill~~ Bishop of Bath and Wells, and Rudd, Bishop of St. David's. Report was made on the 28th of April.

(Still)

On Easter Day April 6, he again preached before the King at Whitehall, on *Rom.* vi. 9—11, in a manner worthy of himself. This sermon, indeed, abounds with most pious and profitable passages. In it he cites that saying of Bernard, "Christ, although he rose alone, yet did not all rise; that is, we were a part of him. He is but risen in part, and that he may rise all, we must rise from death also." Again, he sets forth the true doctrine of the Church, that Christ's death was an exhibition of Divine justice, and that his person was that which gave virtue to his sacrifice.² Of living according to God he saith, "Then live we according to him, when his will is our law, his Word our rule, his Son's life our example, his Spirit rather than our own souls the guide of our actions."³

¹ Journal of the House of Lords, vol. i. p. 410.

² p. 390.

³ p. 391.

On the 28th of April he was appointed to meet on a committee on the annexation of certain honours, castles, forests, manors, &c. &c., and of certain diadems, jewels, crowns, &c., to the throne of England for ever.

On the 5th of May he made report touching the oath *ex officio* which was appointed to be handled by him in respect of the sickness of Dr. Still, Bishop of Bath and Wells.¹

On the 12th May our prelate was appointed to meet on a Bill read a second time on the 10th of that month, for the more sure establishing and continuance of true religion.

On Whitsunday, June 8, he preached before the King at Greenwich from *Acts* ii. 1—4. "It pleased Christ," he saith, "to vouchsafe to grace the Church, his queen, with like solemn inauguration to that of his own, when the Holy Ghost descended on him in the likeness of a dove, that she might, no less than he himself, receive from heaven like solemn attestation."

Of the sovereignty of the Holy Spirit's operations he saith: "And this (of blowing upon one certain place) is a property very well fitting the Holy Spirit, *He bloweth where he listeth*. To blow in certain places where itself will, and upon certain persons, and they shall *plainly feel it*, and others about them not a whit. There shall be an hundred or more in an auditory; one *sound* is heard, one *breath* doth blow. At that instant one or two and no more, one here, another there, they shall feel the Spirit, shall be affected and touched with it sensibly; twenty on this side them and forty on that side shall not feel it, but sit all becalmed, and go their way no more moved than they came. *Ubi vult spirat* [He bloweth where he listeth] is most true."²

When Christern IV. King of Denmark came on a visit to the Queen his sister, Bishop Andrewes preached in Latin before the two Sovereigns at Greenwich on August 5th, the anniversary of the Gowrie conspiracy. His text was the 10th verse of the 144th Psalm. He spoke of the Jesuits as amongst the strange children in v. 11, *Their mouth speaketh a lie, their right hand is a right hand of iniquity*. "And are not these

¹ Journal of the Lords, 1606, p. 428.

² p. 602.

of ours just like them? Only except what David calls *lying* they call *equivocation*." Andrewes alludes in this sermon to their various plots in which, by the use of poisons and powders (not omitting the gunpowder), and of the sword, they had plotted against our own and other Princes. In the latter part he gives a detailed account of the Gowrie conspiracy. This sermon was printed with his posthumous works, and in English in the folio edition of his Sermons in 1661.

On September 7th he assisted, with Toby Matthews, the pious and witty Archbishop of York, Dr. Thomas Ravis, the deservedly popular Bishop first of Gloucester then of London, and one of the translators of the Bible, and Dr. William Barlow, Bishop of Rochester and afterwards of Lincoln, at the consecration of Dr. William James, Dean of Durham and ~~President~~ of University College, Oxford, to the see of Durham. He thus succeeded Dr. Toby Matthew both in the deanery and bishopric. He obtained permission to be consecrated within the province of Canterbury.¹

William James was a native of Sandbach in Cheshire. In 1559 he was admitted student of Christ Church, and took the degrees in arts. He afterwards entered into holy orders, and became Divinity Reader of Magdalene College. Thence, being at that time B.D., he was elected to the mastership of University College, Oxford, June 12, 1572. On August 27, 1577, he was admitted Archdeacon of Coventry by Bishop Bentham. Being appointed Dean of Christ Church he, on September 14, 1584, resigned the mastership of University College. On June 5, 1596, he was installed Dean of Durham, whence he was promoted to the bishopric. He died on the 12th May, 1617, and was buried in his Cathedral. The reader will find more in Wood's *Athenæ Oxonienses* and Surtees' invaluable *History of Durham*.

"The commotions," says the late Bishop of Glasgow (Dr. Russell), "which continued to disturb the Scottish Church, suggested to the King the propriety of holding a conference with the leading members of the two parties. For this purpose he summoned to London the Archbishops of Glasgow

¹ Reg. Bancroft. Hardy's *Le Neve*, vol. iii. p. 295.

and St. Andrew's, and the Bishops of Orkney, Galloway, and Dunkeld, to represent the episcopal interest; while, as advocates for the Presbyterian cause, he named the two Melvilles and five others, than whom there were none better qualified both by talent and courage to support the tenets of the Genevan school, whether in doctrine or discipline." To these seven, namely, Andrew and James Melville, James Balfour, William Watson, William Scott, John Carmichael, and Adam Cole, the King addressed a circular letter, expressing therein his anxiety to preserve that peace in the Church which had been established when he left Scotland. He further enumerated the measures which he had taken for that purpose, dwelt upon the opposition which he had encountered from the clergy, opposition which had been such as to compel him to a severity contrary to his inclination, and concluded by telling them that, being influenced by this and various other weighty reasons, he saw good to command them without fail to come to London before the 15th of September, that on that day he might begin with them, and such others of their brethren as he knew to be learned and experienced, and whom he had also ordered to attend, to treat concerning the peace of the Church of Scotland, and to make his constant and unchangeable favour to the members of that Church so manifest, that they might be bound in duty and conscience to conform to his godly meaning. In his usual style he took great praise to himself for his condescension, and plainly intimated what consequences would follow, if the conference did not terminate agreeably to his royal pleasure. The learned and experienced brethren whom they were to meet were the aforesaid Bishops, not that they had been otherwise ordained than themselves. They had the title of Bishops, but they were not as yet canonically consecrated as a separate order. The canonical consecration of the Scottish Prelates did not take place until A.D. 1610. The King had been known, notwithstanding his many public professions of fidelity to the Kirk, to be favourable to episcopacy. In June, 1606, he settled upon his titular Bishops so much of the episcopal estates as had been hitherto

annexed to the crown, legalizing at the same time the immense plunder of church property which the nobility had secured to themselves by way of rewarding their godly zeal for reformation. Very many of the ministers who were favourable to the Presbyterian discipline protested, but in vain, against this attempt to pave the way for another form of church government.

The seven whom the King had summoned arrived in London before the end of August.¹ "To clear the ground," says Dr. Russell, "for the *amicable contest* in which the Scottish champions were about to engage, James had provided that they should all go to church and listen to a series of discourses on the several points at issue." They had warning given them to attend at Hampton Court on the 20th. Barlow, now Bishop of Rochester, preached on the superiority of Bishops to presbyters; then followed Dr. Buckeridge, President of St. John's College, Oxford, and afterwards successively Bishop of Rochester and Ely, who handled the King's supremacy in causes ecclesiastical, often ranking the Romanists and Presbyterians together in the matter of rebellion. On Sunday, September 28, Bishop Andrewes preached from *Numbers* x. 1, 2, upon the King's right to call assemblies, both civil and ecclesiastical, instancing in both the Old Testament and Apocryphal histories, and copiously also from the ecclesiastical history for the first eight centuries from the Christian era. He noticed the inconsistency of those who disputed this power only upon despairing of its being exerted on their side. After him Dr. King, Dean of Christ Church and Abbot's successor in the see of London, preached from the *Canticles* (chap. viii. verse 11), against the Presbyterian institution of lay-elders.

Neither the sermons nor the conference produced the desired effect. So the ministers were now examined relating to proceedings which had not been specified in the letter. James Melville had rendered himself especially obnoxious to the King by his opposition to his policy on various occasions.

¹ So Dr. Cooke, but in Nichols's *Royal Progresses of James* it is "the beginning of September."

He was now, after an exhibition of intemperate zeal, committed first to the care of the learned Dr. Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, and then to the Tower. After about four years he was restored to his liberty, but not to his country; that he never revisited, but was permitted in 1611 to accept the Divinity Professorship at Sedan, whither he was invited by the Duke of Boulogne. He died in 1621. His nephew James Melville was ordered to reside in Newcastle, but was afterwards removed to Berwick, where he died. The rest were detained awhile, but at last suffered to return to such places in Scotland as were specified by the King.¹

On 5th November Andrewes preached before the King at Whitehall, from *Psalm cxviii. 23, 24*: *This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in it.* On this the first anniversary of that horrible and all but incredible plot, which the Jesuits of our own day would have the world, if possible, discredit,² he set forth the plot and the deliverance in language that must have thrilled the hearts of his auditors. The court of Rome had openly rejoiced at the success of the sanguinary plot of Charles IX. against his Protestant subjects in 1572. He did not on this occasion spare either the Church of Rome, which, had this plot succeeded, would, as he observed, have canonized it, nor the Jesuits. Taking up our Saviour's words, he spoke of it as an abomination that was to have brought desolation. "Every abomination doth not forthwith make desolate. This had. If ever a desolate kingdom upon earth, such had this been after that terrible blow. Neither root nor branch left, all swept away. Strangers called in; murderers exalted; the very dissolution and desolation of all ensued.

"But this, that this so abominable and desolate a plot stood in the holy place, this is the pitch of all. For there it stood, and thence it came abroad. Undertaken with an

¹ Cooke's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ii. p. 190.

² "It is on this day that the pretended attempt to blow up the Parliament House by Guy Fawkes is celebrated in England."—*Catholic Annual*, p. 310. Keating and Brown, Lond. 1830.

holy oath; bound with the *holy sacrament* (this must needs be in a *holy place*); warranted for a *holy act*, tending to the advancement of a *holy religion*, and by *holy persons* called by a most *holy name*, the *name* of *Jesus*. That these *holy religious persons*, even the *chief* of all *religious persons* (the *Jesuits*), gave not only *absolution* but *resolution*, that all this was well done; that it was by them *justified* as lawful, *sanctified* as meritorious, and should have been *glorified* (but it wants glorifying, because the event failed, that is the grief; if it had not, *glorified*) long ere this, and *canonized* as a very good and holy act, and we had had orations out of the *Conclave* in commendation of it."¹ Let the reader but peruse this discourse and carry himself back to the day when it was delivered, the audience assembled to hear it, the presence of the King who was to have been, with all the flower of his own house and of his kingdom, so ruthlessly destroyed, and he will receive an impression, it may be hoped, indelible, of that truly marvellous interposition of the Almighty in behalf of our religion and nation. He will, too, feel that so memorable an occasion could not have been left in the hands of a more eloquent divine than our prelate. Ungrateful indeed and insensible must have been the heart of James, who, in spite of even that deliverance, could not rest until he had endangered the stability of his throne and unsettled the affections of his subjects, by seeking to unite his son, his ill-fated son, to a Romish family.

On the 14th November Andrewes preferred to the vicarage of Chigwell one of the greatest ornaments of his own college, Roger Fenton, B.D., Rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, and one of the translators of the Bible. He was the friend of Thomas Fuller, Rector of St. Peter's, Aldwinckle, and father of the famous Thomas Fuller, and of the excellent Dr. Felton, Andrewes's successor in the see of Ely. He died January 16, 1616, and was buried in St. Stephen's, Walbrook.²

On 24th November Andrewes was on a committee upon

¹ p. 894.

² See *Memorials of Thomas Fuller, D.D.*, by Rev. A. T. Russell, pp. 10—13.

the Union, and again on 8th December, to restrain the multitude of inconvenient buildings in and about the metropolis.

On Christmas-day, Wednesday, our prelate preached before the King at Whitehall, from *Isaiah* ix. 6, vindicating this illustrious prophecy from the forced interpretation of the Jews who apply it to Hezekiah, the vain subterfuge also of modern Unitarianism. But, as Bishop Andrewes remarks, "how senseless is it to apply to Hezekias that in the next verse, *Of his government and peace there should be none end; that his throne should be established from thenceforth for ever*; whereas his peace and government both had an end within few years."

Here, as elsewhere, he does not confine the mediatorial character and saving merits of our Lord to the time and works of his public ministry, but includes therein all that he did and all that he suffered. "If the tree be ours, the fruit is; if he be ours, his birth is ours; his life is ours; his death is ours; his satisfaction, his merits, all he did, all he suffered is ours."¹

Bishop Andrewes served on various committees of the Lords in February and March, 1587.

On Tuesday, March 24, being the anniversary of the King's accession, Andrewes preached before him at Whitehall, from *Judges* xvii. 6: *In those days there was no king in Israel, but every man did that which was good in his own eyes*. He spoke of the excellence of an hereditary monarchy, as leaving no *interregna*, no seasons of confusion. He urged the duty of kings, to whom God gives commission (*I said ye are gods*) to take under their charge the things of God, to put down idolatry, and to provide right instruction for their subjects. He animadverts upon the disposition of many of the laity in his time to intermeddle with ecclesiastical things and persons, *the people that strive with the priest*. *Hos.* iv. 4.¹ Andrewes appears too courtly in this discourse. Was it altogether true of James that he was the opposite to Andrewes's picture of Rehoboam, *one that was full of great words, but so faint-hearted as not able to resist ought?*²

¹ *Sermons*, p. 15.

² p. 121, *Certain Sermons*, &c.

³ p. 127.

On April 5, Easter-day, he preached before the King at Whitehall, from 1 *Cor.* xv. 20, observing how our Lord's resurrection was the day of the feast of first-fruits.¹ Very felicitous is his observation in p. 400: "There was a statute concerning God's commandments, *Qui fecerit ea, vivet in eis*, He that observed the commandments should live by that his obedience. Death should not seize on him. Christ did observe them exactly, therefore should not have been seized by death; should not, but was; and that seizure of his was death's forfeiture."

Towards the end of this sermon, as elsewhere, he speaks in general terms of baptism as our regeneration in which we receive the first-fruits of the Spirit, and of the constant renovation of grace and of pardon in the Lord's Supper; and here he does not introduce the *quasi-Romanism* of some who (like the Pharisees in regard of the prophets) speak much of him, but do not teach the same doctrine. He does not tell his hearers that there are but two times of absolute cleansing, baptism and the day of judgment.²

It was in this year, and probably on May 10th, the fifth Sunday after Easter-day, when the text occurs in the epistle for the day, that our prelate preached before the King at Greenwich one of his best and most ingenious discourses upon the "doing of the Word," from *St. James* i. 22; noting one of the great diseases of his day, the placing of all religion in the going to hear sermons, and at the same time neglecting to be so much as present at the prayers. And in exposing this absurd kind of religion (so to call it), he does not with some vilify preaching, nor teach with these that the hearers should equally follow whatsoever they are taught from the pulpit. He would have all that is heard to rest on the authority and to be tried by the rule of holy Scripture. He notes that "not so few as twenty times in the Gospel is the preaching of the word called the Kingdom of Heaven, as a special means to bring us thither. It is that of which *St.*

¹ *Levit.* xxiii. 10, and *Rom.* xi. 16.

² "There are but two periods of absolute cleansing, baptism and the day of judgment."—Dr. Pusey's *Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*, p. 93.

James in the verse before saith, *It is able to save our souls*; the very words which the angel used to Cornelius, that, when St. Peter came, he should speak *words by which he and his household should be saved.*"¹

On Whit-Sunday, May 24th, Andrewes preached before the King at Greenwich a sermon erroneously assigned to the year following in the folio edition. This, which is the second of the Whit-Sunday series, abounds more in the faults of his style than most of his discourses. He does not proceed far before he pours out his wit upon the Puritans. "I wish it were not true this, that *humours* were not sometimes mistaken, and misterm'd *the Spirit*. A *hot humour* flowing from the *gall*, taken from this *fire* here, and termed, though untruly, the *Spirit of zeal*. Another *windy humour* proceeding from the *spleen*, supposed to be this *wind* here, and they that [are] *filled* with it (if nobody will give it them) taking to themselves the *style* of the *godly brethren*. I wish it were not needful to make this observation, but you shall easily know it for an humour: *non continetur termino suo*, its own limits will not hold it. They are ever mending churches, states, superiors; mending all save themselves; *alieno non suo* is the note to distinguish an humour."¹

Observing that the gifts for which we are to thank God on our celebration of this day are the pastors of his church, he says, "Must we keep our *Pentecost* in thanksgiving for these? are they worth so much, I trow? We would be loth to have the prophet's way taken with us (*Zach. xi. 12*) that it should be said to us, as there it is, If you so reckon of them indeed, *let us see the wages you value them at*; and when we shall see, it is but *eight pound a year*, and having once so much, never to be capable of more. May not then the *prophet's* speech there well be taken up? *A goodly price* these high gifts *are valued at by you*. And may not he justly (instead of *Zachary* and such as he is) send us a sort of *foolish shepherds*; and send us this senselessness withal, that, speak they never so fondly, so they *speak*, all is well; it shall serve our turn as well as the best of them all? Sure, if this be a part of our *duty* this day

¹ p. 133.² p. 610.

to praise God for them, it is to be a part of our care, too, they may be such as we may justly praise God for. Which whether we shall be likely to effect by some courses as have of late been offered, that leave I to the weighing of your wise considerations."¹

On 12th July he, with Dr. Ravis, Bishop of London, and Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, assisted Archbishop Bancroft at the consecration of Dr. Henry Parry, Dean of Chester, to the see of Gloucester, then vacant by the translation of Dr. Ravis to London.

Dr. Parry was the son of Henry, son of William Parry, gentleman, of Wormbridge, about ten miles south-west of Hereford, but was himself a native of Wiltshire, 1561. He was a scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, 13th Nov. 1576, and Fellow and Greek Reader in that college. He was Rector of Bredon in Worcestershire, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, installed Dean of Chester 1st August, 1605, which he resigned on his consecration at Croydon to the see of Gloucester. He was translated to Worcester 13 July, 1610, died 12 December, 1616, and was buried in the Cathedral there. He was as a preacher an especial favourite with King James. The King of Denmark gave him a very rich ring for a sermon preached before him and James the First at Rochester in 1606. He was very charitable to the poor. He built the pulpit that was standing in the nave of Gloucester Cathedral in the last century, but has since been removed. He published two Latin discourses, translated into English; *The Sum of a Conference between John Rainolds and John Hart touching the head and faith of the Church*, Oxford, 1619, folio; and translated from Latin into English a Catechism of controverted questions in Divinity, Oxford, 1591, 8vo., which was written by Zachary Ursinus, a Silesian, and Caspar Olevian, commonly called *The Heidelberg Catechism*.¹

In August Bishop Andrewes was with the King at Romsey in Hampshire, probably at Broadlands near Romsey. His

¹ p. 615.

² See Niemeyeri *Collectio Confess. in Eccles. Reform. Publicatarum*. Lips. 1840, pp. 390—461.

Majesty's host there appears to have been Edward St. Barbe, Esq., who, being previously of Ashington near Ilchester, Somersetshire, married Frances, daughter and heiress of William Fleming, Esq., of Broadlands, who died in 1606. Edward was grandfather of the first baronet of his name. Here Bishop Andrewes preached before the King on the 5th of August, the anniversary of the Gowry conspiracy, from 2 *Sam.* xviii. 32; shewing that it was not for Jews only, but for Christians also, to denounce and curse the enemies of God, of mankind, and of the church. In this sermon he noticed the rise of the Independents, and the levelling principles of the Anabaptists of those times.

“Of the first sort of these risers (against kingly power) are the Anabaptists of our age, by whom all secular jurisdiction is denied. No lawmakers they but the evangelists: no courts but presbyteries: no punishments but church-censures. They rise against the very state of kings: and that should they find and feel, if they were once grown enough to make a party.

“A second sort there be (the Independents) that are but bustling to rise; not yet risen, at least not to this step; but in a forwardness they be; proffer at it, that they do. They that seek to bring *parity* not into the commonwealth by no means, but only into the church. All parishes alike, every one absolute, entire of itself. No dependency, or superiority, or subordination. But, this once being had, do we not know their second position?—have they not broached it long since? The church is the *house*, the commonwealth but the *hangings*. The hangings must be made fit for the house, that is, the commonwealth fashioned to the church, not the house to the hangings. No, take heed of that. And when they were taken with it and charged with it, how sleightly in their answer do they slip it over! These, when they are thus got far may rise one step higher; and as *Aaron* now must not, so perhaps neither must *Moses* then exalt himself above the congregation, seeing that *all God's people are holy no less than he.*”

On the 8th October Andrewes, as one of the residentiaries of St. Paul's, presented the erudite Arabic scholar, William

Bedwell, to the Rectory of Tottenham, Middlesex. He was one of the translators of the Bible, and had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where' he was B.A. in 1585, and M.A. in 1588. In 1601 he was made Rector of St. Ethelburga, London. He was Chaplain to Sir Henry Wotton in his embassy to Venice, where he is said to have assisted Father Paul in his history of the Council of Trent. He published *Kalendarium Viatorium Generale, The Traveller's Kalendar, serving generally for all parts of the world*, 8vo. 1614. Also *Mohamedis Imposturæ: that is, a Discovery of the manifold Forgeries, Falsehoods, and horrible Impieties of the blasphemous seducer Mohammed; with a demonstration of the Insufficiency of his Law, contained in the cursed Alkoran. Delivered in a Conference had between Two Mohametans on their Return from Mecha. Written long since in Arabick, and now done into English by William Bedwell. Whereunto is annexed the Arabian Trudgman, interpreting certain Arabic Terms used by Historians: together with an Index of the Chapters of the Alkoran, for the understanding of the confutations of that Book.* London. Imprinted by Richard Field, dwelling in Great Wood-street, 1615. It purports to be a translation of a work at that time 600 years old. Mr. Gough says that Bedwell translated the Koran into English. He was an early friend and patron of Henry Jacob, son of Henry Jacob, one of the earliest Independents. He recommended the younger Jacob to the notice of William Earl of Pembroke, at whose recommendation he was admitted B.A. of Oxford, 1629. He found a patron in Laud, and adhered to him in his troubles. He was intimate with Selden, who befriended him in his own troubles. He died 1652. Bedwell also published *A Brief Description of the Town of Tottenham High Cross*, 4to. 1631. In this he gave a copy of a very ancient ballad, *The Tournament of Tottenham; or, the Wooing, Winning, and Wedding of Tibbe the Reve's Daughter*. This poem, says Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, is a burlesque on the parade and fopperies of chivalry. It was reprinted in Percy's *Reliques of Antient Poetry*, in Robinson's

History, &c., of Tottenham, 1828. He died May 5, 1632, aged 78, and is buried in Tottenham Church.¹

On 5th November he preached before the King at Whitehall, from the first four verses of *Psalm cxxvi.*, enlarging upon the greatness of that wonderful deliverance which is commemorated on that day.

On Friday, Christmas-day, he again preached before the King at the same place, upon the *mystery of godliness*, and its manifestation in our Lord's incarnation, discoursing excellently upon the great humiliation and love by which this manifestation of God was distinguished.

On Easter-day, March 27, 1608, Bishop Andrewes preached most eloquently upon the history of our Lord's resurrection, from *St. Mark xvi.* 1—7, at Whitehall.

On April 17 he assisted at the consecration of the truly noble Dr. James Montague to the see of Bath and Wells.

On August 5, the anniversary of the Gowry conspiracy, we find Bishop Andrewes preaching before the King at Holdenby,² the once magnificent but now ruined mansion first of Sir Christopher Hatton. His sermon, full of his usual ingenuity, was upon David's most noble and pious answer to Abishai when Abishai counselled him to put Saul to death. The King on the same day rode to Bletsoe, the seat of Oliver Lord St. John, whose third and fourth sons, Antony and Alexander, he there knighted, as also Sir Thomas Tresham, of Newton in Northamptonshire. On August 6 he knighted Sir Richard Harpur of Derbyshire, of a family now represented by Lord Crewe.³

¹ "I understand from Smyth's MS. he left many Arabic MSS. to the University, with numerous notes of his own upon them, and a set of types for printing them."—George Dyer's *History of the University of Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 291, London, 1814. In Carter's *History of the University* Bedwell is placed under St. John's College as having been a Fellow there.

The MSS. are: *An Arabic Copy of St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians*, with a Latin Translation and short Scholia per Gul. Bedwell Stortfordiensem, dedicated to Bancroft, then Bishop of London. *Lexicon Arabico-Turcicum*, 7 vols. folio. *Lexicon Arabicum Bedwelli*, 2 vols. 4to. *Alcoran*, Arabicè.

² North-west of Northampton.

³ Nichols' *Progresses of King James*, vol. ii. pp. 204, 205.

On October 9 Bishop Andrewes with Dr. Thomas Ravis, now Bishop of London, and Dr. James Montague, the truly munificent Bishop of Bath and Wells, assisted Archbishop Bancroft at Lambeth Chapel on the consecration of Dr. Richard Neile, Dean of Westminster, to the bishopric of Rochester. Dr. Neile owed his rise to the great Lord Burleigh and to his son Robert Earl of Salisbury, to both of whom he was successively Chaplain. He was himself the great patron of Archbishop Laud, whom this year he made his Chaplain, and in 1609 introduced him to the notice of the King, before whom he preached at Theobalds.

On November 5, Dr. John King, Dean of Christ Church, who appears as a preacher to have been esteemed next to Andrewes, preached before the King at Whitehall.¹ His text was *Psalm* xi. 2—4. "Cruelty," he truly said, "is the ensign and badge of that Church" [the Church of Rome]. "The habit of the harlot is according to her heart, scarlet and purple; her diet the diet of cannibals. '*I saw her drunken,*' saith the Apostle, '*with the blood of saints.*' I wondered to see her so wonderfully drunk [*θαῦμα μέγα*, *Rev.* xvii. 6]. The city was first founded in blood, the blood of a natural german brother; and the Papacy also founded in blood, the blood of a natural liege lord and emperor."²

And again: "But from the 5th of November was three years; henceforth, till time shall be no more, let the name of Nero, with the rest, rest in peace, and be buried in silence, and instead of Syllan, Marian, Scythian, Tartarian, Barbarian, Turkish, Spanish, let Romish, Popish, Antichristian, Catholic, Catacatholic cruelty be a proverb, astonishment, hissing, for all nations and ages to come."³ Towards the conclusion he urges the King to put in execution the laws against Romanists.⁴ This sermon was published by the King's command, and Dr. King was in three years advanced to the see of London.

This very eloquent preacher and resolute and upright prelate was born about 1559, at Wormenhall, a small village

¹ This sermon was printed at Oxford, 1608.

² p. 23.

³ p. 25.

⁴ pp. 34, 35.

in Buckinghamshire near Thame, being the son of Philip King (who was nephew to the first Bishop of Oxford), and of his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Edmund Conquest, of Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire. He was educated at Westminster School and at Christ Church, Oxford. He was elected a student of Christ Church in 1576, and in 1580 was preferred to the Church of St. Anne's and St. Agnes, Aldersgate. Dr. John Piers, who from 1570 to 1576 was Dean of Christ Church, and in 1588, after having been successively Bishop of Rochester and Salisbury, was raised to the Archbishopric of York, made him his private Chaplain. This most pious and truly Christian Archbishop made him in 1590 Archdeacon of Nottingham, and probably procured his being added to the Queen's Chaplains. Archbishop Piers died in November, 1594, and the Queen in 1597 presented King to the Church of St. Andrew's, Holborn, on the promotion of Bancroft to the see of London. He had already, by his sermons upon Jonah preached at York, proved himself the Chrysostom of his times, but with more depth of piety and with a more accurate theology than is to be found in the homilies of that most earnest and ingenious father. He is in some respects indeed far superior to Bishop Andrewes, although in his court sermons he displays similar faults, and spoils his own more natural method. In 1599 he was collated to the prebendal stall of Sneating, in the place of Dr. William Cotton, the Queen's godson, now raised to the see of Exeter. That truly noble-minded and uncorrupt favourite of the Queen and of his country, Egerton, the Lord Keeper, made him his Chaplain, and in 1605 he succeeded Dr. Ravis as Dean of Christ Church, and was for some years Vice-Chancellor of the University. When Dr. Ravis was to be promoted to the see of Gloucester, several of the students of Christ Church petitioned of the King that he might succeed in the Deanry, which request the King, a great admirer of his preaching, graciously granted. His oratorical talent was such that Sir Edward Coke was wont to call him the best speaker in the Star Chamber. On September 8, 1611, he was consecrated to the bishopric of London. But delighting in his office, and

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esteeming the preaching of God's word the highest dignity, he preached constantly in one and another church in his diocese every Lord's Day. He died on the 29th or 30th of March, 1621.

On November 11 we meet with the following notice of Bishop Andrewes in a letter from John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton :

"I thank you for your remonstrance of the French clergy, which will give me occasion perhaps to visit the good Bishop of Chichester, though I doubt he be not at leisure for any bye-matters, the King doth so hasten and spur him on in this business of Bellarmin's, which he were likely to perform very well (as I hear by them that can judge) if he might take his own time, and not be troubled nor entangled with arguments obtruded to him continually by the King, who is somewhat pleased with a late accident fallen into Scotland, where one Sprutt, being to be executed for some other matter, confessed somewhat touching Gowry's conspiracy that makes it hang more handsomely together." Of Sprutt and his confessions, and of the Gowrie conspiracy, the reader may obtain sufficient information and impartially conveyed in the 40th chapter of Sir Walter Scott's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii., 1830.¹

Of our prelate's *Tortura Torti* mention is also made in a letter from Dudley Carleton, Esq., to Sir Thomas Edmunds, London, June 8th, 1609 : "The Bishop of Chichester's book is now in the press, whereof I have seen part, and it is a worthy work ; only the brevity breeds obscurity, and puts the reader to some of that pains which was taken by the writer. Dr. Morton comes after with a large volume ; and Sir Edward Hoby (who by the way is a sad mourner for his mother) comes in like an *entremets* with a work of his dedicated to the relapsed ladies ; so as Paul's churchyard is like to be well furnished."

¹ See also *Criminal Trials before the High Court of Justiciary*, ii. 146—332, 4to. Edinb. 1830.

CHAPTER IX.

Plots of the Papists against King James—The King treats them favourably—Duplicity of Pope Clement VIII.—Watson's conspiracy—The Gunpowder Plot—Grounded on the Pope's Breves—The plot referred to the Pope for his opinion—Garnet fearful lest he should encourage recourse to arms—Greenicell and Hall—Garnet—Lingard's plea for Garnet—Concealment of sins not yet perpetrated formerly not allowed under the plea of confession—Martin del Rio—Abstraction of documents from the State Paper Office—Abbot's Antilogia—Not the Jesuits alone to be blamed—Oath of allegiance—The King's Premonition to Christian Princes and States—His Confession of Faith—His dissertation on Anti-christ.

BEFORE the accession of King James¹ in 1603, Pope Clement VIII. had put Garnet, the superior or head of the English Jesuits, in possession of epistles or breves directing the

¹ In 1594 the Jesuit Parsons, "a subtle and lying Jesuit" (to use the words of Hallam in his *Constitutional History of England*), "published under the name of Doleman a treatise entitled *Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England*. It is written, says Mr. Hallam, "with much art to shew the extreme uncertainty of the succession, and to perplex men's minds by multiplying the number of competitors. This, however, is but the second part of his Conference, the aim of the first being to prove the right of commonwealths to depose sovereigns, much more to exclude the right heir especially for want of true religion. He pretends to have found very few who favoured the King of Scots' title, an assertion by which we may appreciate his veracity." "Mr. Butler," observes this writer, "is too favourably inclined towards a man without patriotism or veracity."—*Constit. Hist.* 3rd ed. vol. i. p. 389. King Philip II. secretly aimed at bringing in the Infanta; Pope Clement VIII. and the English Roman Catholic gentry were for Arabella Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Lennox.

Roman Catholics to prevent the accession of James, or of any but a Roman Catholic, whenever the demise of Queen Elizabeth should occur. The Romish historian, Dr. Lingard, himself acknowledges that Garnet had these breves; that in 1602 Thomas Winter, afterwards one of the Gunpowder conspirators, had arranged with the ministers of Philip III., King of Spain, a plan for the invasion of England,¹ that the death of Elizabeth disconcerted the project, and that "Garnet had thought it prudent to burn the breves in favour of a Catholic successor."² Thus did the court of Rome and the Jesuits plot against James even previously to his accession, but opportunities did not favour their schemes, and so they did what they could to conceal them. Dr. Lingard says that the Catholics (or, as they are more appropriately designated, Romanists) *almost* unanimously supported the right of James; and, but for their religion, their loyalty probably would have been unanimous; and Dr. Lingard admits that the King felt inclined to grant them some partial indulgence. The open toleration of their religion the country would not have endured. Thousands were still alive who remembered that reign of horror which some of their degenerate posterity have taken such pains to bury in oblivion. The nation was imbued with too deep a spirit of unfeigned attachment to the great truths of Christianity itself, to look upon Romanism with the lukewarmness of the present age. It was therefore boldly impolitic in the King to shew them so much regard as he is acknowledged to have done. He invited them to frequent his court; he conferred on several the honour of knighthood; and he promised to shield them from the penalties of recusancy, so long as by their loyal and peaceable demeanour they should deserve the royal favour. This benefit, though it fell short of their expectations, they ac-

¹ See of this plot, *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 138—140. Lond. Chas. Knight, 22, Ludgate Street, 1835. This work sanctions, though not the Gunpowder Plot, yet the insurrections of the Romanists of those times. "The political situation of the Catholics, &c., were *sufficient motives to insurrection*."—*Criminal Trials, Gunpowder Plot*, vol. ii. p. 185.

² Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, vol ix. p. 8, 4th ed.

cepted with gratitude.¹ By most it was cherished as a pledge of subsequent and more valuable concessions; and the Pontiff Clement VIII., now that Elizabeth was no more, determined to cultivate the friendship of the new King. Thus Dr. Lingard would, as it were, introduce his reader to Pope Clement VIII.; but it is well inserted, "now that Elizabeth was no more," for had her life been spared, the Pope's breves in the hands of Garnet were to have operated to the deprivation of King James of his right. Dr. Lingard gravely informs his reader that the Pope also sent strict commands in two breves directed to the arch-priest and the provincial of the Jesuits, to the intent that the missionaries (for this is the name given by the Romish Church to her clergy in this most benighted kingdom) should confine themselves to their spiritual duties, and discourage every attempt to disturb the public tranquillity. These breves he should have sent earlier, for he knew full well that his missionaries were used to such plots and conspiracies as those which had so often endangered the life of Elizabeth. These breves too were sent to Garnet, the same to whom had been entrusted those treasonable breves to keep James out of the throne of this kingdom.

Already one plot had been discovered in which two priests were engaged, one of whom confessed that the Jesuits who betrayed him, and that when he and they were in a state of mutual hostility, had first led him into the crime. The priest Watson,² at the gallows, alluding to the former disputes

¹ Accordingly "the fines for recusancy were actually remitted for the first two years of James's reign."—*Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 19. London, 1835. (Charles Knight, Ludgate Street.) The King's accession was on March 25, 1603; the Powder Plot was conceived at least by Lent 1604. So much for the gratitude of the Romish party, and the usual palliations of heavy fines for recusancy. See Lingard's *History*, ix. p. 32, note. He would lead his readers to imagine that no such leniency was shewn. Under 1604 he inveighs against the enforcement of the fines for recusancy in the body of his history, whilst in the notes he passes over that year in silence. "From the Book of Free Gifts I find that James gave out of the goods of recusants, in his first year, £150 to Sir Richard Parson; in his *third* (1605), £3,000 to John Gibb." Of 1604 nothing is said, yet more than enough in the text.

² "Watson the priest devised oaths in writing, by which the parties were bound to conceal their treasons."—*Stow's Chronicle, Reign of James I.* p. 829,

between himself and the Jesuits, said, "he forgave and desired to be forgiven of all, namely, that the Jesuits would forgive him if he had written over-eagerly against them; saying also that it was occasioned by them, whom he forgave, if they had cunningly and covertly drawn him into the action for which he suffered.¹ Watson himself had his accomplices, of whom it is not clear that all were brought to justice. • So did Romanism attempt to overturn the government when the King had been scarcely three months upon his throne.

Thus rendered insecure by those who turned religion into rebellion, and faith into faction, his person and kingdom were guarded in his first Parliament by additional fences to protect our country against the insidious policy of Rome. Fresh cautions were framed against the missionary-priests, and legal disabilities were attached to those who studied in the foreign universities.²

The second plot was that of 1605, which the reader may find palliated in Dr. Lingard's History, who is followed to some extent by the anonymous continuator of Sir James Mackintosh's *History of England*.³

On May 1, 1604, the five Gunpowder conspirators, Robert Catesby, Thomas Winter, Thomas Percy, a distant relation and steward to the Duke of Northumberland, John Wright, and Guido Fawkes, after having sworn each other to secrecy, received the host at the hands of John Gerard a Jesuit. The only two who survived (for Catesby, Percy, and Wright were slain resisting their pursuers) declared that Gerard had no

continued by Edmund Howes, gent. Very probably the oath of secrecy in the Gunpowder Plot was made by the Jesuit priest after this precedent.

¹ *Ibid.* p. 831. Watson and Clarke confessed that when they communicated their counsels to the Jesuits then living in England, and desired them to be partakers with them in so noble an enterprise, they received this answer, that the Jesuits could not join them, *forasmuch as they had a business of their own in hand which should be famous to all ages, and which, in due time, would take effect.* "Ut qui suam quoque ipsi parilem telam orsi, memorabilem in ævum texturam pararent, tempore opportuno exitum habituram."—Casauboni *Ep. ad Frontonem Duosum*, Ep. 7, Julii 1611, p. 188, ap. *Discourses of the Powder Plot*, p. 14. Lond. 1674.

² p. 28.

³ See Lathbury's *History of the Gunpowder Treason*. Lond. 1839, p. 51.

knowledge of the conspiracy. This was but a pretext. Their assembling was itself an extraordinary proceeding. Catesby and Winter were well-known agitators. After Catesby had once escaped the block, he attached himself, says Dr. Lingard, to the Spanish party amongst the Romanists, and bore a considerable share in their intrigues to prevent the succession of the Scottish monarch.¹ Such were the communicants; no wonder that they made choice of a Jesuit for their celebration of *these* mysteries.

We have heard Dr. Lingard in one place speaking of the pacific disposition of Pope Clement VIII.;² in another, he owns that Catesby, the originator of the plot, defended it to Garnet on the ground of the two breves of Clement VIII. for the exclusion of the Scottish King from the succession. "If," he argued, "it were lawful to prevent James from coming in after his promise of toleration, it could not be wrong to drive him out after his breach of that promise." Thus does Dr. Lingard himself bear witness to the Pope's duplicity. It is observable, too, that Garnet, instead of condemning the conspirator on the simple ground of the atrocity of his design, opposes to his plans two letters of the Pope advising him (Garnet) to discourage all attempts against the state;³ letters, the sincerity of which Catesby, no inexperienced politician, could appreciate at their real value.

But the guilt of both parties is sufficiently clear from the result of their most conscientious conference. In conclusion, a sort of compromise was accepted, that a special messenger should be despatched to Rome with a correct account of the state of the English Catholics, and that nothing should be done on the part of the conspirators till an answer had been received from the Pontiff."⁴ Thus the Jesuit and the conspirator were both agreed that the plot might proceed with the Pope's permission. Nay, Garnet himself, who had just pleaded the Pope's pacific letters, was (according to Dr. Lingard) fearful that his Holiness would countenance the plot. If he had not such apprehensions, why should he secretly add

¹ Vol. ix. p. 33.² p. 21.³ pp. 44, 45.⁴ Dr. Lingard, ix. p. 45.

a request that the Holy Father would prohibit under censure a recourse to arms?¹ Such was the casuistry of the Pope and of Garnet. Garnet was but an ill teacher of loyalty who had been judged by such a Pope traitor enough to be the keeper of breves denying the right of James to his crown. Dr. Lingard concedes that his martyr Garnet, who he says was only guilty of misprision of treason, constantly practised equivocation and falsehood when examined touching the conspiracy, nay, even justified the confirmation of equivocation by the taking of oaths, or by the receiving of the sacrament.²

Bates, Catesby's man, was sent to a Jesuit by name Tesmond,³ and revealed to him the whole plot in confession. Tesmond highly applauded the design, and gave him the host to confirm him in his purpose. So Bates confessed, as Bishop Andrewes has recorded in his *Tortura Torti*.⁴ Our prelate appears to affirm that Gerard himself administered to the five conspirators the oath of secrecy.⁵

A third Jesuit, Oldcorn (alias Hall), after the detection of the conspiracy, justified it.⁶

Twice was Garnet consulted with respect to the guilt of involving the innocent in any fatal calamity in a case of necessity when some great end called for it. Dr. Lingard notices but one such occasion.⁷ On the first occasion Greenwell (Dr. Lingard's *Greenway*) was present with Catesby. The second time the same question was put on Moorfields,⁸

¹ Dr. Lingard, ix. p. 45.

² p. 67.

³ Alias *Greenwell*. So *Tortura Torti*, p. 281, but Dr. Lingard calls this same individual *Greenway*, and upon his veracious authority builds his own ex-parte statements. He is the *Oswald Greenway* called, with Gerard, by Dr. Lingard himself the familiar acquaintance of the conspirators. (*History of England*, ix. p. 31, *note*.) He was sent as a conspirator to Spain to stir up the King of Spain against England in 1602. *Antilogia*, p. 161.

⁴ p. 280.

⁵ "Gerardus—qui uno eodemque tempore *quinque simul* viris, de conspiratorum numero, *juramentum taciturnitatis*, detulit."—p. 280, and *State Trials*, 2nd ed. 1730, vol. i. p. 233.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 280.

⁷ See *Hist. of England*, ix. p. 39.

⁸ Dr. Robert Abbot's *Antilogia* (being a refutation of Joannes Eudæmon), c. ix. p. 137. Londini, 1613.

and a more direct answer returned, "that the innocent might lawfully be blown up with the guilty, and that it would be highly meritorious if it should bring any great advantage to the Catholics."¹

Garnet confessed that from Catesby he knew that a plot was in agitation before he knew it in detail, and that he was guilty both for concealing it and not preventing it.² Nay, Garnet said prayers and offered up masses for the success of the plot,³ and an order was issued to all the Jesuits to use certain special prayers for the furtherance of an object that was in the mind of their superior (Garnet), and which was to be a great benefit to the Catholic cause. Scarcely four days before that memorable one in which the plot was to have been executed, Garnet was at Coughton in Warwickshire (the very place whither the other conspirators were to have gathered to him, if the plot had not failed), and there enjoined his auditors to pray for the success of the act which was then about to take place.⁴

So much for the innocence of Dr. Lingard's and his Church's martyr, Garnet.

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 282.

² *Ibid.* p. 283.

³ "Then were the two witnesses called for, both of them persons of good estimation, that overheard the interlocution betwixt Garnet and Hall the Jesuit, viz., Mr. Fauset, a man learned and a justice of the peace, and Mr. Lockerson. But Mr. Fauset was sent for to appear; and in the meantime Mr. Lockerson, who, being deposed before Garnet, delivered upon his oath that they heard Garnet say to Hall, 'They will charge me with my prayer for the good success of the great action in the beginning of the Parliament, and with the verses which I added in the end of my prayer :

' Gentem auferte perfidam
Credientium de finibus,
Ut Christo laudes debitas

Persolvamus alacriter.' "—*State Trials*, i. p. 250.

⁴ *Tortura Torti*, p. 284. Very remarkable were the words of the prayer taught to some of the Romanists, for the furtherance of the *great design*: "Prosper, Lord, their pains that labour in thy cause day and night. Let heresy vanish like smoke; let the memory of it perish with a crack, like the ruin and fall of a broken house."—Rev. Henry Foulis' *History of Popish Treasons*, p. 514, b. x. c. 2, 2nd ed., 1681. Parsons, the Rector of the English College at Rome, ordered the students to pray for the intention of their father-Rector. Some deserted the College when they learnt what this intention was.—*Ibid.* p. 509.

The excuse that Dr. Lingard urges and that Bellarmine urged in his behalf was, that he had only kept that secret which had been delivered under the seal of confession; but the Romish historian admits that Garnet was brought to some concessions even on this point, only after his trial.¹ Dr. Lingard does not enlighten his readers by telling them that the excuse of the seal of confession was one that would not have been allowed in France, and one on which there existed a diversity of opinion at least at that time in his own communion. It is true indeed that in Ireland, if not in England, this profane doctrine of the inviolability of treason when communicated in confession is maintained by the Romish priesthood, a proof that Romanism is as little to be trusted now as in the darkest ages of its supremacy.

Cardinal Bellarmine, whose pen was equally ready to write books of devotion and treatises of rebellion, affirmed that his Church did not permit any other conduct than that of the holy and incomparable martyr Garnet, for so this traitor was esteemed at Rome. Bishop Andrewes adduces various examples of the revealing of treason communicated in confession by priests in France.² He remarks that Bellarmine says truly, '*permits not,*' for that it is certain that *formerly it did permit* such disclosures. "Who," asks Bishop Andrewes, "is ignorant of that verse, *Hæresis est crimen, quod nec confessio cælat?*" *Heresy is a crime which not even confession conceals.* The secrecy for which Bellarmine pleads, and which Dr. Lingard does not condemn, is disapproved by Alexander de Hales, the master of whom both Bonaventura and Aquinas learnt. It is also disclaimed utterly by Angelus à Clavasio, an Italian who lived about A.D. 1480. He affirms that the priest is bound to reveal any evil that is in meditation against the state and that he shall have heard in confession. The same is the equally decided opinion of Sylvester Prierias, master of the Pope's Palace, who wrote against Luther. Nicholas of Palermo, one of the greatest canonists of the

¹ Dr. Lingard's *History of England*, ix. p. 66; and see *Tortura Torti*, p. 285.

² In the reign of Francis. *Bodin. de Repub.* lib. ii. cap. 5; and *Hist. de Paris*, pp. 144, 307. *Tortura Torti*, p. 393.

15th century, reports also that the same was the opinion of Pope Innocent the Fourth, who died in 1254. And so Dominicus à Soto, confessor to the Emperor Charles V., and present at the Council of Trent in 1545.¹ But a new doctrine arose after the time of the Reformation, and probably only with a view to its extinction and to the concealment of the multiplied conspiracies by which Protestant princes were assailed, at the instigation more especially of the still tolerated and flourishing order of Jesuits.

Garnet equivocated not only in regard of facts but of doctrine. Upon his trial, defending himself upon the question of the Pope's deposing power, he who had been the keeper of breves to prevent the accession of King James, pretended that although the Pope had power to depose Catholic princes, he made a difference in the matter of excommunicating and deposing of princes, betwixt the condition and state of our king and of others, who having sometimes been Catholics, did or shall afterwards fall back.²

Afterwards the Earl of Salisbury put the question to him, Whether in case the Pope, *per sententiam orthodoxam*, should excommunicate the King's Majesty of Great Britain, his subjects were bound to continue their obedience? To this Garnet denied to answer.³

The Attorney-General observed that Garnet might and ought to have discovered the mischief for preservation of the State, though he had concealed their persons.⁴ It may be added that he might have both done this and secured the lives of the conspirators, who, upon timely warning, might all have fled, and would certainly have been protected by the King of Spain in his dominions, the fomenter himself of rebellion and treason. Dr. Lingard must have been aware of this, who yet evidently sympathizes with these incendiaries.

Garnet died a true Romanist, imploring the Virgin Mary

¹ See *Tortura Torti*, pp. 294, 295.

² *State Trials*, vol. i. p. 249.

³ *Ibid.* p. 252.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 252.

to receive him at the hour of his death, using these words of their idolatrous hymn—

“Maria mater gratiæ,
Mater misericordiæ,
Tu me à malo protege,
Et horâ mortis suscipe.”¹

The atrocity and almost incredible viciousness of Garnet's private life is set forth by Dr. Abbot (afterwards Bishop of Salisbury) in the preface² to his *Antilogia*. Bishop Andrewes alludes in plain terms to his unlawful attachment to the female who was permitted to converse with him when in the Tower. Such was the man whose piety is commended by Bellarmine, and who was regarded by some of his own communion as a martyr, and one whose innocence was attested by a miracle.³

In 1674 appeared *A Discourse concerning the Original of the Powder Plot, together with a Relation of the Conspiracies against Queen Elizabeth, and the Persecutions of the Protestants in France to the Death of Henry the Fourth, &c.* This work consists of two parts, the first by the editor, the second a translation from De Thou of his account of the Parisian massacre in 1572, and of the Gunpowder Plot.

The author observes that “this was not the first time that

¹ *State Trials*, p. 301.

² Or ‘Epistle to the Reader.’ Garnet's character is defended by the author of the second volume of *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 197, but he omits to notice that Dr. Abbot in his *Antilogia* appeals to Bishop Bilson who presided over Winchester College whilst Garnet was there.

³ See Abbot's *Antilogia*, c. xiv. pp. 194—201. “If he had any learning, he had it to himself; for he savoured certainly more of Bacchus than of Apollo.”—*Tortura Torti*, p. 228. And see the *Interlocution of Garnet and Hall*, 2nd March, 1605. “And then Garnet confessed himself to Hall, which was uttered much more softer than he used to whisper in their interlocutions, and but short: and confessed that, because he had drunk extraordinarily, he was fain to go two nights to bed betimes.”—*Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 224. “It was known to very many,” writes Bishop Andrewes, “how often he was not sober, which you, but for that you had made proclamation of his incomparable sanctity, would never have heard from me. But be silent henceforth as to his sanctity, lest you should hear yet again more from us that you would not hear.”—*Tortura Torti*, p. 228.

this means hath been proposed by confederates of that party, for the destruction and murder of our princes, for it had been long before proposed by one Moody to be laid under Queen Elizabeth's bed and secretly fired."¹

But there is a passage of the Jesuit *Martin Del Rio* (otherwise *Delrius*) in his *Disquisitiones Magicæ*, printed about five years before the conspiracy, in which it is actually anticipated and resolved that, being revealed in confession as a thing not yet executed but resolved upon, it is most agreeable to the sanctity of confession that it should not be revealed. And for this resolution of this case of conscience the Jesuit refers to the opinion of *the then Pope, Clement VIII.*, the same who conspired against the accession of King James by sending breves to England with a view to raise to the throne Arabella Stuart. This book of the Jesuit Del Rio, printed about five years before the plot was discovered, may be seen in the Bodleian Library, and after the discovery of the plot the book was reprinted in 1617 with the same passages retained.² The opinion that sins deliberately intended to be committed should be revealed by the priest

¹ Camden's *Annals*, 1587.

² Lib. vi. c. l. § 2, pp. 911, 912. *Moguntia*, 1617, 4to. It was first published in 1600 at Louvain, and again in 1603 at Mentz. The edition of 1617, Mentz, is in the University Library of Cambridge; and the author of the *Discourse concerning the Original of the Powder Plot* notes in p. 16, that Del Rio's judgment of the plot may in some sort be understood by his esteem of Garnet, whom he compared with St. Dionysius the Areopagite in his *Vindicatio Areopag.* cap. xxvii. p. 104. Del Rio died at Louvain (the resort of some of the conspirators) on Oct. 19, 1608. The author of the *Discourse* with great probability conjectures that *this* was purely a Jesuit plot, not detailed to the seculars or common priests, between whom and the Jesuits there were about this time very great animosities.

The author of the second volume of *Criminal Trials* (1835, Chas. Knight, Ludgate Street), inserts the passage here alluded to, and observes, "It is natural to suppose that a contemporary treatise upon a subject of doctrine, written by a Jesuit, would be in his (Garnet's) hands. It is probable, indeed, that Delrius's book was at this time well known to the English Catholics, and Sir Everard Digby possibly referred to it in his letter to his wife, when he says, "I saw the principal point of the case (the lawfulness of the plot) judged in a Latin book of M. D." (Martin Delrius).—Digby's *Letters appended to the Bishop of Lincoln's History of the Gunpowder Plot*, p. 249, edit. 1679. *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 372.

Del Rio condemns as *dangerous* and *tending* to withdraw men from confession; and therefore he concludes that the contrary opinion is altogether to be followed, that it is not lawful to detect even treason against the State. He puts the case, "A malefactor confesses that himself or some other hath put powder or something else under such an entry (or groundsel), and except it be taken away the house will be burnt, *the Prince destroyed*, and *as many as go into or out of the city will come to great mischief or hazard*;" and then resolves for the negative, that the priest ought not to reveal this confession, owning that herein he differed from others of his communion, but alleging that this seems to be the mind of Pope Clement VIII. himself. Then he proceeds to justify the concealing of such crimes by equivocation and falsehood; nay, he must not reveal such even to the Pope. This carries with it a great air of consistency.

And here it may be observed that the Romish religion itself is a religion of subtleties, equivocations, and evasions. Thus both Bishop Andrewes, and after him Bishop Abbot, in his *Antilogia*, expose the shuffling of Bellarmine with respect to the Pope's deposing power over princes.¹ Thus the Romish distinctions respecting image-worship, and the mediation of Christ and of the saints, and the higher and inferior worship, the one due to him, the other to them.

Garnet was not the first equivocator; it had grown into a system and had been frequently practised by others before him. And not only the Jesuit Garnet, but Blackwell, the head or arch-priest of the secular or parochial clergy of that communion in England, sanctioned a book recommending equivocation.²

¹ *Ad Matth. Tort. Responsio*, pp. 26, 27. *Antilogia*, p. 11.

² See *Antilogia*, p. 13. This book was found in the desk of one of the conspirators (Tresham) after his death. He had so learnt its contents, that, whereas he had before accused Garnet, on his death-bed he retracted this accusation; and yet, says the recent historian of the plot, in the second volume of *Criminal Trials* (*Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, Knight, 1835), "there is no doubt that this dying declaration was wilfully false."—p. 102. This writer adds, that whilst "there is no evidence in support of the imputation," "it is common with Catholic writers to ascribe the death of Tresham to violence or poison."—p. 103.

The second volume of *Criminal Trials*, published in 1835 in the *Library of Entertaining Knowledge*, and printed by Charles Knight, Ludgate Street, is entirely occupied with the Gunpowder Plot, and is the fullest account of it that has hitherto appeared. It professes to be for the most part taken from the collection of original documents respecting the plot, preserved in the State Paper Office, and arranged and indexed some years ago by Mr. Lemon. The writer of the preface observes that, "although it was not thought expedient by the Privy Council of James I. to publish to the world much information respecting the plot, it is clear from the existence of this mass of evidence, that they were in possession of full knowledge of its minutest details. Perhaps no conspiracy in English history was ever more industriously inquired into. For nearly six months the inquiry almost daily occupied the earnest attention of the commissioners appointed by the King to examine the witnesses and prisoners, during the whole of which time their labours were zealously aided by Chief Justice Popham, Sir Edward Coke, Sir Francis Bacon, and several others of the most acute and experienced lawyers of the day. *More than five hundred* depositions of witnesses and real or supposed confederates were taken, a large proportion of which, together with numerous contemporary letters and papers relating to the transaction, are still in existence at the State Paper office."

This writer informs us, in the next page that, "for many years previously to the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, whilst the propriety of that measure was the subject of animated discussion in every session of Parliament, proposals for the publication of these papers were *discouraged from just and laudable motives, under a reasonable apprehension that such a publication, sanctioned as it must have been in some measure by the Government would have tended to prejudice that great question.*" The writer who can justify such conduct may at least be trusted in the witness which he unwillingly bears to the reasonableness of the remaining prejudices of his

Protestant fellow-countrymen, and such witness this publication *does* bear.

But a little after this he adds that the papers of this collection most materially concerning Garnet and the Jesuits are *now* missing. "Although the documents upon the subject of the Gunpowder Plot preserved at the State Paper Office are very numerous, and constitute a body of evidence of incalculable value to the historical inquirer, the collection is not by any means complete. Many important papers, which were particularly mentioned and abstracted¹ by Bishop Andrewes, Dr. [afterwards Bishop] Abbot, Casaubon, and other contemporary writers, and some of which were copied by Archbishop Sancroft from the originals so lately as the close of the 17th century, are not now to be found. It is remarkable that precisely those papers which constitute the most important evidence against *Garnet and the other Jesuits* are missing; so that if the merits of the controversy respecting their criminal implication in the plot depended upon the fair effect of the original documents *now* to be found in the State Paper Office, impartial readers might probably hesitate to form a decided opinion against them." The advocate of the Jesuits, Dr. Lingard, *is silent* upon this most remarkable incident. Our author proceeds: "The papers of particular importance upon this part of the subject are the minutes of an overheard conversation between Garnet and Oldcorne in the Tower, dated the 25th February, 1605-6; an intercepted letter from Garnet addressed to "the Fathers and Brethren of the Society of Jesus," dated on Palm Sunday, a few days after his trial; and an intercepted letter to Greenway [Greenwell], dated April 4, 1605-6. That all of these papers were in the State Paper Office in 1613, when Dr. Abbot wrote his *Antilogia*, is evident from the copious extracts from them published in that work; and a literal copy of the first of them, made by Archbishop Sancroft many years afterwards from the state papers, is still in existence. The originals of these documents, and many others mentioned by Dr. Abbot and Sancroft, are, however, not to be found in

¹ *I.e.* made abstracts of them.

the proper depository for them; and it is undoubtedly a *singular accident* that, amongst so large a mass of documents, *precisely those should be abstracted upon whose authenticity the question so hotly disputed between the Catholics and Protestants mainly depended.*"¹

Dr. Lingard builds considerably upon three Jesuits, two of them, if not all three, friends *of* as well as *to* the conspirators, Gerard, Greenwell,² and a third who wrote under the name of Eudæmon.³ The author of the account in Knight's *Criminal Trials* (Mr. Jardine) notices that his real name was L'Heureux, that he was a native of Candia, and a very learned Jesuit who taught theology at Padua, and was appointed by Pope Urban VIII. Rector of the Greek College at Rome.⁴ And the controversy to which this Eudæmon gave occasion, affords us an incidental proof of the authenticity of the papers now missing. For, says our author of Abbot—who undertook his *Antilogia* in 1613, in answer to Eudæmon-Joannes (who, having first been answered ably and candidly by Isaac Casaubon in his Epistle to Fronto Duceus in 1611), rejoined in 1612 that "it is manifest from the contents of this work (the *Antilogia*) that during its composition Dr. Abbot had free access to all the documentary evidence against Garnet which was in the possession of the government. This he would readily obtain through his brother the Archbishop of Canterbury; and indeed there is a *memorandum still existing* in the State Paper Office, which records that on the 9th of October, 1612, a great number of the documents relating to the plot, together with the *Treatise of Equivocation* found in Tresham's desk,

¹ Preface, pp. x., xi.

² "According to his statement, the men who contrived this monstrous and cruel treason were the gentlest, the most benevolent, and the most pious of the human race."—Preface, pp. xi., xii. This most veracious Jesuit was appointed Penitentiary to the Pope, and is said to have enjoyed during the remainder of his life the full favour and confidence of Paul V.—*Ibid.* p. xiii.

³ See Lingard's *Hist.* vol. ix. pp. 31, 34, 35, 37—53, 55, 57, 59, *et seq.*

⁴ He was also Censor or Qualificator of the Inquisition. When Cardinal Francis Barberini was sent legate to the French Court he took him with him. He died at Rome December 24, 1625. See Dod's *Church Hist.*, part v. p. 394, vol. ii., Brussels, 1739.

were delivered to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and that on the 1st of July, 1614, they were again returned by him to their proper depository."¹

On the night of the 5th of November there was to be a general meeting of the friends of the conspirators at Dunchurch in Warwickshire, under the pretence of hunting on Dunsmoor Heath, from which place, as soon as they received notice that the blow was struck, a party was to be despatched to seize the Princess Elizabeth at the house of Lord Harrington, near Coventry.² With a view to this arrangement Sir Everard Digby (one of the conspirators) removed Lady Digby and his family, and with them *Father Garnet*, to Coughton Hall, near Alcester, in the same county, which then belonged to Mr. Thomas Throckmorton.³ On Saturday the 26th of October the plot was discovered by the letter to Lord Monteagle. On Sunday the 3rd of November Sir Everard Digby rode from Coughton to Dunchurch. Some of the conspirators were at Ashby St. Legers, the residence of Lady Catesby, mother of Catesby the conspirator.⁴ About six o'clock in the evening, just as the conspirators Robert Winter and his companions were about to sit down to supper with the lady of the mansion, Catesby, Percy, the two Wrights, and Rookwood, fatigued and covered with dirt, arrived with the news of the apprehension of Fawkes and the total overthrow of the main design of the plot. After a short conference, the whole party taking with them all the arms they could find, rode off to Dunchurch. There they found the house (Coughton Hall) filled with a *large party of anxious and excited guests*; for, though only a few were informed of the specific nature of the intended atrocity, *all*

¹ *Gunpowder Plot, Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 366, 367, ed. Knight.

² *Criminal Trials, Gunpowder Plot*, p. 56.

³ *Ibid.* p. 80. Here, too, was the Jesuit Greenway.—p. 82.

⁴ "Catesby perished at Holbeach House when it was surrounded by the attendants of Sir Richard Walsh, the Sheriff of Worcestershire. Feeling himself mortally wounded, he crawled into the house upon his hands and knees, and seizing an image of the blessed Virgin which stood in the vestibule, clasped it in his arms and expired."—Greenway's *MS.* (We must remember that Greenway makes all the conspirators very pious men.) See *Criminal Trials*, ii. p. 87.

were aware that some great and decisive blow was about to be struck in London for the Romish cause, the intelligence of which they were that night to receive.¹

Thus, besides the conspirators, many there were that consented; and what were the consciences of this large party of anxious and excited guests? and in what rank and condition of life were they? Gentlemen, as was the boast of Fawkes and Greenway.² And there is little doubt but that the conspirators would have been joined by many, if the plot had not so suddenly and providentially failed. But where they expected to be received they were, after the detection of their schemes, repulsed for having brought ruin on the cause they had purposed to restore.³

We are told that the Romanists as a body abhorred the plot; yet we find one conspirator, Greenway or Greenwell, in favour with the Pope, and others safe under the protection of Romish Sovereigns. "Baldwin, a Jesuit in Flanders, and Hugh Owen had been implicated in various previous plots against the English government, and the suspicions of their acquaintance with the Powder Plot were confirmed by the statements of Fawkes and Winter. A requisition was therefore made to the Archduke in Flanders to deliver up these individuals to the English government, and also to secure the person of Sir William Stanley, upon which much negotiation and correspondence passed through Sir Thomas Edmondes the English ambassador at Brussels; and Lord Salisbury states to Sir T. Edmondes that the object was to confront them with the other conspirators, whose trials were delayed for that purpose. Eventually the Archduke, after referring to the King of Spain, refused to comply with the requisition."⁴

Such was the spirit of Romanism that it led foreign princes

¹ *Criminal Trials*, ii. p. 80.

² *Ibid.* pp. 39, 44. Many of the conspirators were men of large possessions. How then were they influenced to such a crime? "By religious motives," is the solution of the writer himself, who, with considerable ability has detailed the plot in the second volume of the *Criminal Trials*. See pp. 186, 187.

³ p. 83.

⁴ p. 112.

to shelter this conspiracy and to open their arms to these men of blood, to become partakers of their guilt, and, by withholding from James the means of detecting the conspirators, proving to the world that their religion sanctioned every kind of injustice towards those who did not embrace it.

In like manner one and another of the English Romanists secreted the Jesuit Greenway, and thus gave him opportunities of escape from justice.¹ There was abundant testimony that both Greenway and Garnet, with full knowledge of what had happened in London, joined the conspirators at Haddington while they were in arms against the government.²

The author of the second volume of *Criminal Trials* regards the plot as a purely Jesuit plot. He writes, "It ought to be remembered that all the avowed conspirators belonged to the Jesuit faction."³ But this little avails to clear the character of the Romish laity. The Treshams, the Winters, William Lord Vaux of Harrowden, the Abingdons, and others, are incontestable indications of the facility with which the Romish religion enables her priesthood to corrupt the loyalty of her laity. The Romish faith was in truth practically indebted to the Jesuits, and hence, as it owned

¹ p. 196.

² p. 194. Haddington, a few miles north-east of Worcester.

³ p. 188. Accordingly we find them all schooled in equivocation and lying. "The private letters of Sir Everard Digby, published in 1679, fully shew that it was a matter of conscience with the principal conspirators to deny all knowledge of the priests as parties to the plot."—p. 192. We may note that this would have been a very needless precaution if no priests were in the conspiracy. Dr. Lingard himself would take advantage to defend Garnet from his very equivocation. Thus he supposes his account of Baynham's mission to be one of his many intentional falsehoods. Certain it is that by it Garnet, if he equivocated, most completely entrapped himself. See *Lingard*, vol. ix. p. 45, note. The Earl of Salisbury made him answer, 'I must now remember you, how little you make for your purpose, when you would seek to colour your dealing with Baynham by professing to write by him to Rome, to procure a prohibition of that and all other conspiracies; and yet you know that Baynham was sent at such a time that he was only at Florence in October; and do you not think he had need to be well horsed to go from thence to Rome, get a prohibition, and return to England before the 5th of November? If this be likely, I leave all the world to judge.' To which Garnet made no great answer, but let it pass."—*Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. p. 292.

them, it unavoidably partook, and ever will partake, of their disgrace.

The very fact of the recognition of a body who justified doing evil that good might come, who taught a system of equivocation and perjury, and solemnly maintained the piety of such practices, has branded the Romish Church with a stigma that can never be erased. This was the true cause of the severe enactments touching recusancy, resorting to Popish worship, harbouring seminary priests, &c. The state was never safe whilst there were Jesuits in the country. And as every kind of disguise was resorted to by them, it only remained for the state to treat with suspicion every individual who taught, and to watch narrowly every individual who professed, the Romish religion.

But, on the other hand, the whole blame of treason and disloyalty must not be laid upon the Jesuits. They have truly said in their own behalf, that the doctrine of the Pope's power of deposing princes, and if so, by consequence, the papist's duty to rebel against the deposed, was not peculiar to them. They were the deepest politicians, the most unscrupulous, the most conscientiously unconscientious; but the religion itself, which, in not disavowing the Popes who were the authors of these treasonable doctrines, gave them advantages in promulgating it, the religion itself is to blame.

Since the publication of the second volume of *Criminal Trials* another edition of Dr. Lingard's History has appeared,¹ in which he admits the genuineness of the letter of Garnet 'to his beloved fathers and brethren.' This letter Dr. Lingard had previously declared a forgery, but fresh light has broken in upon him. In this letter he confessed to his beloved fraternity that he had implicated Greenwell or Greenway, which he should not have done, but that he understood that he was safe upon the continent. It was well for Dr. Lingard to withdraw his attack upon this letter, for he had given to his readers a misrepresentation of the contents of

¹ *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii., *The Gunpowder Plot*, Lond. 1835. The fourth edition of Dr. Lingard's *History of England* appeared in 1838, corrected and considerably enlarged.

the letter itself, which was detected by the author of this second volume. "Garnet is made to say," says Dr. Lingard 'that had he not known that Greenway was in the tower, he would have invented some other fiction.' What Garnet is really represented to have said is the reverse of this."¹ Other misconceptions (to call them by no severer a name) Dr. Lingard has continued to indulge, misconceptions most ably removed by the author just cited in the concluding pages of his most interesting volume.

This author bears impartial testimony to the fidelity and ability both of Bishop Abbot's *Antilogia* and of Bishop Andrewes' *Tortura Torti*.² A most remarkable circumstance it is that *two* men could have been found zealous to palliate a traitor such as Garnet, one a layman, the other a clergyman of the Church of Rome, Mr. Butler and Dr. Lingard. Both of these could not but be aware that if Garnet had but for one week instead of for five months a previous knowledge of the plot, he might have given notice of it, and by so doing have gained as great a reputation for that most plotting of all societies, as now he has obtained for them an infamy which they will never survive.

How little sympathy with true patriotism can be tolerated by the Romish communion, or can consist with a zealous adherence to that system, may be seen from the fact that in the *Circle of the Seasons*—a work full of interest in a variety of points, and recommended to the general reader by the most plentiful interspersions of poems and quotations—it is more than insinuated that there was no such plot as that of 1605.³

¹ *Criminal Trials, Gunpowder Plot*, vol. ii. p. 328.

² *Ibid.* pp. 364—367. He characterizes Butler's remarks on the question of Garnet's guilt, in his *Memoirs of the English Catholics*, as "partial and superficial in the extreme."—p. 368.

³ "It is on this day that the *pretended* attempt to blow up the Parliament House by Guy Fawkes is celebrated in England by children, who dress up a figure like a large doll, and call it Guy Fox. This image is burned at night in a bonfire, a very wicked spirit to encourage in children, but perfectly consistent with the immoral age in which it originated."—*Circle of the Seasons, and Companion to the Calendar and Almanack for the year of our Lord 1829.*

King James, notwithstanding this fresh proof of the insecurity to which he and his kingdom stood exposed, was inclined to lenient measures. Doubtless the firm adherence of his royal mother to the Church of Rome was the ground of that undue regard for the Romanists which he evinced to the very last, to the loss of his popularity, and to the ruin of his posterity. But the kingdom, more than ever awake to the true character of the Church of Rome, which now looked upon Garnet as a martyr whose innocence was attested by miracles, demanded that the public security should be protected by greater restraints upon the Romish party, and amongst these restraints was the new oath of allegiance.

“That James,” writes Dr. Lingard, “in the proposal of the last measure, had the intention of gradually relieving one portion of his Catholic subjects from the burden of the penal laws, is highly probable; but whether those to whom he committed the task of framing the oath, Archbishop Abbot and Sir Christopher Perkins, a conforming Jesuit, were animated with similar sentiments, has been frequently disputed. They were not content with the disclaimer of the deposing power; they added a declaration that to maintain it was impious, heretical, and damnable.” And why, it may be asked, should Dr. Lingard object to this? What should hinder the Pope’s making use of the deposing power, if that power was lawful and admitted to be so on religious grounds? But if every soul is to be obedient to the higher powers (the civil magistrate), and that by the Word of God, why should a Christian believe other of the Pope’s assumed deposing power, than that it is damnable in him to exercise it, or in others to give heed to it? What worse heresy than that which merges all power in the ecclesiastical; a heresy that would represent the religion of nature and of revelation as diametrically opposed? What more impious than thus to set the ministers of the Church above the Word of God?

There was moreover an especial reason for framing the

Second edition enlarged, p. 310. London: published by Messrs. Hookham, Bond Street; Keating and Brown, Duke Street; and sold by H. Guy, Chelmsford; Cumming, Dublin; and by all Booksellers in town and country.

oath in such decided terms. The Romanists were taught that although equivocation was a duty when priests were to be screened and other good ends maintained, it was not lawful to deny the faith. Thus Satan, even as a teacher of falsehood, was careful to appear as an angel of light. But it would have been a denial of their faith for the Jesuits and those of the Romanists who thought as highly as they did of the Pope's authority, to have declared that the exercise of that power or the admission of it to the deposing of princes was impious, heretical, and damnable.

Of these fresh restraints and of this oath King James himself thus speaks in his *Premonition to all Christian Monarchs, Free Princes, and States*: "The never enough wondered at and abhorred Powder Treason (though the repetition thereof grieveth, I know, the gentle-hearted Jesuit Parsons), this treason, I say, being not only intended against me and my posterity, but even against the whole House of Parliament, plotted only by Papists, and they only led thereto by a preposterous zeal for the advancement of their religion, some of them continuing so obstinate that even at their death they would not acknowledge their fault, but in their last words, immediately before the expiring of their breath, refused to condemn themselves and crave pardon for their deed, except the Romish Church should first condemn it: and soon after, it being discovered that *a great number of my Popish subjects of all ranks and sexes, both men and women*, as well within as without the country, had a confused notion and an obscure knowledge that some great thing was to be done in that Parliament for the weal of the Church, although, for secrecy's cause, they were not acquainted with the particulars; certain forms of prayer having likewise been set down and used for the good success of that great errand; adding hereunto, that *divers times, and from divers priests*, the archtraitors themselves received the sacrament for confirmation of their heart and observation of secrecy; some of the principal Jesuits likewise being found guilty of the foreknowledge of the treason itself, of which number some fled from their trial, others were apprehended

(as holy *Garnet* himself and Oldcorne were) and justly executed upon their own plain confession of guilt ; if this treason now, clad with these circumstances, did not minister a just occasion to that Parliament House, whom they thought to have destroyed, courageously and zealously at their next sitting down, to use all means of trial, whether any more of that mind were yet left in the country ; I leave it to you to judge whom God hath appointed his highest depute judges upon earth : and amongst other things for this purpose, this *oath of allegiance*, so unjustly impugned, was then devised and enacted. And in case any sharper laws were then made against the Papists, that were not obedient to the former laws of the country, if ye will consider the *time*, *place*, and *persons*, it will be thought no wonder, seeing that occasion did so justly exasperate them to make severer laws than otherwise they would have done. The *time*, I say, being the very next sitting down of the Parliament after the discovery of that abominable treason : the *place* being the same where they should all have been blown up, and so bringing it freshly to their memory again : the *persons* being the very Parliament-men whom they thought to have destroyed. And yet so far hath both my heart and government been from any bitterness, as almost never one of those sharp additions to the former laws have ever yet been put in execution.

“ And that ye may yet know further, for the more convincing of these libellers of *wilful* malice, who impudently affirm that this oath of allegiance was devised for deceiving and entrapping of Papists in points of conscience ; the truth is, that the lower house of Parliament, at the first framing of this oath, made it to contain that the Pope had no power to *excommunicate me*, which I caused them to reform, only making it to conclude that no excommunication of the Pope can warrant my subjects to practise against my person or state, denying the deposition of kings to be in the Pope’s lawful power, as indeed I take any such temporal violence to be far without the limits of such a spiritual censure as excommunication is. So careful was I that nothing should

be contained in this oath, except the profession of natural allegiance and civil and temporal obedience, with a promise to resist all contrary uncivil violence."¹

The oath was as follows: "I A. B. do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our Sovereign Lord King James is lawful king of this realm, and of all other his Majesty's dominions and countries: and that the *Pope* neither of himself nor by any authority of the Church or see of *Rome*, or by any other means with any other, hath any power or authority to depose the King, or to dispose of any of his Majesty's kingdoms or dominions, or to authorize any foreign prince to invade or annoy him or his countries, or to discharge any of his subjects of their allegiance and obedience to his Majesty, or to give license or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his Majesty's subjects within his Majesty's dominions. Also I do swear from my heart that, notwithstanding any declaration or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the *Pope* or his successors, or by any authority derived or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said King, his heirs or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience; I will bear faith and true allegiance to his Majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise, and will do my best endeavour to disclose and make known unto his Majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons and traitorous conspiracies which I shall know or hear of to be against him or any of them. And I do further swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure as impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be ex-

¹ King James's *Works*, fol. pp. 292, 293. London: Robert Barker and John Bill, Printers to the King, 1616.

communicated or deprived by the Pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects or any other person whatsoever. And I do believe, and in conscience am resolved, that neither the *Pope* nor any other person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministered unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations to the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge and swear, according to these express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God.”¹

This oath was condemned by the Pope (*Paul the Fifth*), who in his bull dated at Rome ‘at S. Mark, under the sign of the fisherman, the 10th of the calends of October,’² 1606, the second year of our Popedom,³ decided that such an oath could not be taken without hurting of the Catholic faith and the salvation of souls, “seeing it contains many things which are flat contrary to faith and salvation. Wherefore we do admonish you that you do utterly abstain from taking this and the like oaths,” &c.

The English Romanists not being all of the mind of the Jesuits, were divided respecting this bull. Many of them treated it as a forgery, and amongst them Blackwell, the head or arch-priest of the seculars.⁴ Upon this the Pope drew up a second brief or bull, dated the 10th of the calends of September,⁵ 1607. This disobedient spirit the Pope in this brief attributed to the suggestions of the Devil, to the “subtlety and craft of the enemy of man’s salvation;” and he assured them that it was not without mature deliberation that he wrote to them his first letter.⁶

And now the disloyalty of the English Romanists being

¹ King James’s *Works*, 1616, pp. 250, 251.

² October 23rd.

³ King James’s *Works*, p. 252.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 257.

⁵ September 22nd.

⁶ King James’s *Works*, p. 258.

thus tested, many of them bade adieu to their native country sooner than deny this article of their faith, that the Pope is supreme over kings and princes, to set up and to pull down at his pleasure. Some indeed would rather dare the Papal fulminations than commit themselves to his treasons. The missionaries (so Dr. Lingard calls the Romish priesthood in this country¹) were divided in opinion. Some followed Blackwell, some the Pope. The *Jesuits in general* condemned the oath.² And now observe the effect of that servile submission of the understanding which is the very foundation of the Romish faith: a priest, by name Drury, thought the oath admissible, but "*dared* not prefer his private sentiments before those of the Pope," and would rather be executed than take the oath. If such was the effect of this Papal impiety upon a priest, what probably would be its effect upon the laity? Dr. Lingard all but canonizes Drury, and would seem to intimate that the disloyalty of the priesthood was very general. Drury "*dared* not prefer his private sentiments before those of the Pope, and of *many among his brethren*, and chose to shed his blood rather than pollute his conscience by swearing to the truth of assertions which he feared might possibly be false."³ Thus jesuitically does this acute historian write about conscience. One can plainly perceive that Romanism is not yet purified from the subtlety of Garnet and his brethren. To Blackwell Cardinal Bellarmine addressed a long and laboured epistle, expostulating with him for his loyalty in regard of the oath, and pretending that the oath struck at the Pope's spiritual supremacy.⁴

In 1608 the King published his *Apology for the Oath of Allegiance, against the two Breves of Pope Paulus Quintus, and the late Letter of Cardinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwell the Arch-priest*. To this was afterwards prefixed *A Premonition to all most mighty Monarchs, Kings, Free Princes, and States of Christendom*.⁵

¹ *Hist. of England*, ix. p. 75.

² *Ibid.* p. 75.

³ *Ibid.* p. 77.

⁴ *King James's Works*, 1616, pp. 260—262.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 247—346.

Bellarmino had in his letter affirmed, with the usual effrontery of Jesuit controversialists, that "from the beginning of the Church's infancy even to this day it was never heard that ever a Pope either commanded to be killed, or allowed the slaughter of, any prince whatsoever, whether he were an heretic, an heathen, or persecutor." The King reminds Bellarmine of the panegyric oration made by *Pope Sixtus the Fifth* in praise and approbation of the friar that murdered King Henry the Third of France; and "besides that vehement oration and congratulation for that fact, how near it scaped that the said friar was not canonized for that glorious act, is better known to Bellarmine and his followers than to us here."¹ "But sure I am," adds the King, "if some Cardinals had not been more wise and circumspect in that errand than the Pope himself was, the Pope's own calendar of his saints would have sufficiently proved Bellarmine a liar in this case. And to draw yet nearer unto ourselves, how many practices and attempts were made against the late Queen's life, which were directly enjoined to those traitors by their confessors, and plainly authorized by the Pope's allowance. For verification whereof there needs no more proof than that never Pope either then or since called any churchman in question for meddling in any of these treasonable conspiracies; nay, the Cardinal's own S. Sanderus, mentioned in his letter, could well verify this truth if he were alive; and who will look (into) his books² will find them filled with no other doctrine than this. And what difference there is between the killing or allowing the slaughter of kings, and the stirring up and approbation of practices to kill them, I remit to Bellarmine's own judgment."³

Then follows a curious list of Bellarmine's theological contradictions, the King observing that it is the less surprising that he should contradict himself in matters of fact, who contradicts himself so frequently in matters of doctrine. In

¹ *An Apology for the Oath of Allegiance*, p. 270.

² *Sanders de Visibili Monarchia*, lib. ii. c. 4, and *De Clavibus David*, lib. v. c. 2, 4. See the King's *Apology*, p. 282.

³ *King James's Works*, p. 271.

the latter part of his *Apology* the King exposes Bellarmine's anarchical positions respecting the regal authority, as that obedience due to the Pope is for conscience' sake, but the obedience due to kings is only for certain respects of order and policy; people may for many causes depose kings, but no flesh hath power to judge the Pope; and that the obedience of ecclesiastics to princes is not by way of any necessary subjection, but only out of discretion and for observation of good order and custom.¹

In the *Premonition* the King notices the answers of the Jesuit Parsons and of Bellarmine (under the name of *Matthæus Tortus*) to his *Apology*, and having animadverted upon Parsons in a style sententiously suited to his deserts,² returns to Bellarmine, and lays before his readers the insolence and scurrility of that unprincipled advocate of the Papal supremacy.³ He then shews the authority which the earlier Christian kings and emperors exercised over the Popes. The Popes depended upon the emperors for their confirmation, and were in a manner tributary to them to about the end of the seventh century.⁴ The Emperor Otho deposed Pope John XII. for divers crimes, and especially for impurity.⁵ The Emperor Henry the Third in a short time deposed three Popes, Benedict the Ninth, Sylvester the Third, and Gregory the Sixth, as well for the sin of avarice as for abusing their extraordinary authority against kings and princes.⁶

The King proceeds with the history of the right of investiture: "As Waltham testifieth that the Bishops of Spain, Scotland, England, Hungary, from ancient institution till this modern novelty, had their investiture by kings, with peaceable enjoying of their temporalities wholly and entirely."

He mentions how the Queen his mother would not have

¹ King James's *Works*, p. 285.

² *Ibid.* p. 293.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 294, 295.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 297.

⁵ Luitprand, *Hist.* lib. vi. c. 10, 11. *Rhegino ad an.* 963. *Platina in Vit. Joan.* 13.

⁶ King James's *Works*, p. 298.

the ceremony of spittle used at his baptism, and the last message she sent to him, that although she was of another religion than that wherein he was brought up, yet she would not press him to change except his own conscience forced him to it.¹

The King next clears himself of the charge of heresy. "I am such a Catholic Christian as believeth the three Creeds, that of the Apostles, that of the Council of Nice, and that of Athanasius, the two latter being paraphrases to the former. And I believe them in that sense as the antient Fathers and Councils that made them did understand them, to which three Creeds all the ministers of England do subscribe at their ordination. And I also acknowledge for orthodox all those other forms of Creeds that either were devised by Councils or particular Fathers against such particular heresies as most reigned in their times.

"I reverence and admit the first four general Councils as catholic and orthodox. And the said four general Councils are acknowledged by our Acts of Parliament, and received for orthodox by our Church.

"As for the Fathers, I reverence them as much and more than the Jesuits do, and as much as themselves ever craved. For whatever the Fathers for the first five hundred years did with an unanime consent agree upon to be believed as a necessary point of salvation, I either will believe it also, or at least will be humbly silent, not taking upon me to condemn the same. But for every private Father's opinion, it binds not my conscience more than Bellarmine's, every one of the Fathers usually contradicting others. I will therefore in that case follow St. Augustine's rule in judging of their opinions, as I find them agree with the Scriptures. What I find agreeable thereunto I will gladly embrace, what is otherwise I will (with their reverence) reject."

To the Virgin Mary the King yields the title of Mother of God, "since the divinity and humanity of Christ are inseparable." "And," he adds, "I freely confess that she is

¹ King James's *Works*, p. 301.

in glory both above angels and men, her own Son (that is both God and man) only excepted."¹

The worship of reliques and images the King calls without reserve "*damnable idolatry*."

The Jesuits he calls *Puritan-Papists*, and declares that for himself he was always inclined to episcopacy. And whatsoever protestations of fidelity to the discipline of the Kirk the King ever made, he probably spoke the truth when he affirmed that his heart was at least Episcopalian; and he appealed to his erecting of bishoprics in 1584, and to his *Basilicon Doron*, especially to the preface to the second edition of that work.

The remainder of the *Premonition* is for the most part taken up with a dissertation proving that *Rome is the Babylon* and the *Pope the Antichrist* of the Book of Revelation; thus also applying St. Paul's prophecy in the second chapter of his Second Epistle to the Thessalonians. The Church of Rome he describes as "full of idolatries," and "so bloody in the persecution of the saints, as (that) our Lord shall be crucified again in his members."²

The *two witnesses clad in sackcloth* the King inclines to interpret of the *Old and New Testament*. "And now whether this book of the two testaments or two witnesses of Christ have suffered any violence by the Babylonian monarchy or not, I need say nothing. The thing speaks for itself. I will not weary you with recounting those commonplaces used for disgracing it, as calling it a *nose of wax*, a *dead letter*, a *leaden rule*, a hundred such-like phrases of reproach. But how far the traditions of men and authority of the Church are preferred to these witnesses doth sufficiently appear in the Babylonian doctrine. And if there were no more but that little book [by Cardinal Perron] with that pretty inscription, *Of the Insufficiency of Holy Scripture*, it is enough to prove it."³

¹ *Premonition*, pp. 302, 303.

² p. 310.

³ p. 316. But Du Pin asserts that this little book was thus entitled and put forth by a Protestant antagonist.

CHAPTER X.

Bishop Andrewes' "Tortura Torti"—Of the Pope's deposing power—Of excommunication—Of binding and loosing—The Bulls against Queen Elizabeth—The words of commission—The Gunpowder Plot undertaken only from blind zeal—Origin of recusancy—Sacrilegious nature of Romish worship—Rome Babylon—Lord Balmerino—The First General Lateran no Council—Pope Innocent III.—Uncertainty of the doctrine of the Papal supremacy—Historical accusations against the Church of Rome—Assassination of Henry III.—Bellarmine's contradictions—Image worship—Fisher and More.

IN 1609 Bishop Andrewes followed the King in his controversy, and replied to Bellarmine's *Matthæus Tortus* in his *Tortura Torti*. Our author adduces a multitude of Romanists who denied the Pope's deposing power; John of Paris, James Almain, Johannes Major, Cardinal Zabarella, Alberic de Rosate, Antony de Rosellis,¹ the Doctors of the Sorbonne in 1561 and 1591, the Jesuit James Bosgrave, Blackwell the arch-priest, and others.² He follows Bellarmine through all his evasions, as that the Pope cannot as Pope by his ordinary jurisdiction depose princes, but as a spiritual prince. He refutes Bellarmine's pretence that to deny the Pope's deposing power is to deny his power to excommunicate. The former is not included in the latter, and so not one with it. Theodosius was under the censure of Ambrose eight months, but none of his subjects withheld their allegiance to him on that account.³ Henry the Fourth

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 23.² *Ibid.* pp. 24, 25.³ *Ibid.* p. 40.

of France had been lately crowned, and the oath of allegiance taken by his subjects, whilst he was under the Pope's excommunication.¹ By the greater excommunication instituted by Christ in those words, "*If he hear not the Church, let him be to thee as a heathen man,*" (Matt. xviii.) that power is entrusted to the Church, not to St. Peter only.² "As an heathen man" has its limits. It is not lawful to despoil an heathen of his goods, or to disinherit him, much less to take from his crown. Heathen kings are certainly exempt from this power of deposition, but it is absurd that Christian princes should be in a worse condition.³ Church censures are founded on the law of charity, and must not be destructive of it. Many, too, are the exceptions allowed amongst Romanists by which the Papal excommunication itself is nullified. So the Venetians took no notice of the Pope's censures, and the Council of Tours in 1510 cleared King Louis the Twelfth of them.⁴

As to the threefold command to Peter, "*Feed my sheep,*" both Cyril and Augustine teach that the intent of our Lord appears to have been, by Peter's threefold confession, to wipe off as it were the stain of his threefold denial.⁵ Nor is it safe to insist upon the Pope's succession from St. Peter; neither was the office of feeding Christ's sheep committed to him alone. The form of election, too, has been repeatedly varied, and is not sanctioned by Christ himself.⁶ And certainly "*Feed my sheep*" is not the same as "slay the leaders of my sheep, drive my sheep out of the fold, scatter my sheep, let their pastures be trodden down and their waters troubled." 'Receive the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' and with them shut out from the kingdoms of the earth '*whatsoever thou shalt bind,*' that is, whatsoever part of guilt or of treason thou shalt bind the more closely; '*whatsoever thou shalt loose,*' that is, whatsoever bond of law, duty, faith, and oath thou shalt loosen. There is a great gulph betwixt these.⁷

Our prelate then shews the inconsistency of the Cardinal,

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 40.

² *Ibid.* p. 47.

³ *Ibid.* p. 52.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 49.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 41—43.

⁶ *Ibid.* pp. 50, 51.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 52.

who in one place denies that King James is a Christian, and in another affirms that he belongs to the Pope's fold, for neither is he a judge of kings, says Bellarmine, but as they are Christians.¹

From the Pope's binding he proceeds to the Pope's loosing power,² that is, as the Cardinal himself has it, his power of dispensing with censures, laws and oaths, vows, sins, and punishments. And here again he wittily exposes his confusion of words and things. "For sin, censures, and penalties are wont to be loosed, but laws, oaths, and vows to be bound, and to be more closely bound; and if the Pope looseth these also, what is it that remains for him to bind? Men have no need to be loosed from their duty, nor from the bond of their duty; but they are loosed from their duty when they are loosed from law, and from the bond of their duty when they are loosed from their oath. Nay, what is more wonderful, he looses in the same way the law itself and offences against the law, and both with the like facility. Be it law or be it an offence against the law, it is all one with him. It is as easy a thing with the Pope to loose laws as sins. But it can scarcely be that with one key both these doors, the door of the commandment and the door of sin, can be opened. Perchance then there are two keys; one for opening sins, penalties, censures; the other for opening laws, vows, oaths. But certainly both these cannot be the keys of the kingdom of heaven. But if the keys for the loosing of sins are the keys of the kingdom of heaven, it behoved that the keys of hell were given for the loosing of laws and the commandments of laws."³ So no man can be under any obligation either to God or man, but the Pope may forthwith loose him from it! "On this ground what shall be sure upon earth? what shall become of all compacts, treaties, bonds of society whatsoever? how shall we ever be hereafter sure of any man's faith or promise?"⁴ Then with a pun does Bishop Andrewes loosen the whole fabric of Jesuitical casuistry, saying, "*Potestas hæc quidem solvendi dicenda non erat, sed dissolvendi*

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 53.

² *Ibid.* pp. 54, 55.

³ *Ibid.* p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 55.

omnia.”¹ “But surely Bellarmine,” says Bishop Andrewes, “intended to limit the Pope’s power of loosing laws. He did not intend a power to loose the laws of nature upon which yet the duty of civil obedience is founded; nor the laws of the ten commandments, which are, according to Aquinas, indispensable; nor yet the evangelical laws, of which that of St. Peter is one, *Be ye subject to the King as supreme: for this is the will of God*. What does your Pope in this case? Does he loose this law of Peter, and say, ‘Be not subject to the King, although he is supreme; for this is the will of the Pope’? I conceive not. He will not put *Paul the Fifth* on a par with *Peter*.”²

“But as to oaths David said, *I am sworn and am steadfastly purposed to keep Thy righteous judgments*. Peter, if he had lived at that time, could he have absolved David of this oath? Suppose any one binds himself by oath to keep the seventh commandment, not to commit adultery, can any Pope absolve him of this oath? But if a man in like manner bind himself under the fifth commandment to civil subjection, what power has the Pope to absolve him in the one case more than in the other?” The Popes dissolve obligations to fealty, but not to treason; they loose what ought to be bound, they bind what ought to be loosed. They acted the part of jugglers in Queen Elizabeth’s reign, playing fast and loose with their own bulls. In the eleventh year of the Queen’s reign Pope Pius the Fifth published a bull excommunicating and deposing the Queen, and cursing all those who should yield any obedience to her. Before that time the Romanists had attended the Protestant service, but now they absented themselves, and open rebellion broke out in the northern counties. ‘Now truly,’ said Sir Edward Coke at the trial of the traitor Garnet, ‘most miserable and dangerous was the state of Romish recusants in respect of this bull; for either they must be hanged for treason in resisting their lawful sovereign, or cursed by the Pope for yielding due obedience to her Majesty. But of this Pope it was said by some of his own favourites, that he was a holy and

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 56.

² *Ibid.* p. 57.

³ *Ibid.* p. 58.

learned man, but over-credulous, for that he was informed and believed that the strength of the Catholics in England was such as was able to have resisted the Queen. But when the bull was found to take such an effect, then there was a *dispensation given*, both by Pius Quintus himself and Gregory the Thirteenth, that all Catholics here might procure quiet and peace by shewing outward obedience to the Queen, but with these cautions and limitations; firstly, '*Rebus sic stantibus*,' things so standing as they did; and secondly, '*Donec publica bullæ executio fieri posset*,' that is, until they should grow into strength and become able to resist and overcome."¹

"A wonderful workman" (says Bishop Andrewes of Pope Gregory the Thirteenth), "with one and the same bull he binds and he does not bind. He binds heretics, he binds not the Catholics; and the Catholics he binds not, and yet he does bind. Of a truth the Pope did not redeem the souls of men, who by perjury makes such a sport of them."² But Bellarmine fences round this power with "when it is expedient for the glory of God, or for the salvation of souls." Then consult history and see whether the theory and the practice agree. "This power is exercised not when souls are hazarded, but when tenths are refused, provision made against '*provisions*,' and sales of indulgences forbidden. This power is exercised when the Pope's revenue is to be increased, whilst so many grosses are paid for such a vow solved, so many florins for such an oath broken, so many gold pieces for such a law transgressed; in all which not the glory of God, but the dishonour of princes; not the salvation of souls, but the wasting of their substance is the aim. So long as *his* interest is consulted, the glory of God, the salvation of souls may go where they please."³

Our prelate then returning to the words of commission, interprets *Matt. xvi.* by *John xx.*, *Whosoever sins ye remit, &c.*⁴ This interpretation he supports by *Augustine*, *Theophylact*, *Pope Adrian the Sixth*, *Cardinal Hugo*, *Anselm*, *Drithmar*, and *Duns Scotus*.⁵ The promise in *Matt. xvi.* was

¹ *Criminal Trials*, vol. ii. pp. 245, 246.

² *Tortura Torti*, p. 59.

³ *Tortura Torti*, p. 60.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 61.

⁵ *Ibid.* pp. 62, 63.

fulfilled in the grant in *John* xx. Secondly, the promise was to Peter, not for himself but as representing the Church. So *Origen* on *Matt.* xvi., *Jerome* in his first book against *Jovinian*, *Augustine* on the 12th chapter of *St. John*, as also in other parts of his works, *Ambrose* on *the Dignity of the Priesthood*, *Leo the Great* in his third sermon on the assumption of the Blessed Virgin, *Euthymius Zigabenus*¹ on *St. Matthew*, *Rabanus Maurus* in the *Catena of Aquinas on Matthew*, and *Hugo à Sto Victore* on *the Sacraments*, with others of more recent date.² But as to the oath of allegiance it did not enter upon the general question of the Pope's power to dispense with oaths; it confined itself to his power of dispensing with *this* particular oath.³ From the nature of the oath, which is not for the most part promissory but assertory, it is plain that he has no power over it. Add to this the inherent voidness of absolution from civil obedience, as had been before made manifest.⁴ He then exposes the sophistry of Bellarmine in his attempt to shew that the taking of the oath involves the denial of the Pope's spiritual supremacy,⁵ and animadverts upon the assertion in the Pope's first bull, 'that the oath contained many things plainly contrary to faith and salvation.'⁶ He then shews the dishonesty of Bellarmine in mixing up the oath of supremacy imposed by Henry VIII. with this oath of King James.⁷

Bellarmino professed 'not to excuse' the conspiracy: 'to accuse' Bishop Andrewes observes would have been too severe a word for the Cardinal to use. But how does execration of the conspiracy consist with sheltering of the conspirators G. and G.?⁸ (Greenway and Gerard). This question neither Bellarmine could then, nor can Dr. Lingard answer now, and yet the palliator of the Jesuits and of the plot need not be believed to execrate it more than Bellarmine. Both Lingard and Bellarmine in some measure justify the exasperated feelings which they say led to the plot, by representing the Romanists as

¹ About A.D. 1120.² *Tortura Torti*, pp. 63—65.³ *Ibid.* p. 66.⁴ *Tortura Torti*, p. 67.⁵ *Ibid.* p. 68.⁶ *Ibid.* p. 70.⁷ *Ibid.* p. 71.⁸ *Ibid.* p. 75.

disappointed by the King and as enduring heavy persecution. "But the King would be safe if he only tolerated the Romanists." That was by no means certain. Henry the Third suffered all his subjects to enjoy the free exercise of the Romish religion, and yet he was assassinated.¹ 'No one can deny,' said Bellarmine, 'that occasion of desperation was given.' 'With what intent,' replies Bishop Andrewes, 'was this said by you, but to excuse it? But what though occasion had been given? You know what your master saith, "Occasion doth neither physically nor morally work anything."² With him, God ministers occasion of sinning, but not thereby of excusing sinners. He exposes the hypocrisy of Clement VIII.,³ which has before been pointed out. As to the occasion of desperation he proves that there was none. The plot was contrived in the very first year of King James's reign.⁴ No fines were levied for recusancy until the fifth month of the second year. No man suffered death, or the loss of all his goods. Yet before the King was crowned, the priests Clarke and Watson conspired against him, and the latter on his execution affirmed that the Jesuits had then acknowledged that they had a great design of their own on foot, no other than that famous plot of 1605.⁵ The fines for recusancy began to be gathered in July, 1604. But in the following November, when some of the Romanists presented a complaint to the King, that at the beginning of his reign, before his royal intention of not demanding the fines due in Elizabeth's reign was known, heavy contributions had been levied upon them, the King ordered that those sums should be returned to them by the same persons who had collected them, and so they recovered to the amount of 52,000 florins;⁶ and yet in the very next month were the conspirators engaged in digging under the walls of the parliament-house.⁷

The reader must not expect to find *such facts* recorded by

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 79.

² *De Amis. Gratia*, lib. ii. c. 13. Bellarmine's own work. Bishop Andrewes addresses Bellarmine as Bellarmine's chaplain, the pretended author of *Matthæus Tortus*. In p. 189 he proves that Bellarmine himself is the author.

³ *Tortura Torti*, p. 83.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ p. 84.

⁶ p. 85.

⁷ p. 86.

the veritable historian who has in our day so elaborately pleaded for the pseudo-martyr Garnet. Again, the confessions of the conspirators had attested that in some it was *zeal*, in others *private friendship*, that induced them to act their detestable part.¹ Some learned men beyond sea had filled them with the idea that their design was “not only pious, but (as you are wont to call it) *meritorious*.” As for the oath of allegiance, it was expressed in the very preamble that it was for the detecting of those who were in heart disloyal and ready to join in such plots and conspiracies.²

The bull was false in charging persecution upon the King and representing the Romanists as martyrs.³ It was a misnomer to speak of *Apostolical Briefs*. He might as well have called the ink with which they were written, *apostolical ink*, or the lead with which they were sealed, *apostolical lead*.⁴ Bishop Andrewes returns to speak of the insincerity of the Popes. They do not desire to cause disobedience to princes, but they will not suffer men to be bound to obedience. But Paul the Fifth is willing that obedience should be rendered to princes according to the Holy Scriptures:⁵ “where, if Matthew [Tortus] speak truth, there is good hope. For this is a new thing in the Pope, that he should define the Holy Scriptures to be the rule of obedience.” Our wish it is that all these questions should be referred to this rule, the questions of the Pope’s deposing power, &c.⁶ With great force does he afterwards observe that this power leaves all princes in possession of subjects who are only ‘hypothetically faithful.’ He shortly after lays before the reader the penal laws enacted in the parliament immediately after the Gunpowder plot.⁷ He then relates that in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth’s reign there were not many besides some of the Romish clergy who absented themselves from our worship and sacraments. They were so few that the term *recusant* was not then known, nor did the law recognize it for *ten years*. Hence it was plain that the bull of Pope Pius the Fifth was the cause of *recusancy*.⁸

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 86.

⁴ p. 97.

⁷ p. 103.

² p. 88.

⁵ p. 98.

⁸ pp. 122—129.

³ pp. 96, 97.

⁶ p. 99.

⁹ p. 130.

Hitherto they had been of the same religion as now, when of a sudden they became recusants, or refused to attend the established worship. It was not then a matter of religion, or why did they not absent themselves from the very first? Why then did they cease in the *eleventh* year of the Queen from attending our worship? But what was the effect of the bull? It introduced at once and in one mass, treason and recusancy, and gave occasion to the state to regard them as identical. And the effect of the bull was manifestly both. For now came both recusancy and the northern insurrection. Not before faith was discovered to be mixed up with perfidy, were any penal laws devised; laws rather fines than punishments.¹ It is plain then that the laws and fines appointed for recusancy are not purely laws touching religion, but of a mixed nature; *touching religion mixed up with disloyalty towards the prince, touching persons whose civil obedience is determined by the Pope's bulls*. Such recusants were in the eye of the laws, and surely without any injustice such might be punished.² The Romanists complained of these laws, but Bellarmine might soothe himself, and answer his own enquiry, 'what greater punishment can be conceived?' if he would call to mind the variety of deaths, even burning to death by slow fires, which were inflicted in the reign of Queen Mary.³

"But with what colour of truth could you call our sacred rites sacrilegious? In them is nothing sacred taken away. Look to it, that that term suit not yours rather, in which the *better part* of the sacred prayers, namely, the *mind and understanding of the person praying*, and the *sacred cup*, to wit, the half of the Eucharist, is by a *sacrilegious* daring taken away; in which a part of divine honor and that which is *sacred* to

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 132.

² p. 133. He reverts to the topic of the penal laws in p. 148, and shews from the gradual imposition of them that they were made not for persecution but for policy. In p. 149 he contrasts with them the Marian persecution, in which a poor woman was committed to the flames in a state of pregnancy, and the infant itself was piked and thrown into the flames, "*et cum matre, (barbaro et execrabili exemplo) ibi exustus est.*"—p. 149.

³ p. 135.

God is given to a *wooden image*, and *stamped bread* is, not without the height of sacrilege, *adored for God*.”¹

How must Tortus have writhed beneath this ecclesiastical scourge! “And equally absurd it is in you to call it an oath of perfidy, which was made as well for the branding of past as for the providing against future perfidy; which is at this time administered against perfidy, and which will be both in books and in our laws an eternal memorial to perfidy, and to the perfidy of your men who bound themselves by a double obligation to perfidy against their country itself, and against the father of their country. But ye who dissolve faith, and oaths the bonds of faith, to the end that men may be perfidious; ye who say that faith is not to be kept, that is, that perfidy is lawful and right, do ye dare mutter anything about perfidy, or even to name the word to your own disgrace?”²

To the objection of Queen Elizabeth’s supremacy he returns the spiritual jurisdiction of the abbess, which is more strictly ecclesiastical. Nay, Aquinas did not confine the exercise of the power of excommunication to the priesthood.³ The mendacious Sanders, whom Bellarmine had highly lauded, had the shamelessness to publish to the world that Queen Elizabeth exercised the ministerial calling.⁴ But nothing was too mendacious for the Church of Rome. There was published an account of the (fabled) persecution in England, in which it was affirmed that the Catholics were sown up in the skins of beasts and given to be devoured by dogs; others were represented as bound to mangers and left to feed upon hay, others as having their entrails eaten out by dormice.⁵ It was fit that a doctrine of devils should be maintained by such devilish means, and that false miracles should be ac-

¹ “*Sacra* vero nostra *sacrilega*, quâ fronte dixisti? Nihil ibi *sacri* tollitur; vide ne vestra potius dicenda sint, in quibus *sacrarum* orationum pars melior, mens orantis scilicet et intellectus, in quibus *sacer* calix altera nempe eucharistiæ pars ausu sacrilego tollitur: in quibus divini et Deo *sacri* honoris pars similitudini lignæ defertur, et crustaceus panis pro Deo, non sine, *sacrilegio summo* adoratur. En tibi sacrilegium; porro si fuisset in nostris tale quicquam, designâsses, scio.”—p. 135.

² *Tortura Torti*, p. 136.

⁴ *Keys of David*, B. 6.

³ p. 151.

⁵ p. 152.

accompanied with false legends. Bishop Andrewes cites in allusion to them the second chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Thessalonians, that God had sent upon them strong delusion that they should believe lies.¹

In order to vindicate the turbulence and anarchy which must needs follow the Pope's deposing power, Bellarmine had ventured to represent Gregory the Great as yielding but a forced submission to the Emperor Maurice. Our prelate shews that Gregory taught another and a better doctrine,² and severely animadverted upon the opposition of these Papal principles to those which ennobled the sufferings of the Primitive Church.³

Cardinal Bellarmine was possessed of the same measure of controversial integrity with Dr. Wiseman and the Jesuit Harding. This the reader may gather as from his larger works, so abundantly from his *Matthew Tortus*.⁴

Our prelate quotes at full length from the acts of the various Councils⁵ convened by Charlemagne, and appealed to by King James in his 'Apology,' and adduces the submission of Pope Leo the Great (in the point of convening Councils) to the Emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, and Martian.⁶ He refutes Bellarmine by himself, convicting him of alleging an epistle to Damasus from the Second General Council, which epistle Bellarmine had, in his *Recognitio* or *Censure of his own books*, admitted to be spurious.⁷ When the Pope's power waxed great, then were General Councils held in Italy, but no General Council until nearly the completion of eleven centuries. Bellarmine thought no authority too great for the Pope. He openly avowed that he could make articles to be received "with Catholic faith."⁸

Bellarmino would have Rome Babylon sooner than not

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 153.

² p. 160.

³ p. 162.

⁴ See *Tortura Torti*, p. 163.

⁵ pp. 164, 165.

⁶ p. 167.

⁷ p. 168.

⁸ "Serio nobis narras (p. 67) si per articulos fidei significantur quaecunque dogmata, quæ fide Catholica credi debent (nec nobis hic alia significantur) tum verò non dubitare vos, quin à Pontifice vestro multi fidei articuli condi possunt." p. 179. And see pp. 230-232.

have a scripture-proof that St. Peter had been there. Bishop Andrewes retorted that he might as well have made Mark an allegorical person as Babylon an allegorical place.¹ He then proceeds at some length to shew that *Rome* is the *Babylon* of the *Apocalypse*.² This and the whole question of Anti-christ he discusses at large in his *Answer to Bellarmine's Apology*.

Cardinal Bellarmine was not afraid to affirm that the breves entrusted to that very innocent and holy martyr Garnet, were rather favourable than unfavourable to King James.³ Bishop Andrewes remarked that Garnet knew otherwise.⁴ Indeed, had they been for the King, they would have been boasted of by him and his fraternity. But, said Bellarmine, the Romanists had hope of King James. This was not enough for the Pope, who in his breves forbade the Romanists to advance the cause of any but of such as would not only tolerate but promote with all possible earnestness the cause of their religion.⁵ Bellarmine appealed to the King's correspondence with the Pope. This was answered by the "Declaration and Confession of the Lord Balmerino, one of his Majesty's Privy Councillors, concerning some letters which he caused to be sent without the King's knowledge and as in his name, to Rome, to Pope Clement the Eighth, 1598."⁶ A question has been raised whether the King was not insincere in this business, sacrificing his secretary to screen himself.⁷

Our author gives his reason for suspecting the Council called the first General Lateran Council, A.D. 1215, to be a forgery. Cochlæus was the first who published it, and that not before 1538, 'from an old manuscript,' but without adding a word touching the way in which it came into his hands, or anything to establish its authority. In 1535 James Merlin published the Councils, but not a word of this. A Council was indeed called; nothing was decreed at it. Pope Inno-

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 183. See 1 Pet v. 13.

² pp. 183-188.

³ p. 189.

⁴ p. 198.

⁵ p. 189.

⁶ pp. 191-194.

⁷ See Dr. Cooke's *Hist. of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 213-215.

cent himself condemned the book of Abbot Joachim; he himself condemned Almeric, and so Matthew Paris.¹

Bishop Andrewes writes satirically of Pope Innocent excommunicating King John and robbing him of his kingdom, "O virum sanctum! O speculum innocentiae!"² Mr. F. W. Faber has appeared too late in the world to chastise the good bishop's irreverent treatment of the holy Father. "We read the history," says this writer, in a spirit worthy of Bellarmine, "we read the history of John and his Barons; and, while we think we are carrying away a clear view of the bigoted, haughty, secular prelate, how unlike the original is the rude image we have hewn from the coarse materials of Protestant history."³ Holy man, he is cursing and anathematizing, and tumbling the world upside down; but, good reader, look into his soul; it is as clear as the azure vault of heaven. Only a cloud of penitential sorrow is seen to pass across the surface of that heavenly breast. He is taking away that which is another's, and stirring up bloodshed and confusion, but at the same time (it is Mr. Faber who writes it) he is "full of godly fear lest his height should make him proud; and so, as a penitential safeguard, composing a book on the seven penitential psalms"! How admirable a piety! behold him breathing out his threats against the King, and with the same breath uttering holy meditations; spoiling a monarch of his crown, and glorifying the heavenly grace! This encomium of Pope Innocent (with whom *Laud* is deemed worthy to be placed) was written by one who has, since he penned the praises of Innocent, gone over wholly to Rome. Let him erase with his tears, if he can, the 219th and 220th pages of the *Tortura Torti*. There he may read of the *Papissa*, John the Eighth, a history, be it remembered, not of Protestant but of Romish origin, and attested by *monuments, memorials, and traditions* still extant.

Bishop Andrewes shews, and principally from Bellarmine's own writings, the *uncertainty* of the doctrine of the Papal

¹ *Tortura Torti*, pp. 212-214.

² p. 216.

³ *Autobiography of Archbishop Laud*, Pref. xx. Oxford, 1839.

supremacy, and that it is hypothesis upon hypothesis.¹ He observes of the very first link in the succession, "As though God would not have us to depend upon your succession, he determined that the subject should be uncertain concerning the first succession of all, concerning the very first successor of Peter. You yourself know that was made twelve hundred years and more upon Clement,

*Nutat adhuc mundus, sit quartus, sit ne secundus.*²

Consider the schisms and heresies of the Popes (as honest Fuller says, three sitting down at once, Peter's chair was like to have been broken). Alphonsus à Castro saith, Although we are bound to believe of faith that Peter's true successor is the supreme pastor of the whole Church, yet we are not bound to believe with the same faith that Leo or Clement is the true successor of Peter, since we are not bound to believe with Catholic faith that any one of them was rightly and canonically elected."³ One Pope, John Picus Mirandula tells us, doubted the immortality of the soul.⁴

It was weakness in Bellarmine to provoke a contest which should call forth the testimony of history. Protestant controversialists had only to renew the attacks of Jewel in his *Apology* and *Defence of his Apology*, and Rome at once stood unmasked as the universal traitor, the conspirator as well against the thrones of the kingdoms of this world as against truth, the throne of the eternal kingdom of God. He that will now speak with contempt of Jewel (much more easy it is to revile him than to refute him) must also enter the lists with Bishop Andrewes, who follows in his track, and verifies his historical accusations of the Church of Rome.⁵

Most admirable is our prelate's exposure of Bellarmine's sophistry, by which he would even commend the oration (panegyric) of the assassination of Henry the Third of

¹ *Tortura Torti*, pp. 233—238.

² *Ibid.* p. 238.

³ *Adv. Hær.* lib. i. c. 9.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 239.

⁵ Of the Emperor Henry IV. see pp. 240, 241, 261, 262. Of Frederic Barbarossa, pp. 262—264, 267, 268. Henry VI. pp. 264, 265. Philip and Otho, pp. 265, 266. Frederic II. pp. 266, 267. Henry II. of England, pp. 269, 270. The alienation of the kingdom of Navarre by Pope Julius II. pp. 271, 272.

France. This controversial king-killer asks, "And what will you find in it (the Pope's speech) but praises and admiration of the wisdom and providence of God?"¹ "And what," retorts Bishop Andrewes, "is that work of wisdom which he so singularly admires? That a simple monk in his usual habit, armed with neither sword nor shield, should have found free access to the King. But this surely is not so very marvellous. It would have been more so if the monk, being armed with sword and shield, had found his way to the King. For in that he was unarmed he excited no suspicion; had he been armed I do not believe that he would have found his way so readily through the midst of the King's attendants. There was nothing in this wondering of Sixtus worthy of admiration."²

Bishop Andrewes asks, "If it was admiration of the divine retaliation upon the King, why, if God so avenges the death of Cardinals, was no assassinator raised up against Pius the Fourth, who ordered Cardinal Caraffa, and him a most near relation to Paul the Fourth, to be strangled in prison? or against Urban the Sixth, who had five cardinals put into a sack and drowned in the sea, and the bodies of two more whom he had ordered to be slain, dried in a furnace and placed upon mules, and so borne in procession on his journies, with the paraphernalia of their dignities?"³

Several pages are ably expended on an exposure of Bellarmine's theological contradictions, which were but pointed out in the King's *Apology*.

1. Of justification, where our author justly complains of his 'wretched wavering.'⁴ Bishop Andrewes contends that Bellarmine's doctrine of justification by an *inherent*, will not stand with justification by an *imputed* righteousness.

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 241.

² p. 241.

³ *Ibid.* p. 243.

⁴ p. 246. Bellarmine's inconsistencies may be seen in Bishop Andrewes' Sermon on "The Lord our Righteousness." Dr. Pusey has ventured tacitly to condemn Bishop Andrewes of uncharitableness in p. ix. of his *Preface to the Fourth Edition of the Letter to the Bishop of Oxford*. This is not surprising when it is considered that Dr. Pusey himself is an advocate of the substance of the doctrine of Bellarmine and of the Church of Rome on this point.

Herein he is opposed by the pseudo-patristic divines of our own age, but with as little discretion as consistency. *He* calls the Romish teachers of justification by Christ's presence manifested in us, and of the identity of justification and sanctification, *false prophets*. *They* tell us, tacitly charging falsehood upon our prelate, "*Truth* as well as *charity* require us to be very careful how we cast suspicion on others [*pious Romanists*, such as the most pious and veracious Bellarmine] in this point, in which the Church Catholic has not authoritatively pronounced, lest we be found false witnesses against our brethren."¹ It is nothing to writers of this kind that the Church of England has authoritatively pronounced upon this point. What the Scriptures have been made in the Church of Rome, the Thirty-nine Articles are made in our own, a nose of wax. Hence "justification by faith" is made to stand for justification by obedience, and justification by Christ's merits for justification by Christ dwelling in us, and justification by Christ's name for justification by the Holy Ghost, and justification for double justification. Such are the lucid explanations, or rather casuistical wrestings, of Mr. Newman in his *Lectures on Justification*.

Bellarmino, in his book upon the *Loss of Grace and State of Sin*, had fallen into a flat contradiction, affirming first, "God does not move or incline to evil morally;" then, "God *does* move or incline to sin morally." This could only be reconciled by being explained away, as indeed Bellarmine found, for so he explains himself: "God does not move to evil morally, that is, by commanding; he moves to evil morally, that is, by ministering the occasion to it." He should have said, as Bishop Andrewes remarks, "God does not move by commanding." As it is, he in the first place applies that to the genus "to move," which is true only of the species "by commanding."²

His third contradiction was doubtless to secure the Papal primacy. First, in his book *De Clericis* he admitted "that bishops succeed the apostles, and priests the seventy disciples;"

¹ Dr. Pusey's *Preface*, p. ix.

² *Tortura Torti*, pp. 246, 247.

but when he comes to treat of the supreme ecclesiastial power in his church, then "bishops do not properly succeed the apostles." But if it were so, it would not make the more for the Pope, for neither does he succeed the apostles as an apostle, going throughout the world to preach the Gospel, writing canonical books, working miracles, more than other bishops.¹

The fourth contradiction is, "Judas did not believe;"² but in the 14th chapter of his third book on *Justification*, "Judas was just and certainly good." To this Bellarmine replied, "Make a distinction of the times." Bishop Andrewes retorted that there was no need to do this if Judas never believed. But so affirmed St. Chrysostom on those words of St. Peter, "For we have believed and have known that thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God. When Peter had said, *And we have believed*, Christ excepts Judas from that number." And so verse 64 of the 6th chapter of St. John, *For Jesus knew from the beginning who they were that believed not, and who should betray him*. "Our Alcuin," saith Bishop Andrewes, "clearly expresses it in these his words upon this place, "Judas was one of the twelve not in faith but in number, not in truth but in hypocrisy."³

The fifth contradiction was a similar absurdity with the second. The substance of a work is its moral quality, as in alms, that we should give our own, that we should give to him that needeth, that we should give from the motive of compassion. Yet Bellarmine had improperly said that a man might perform the substance of a commandment, and yet with sin; a manifest contradiction.⁴

The sixth is that Peter never lost a saving faith, and yet fell into deadly sin.

The seventh is, Antichrist shall be a magician and shall secretly worship the devil, and yet he shall hate all idolatry and rebuild the Temple. This, as he observes, can only be reconciled by equivocation. "Perchance the Fathers of

¹ *Tortura Torti*, pp. 247, 248.

² Bellarm. *De Pontif.* l. i. c. 12.

³ *Tortura Torti*, p. 249.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 250.

the Society [the Jesuits] thus say, Odi diabolum, that is, I feign that I hate him."¹

The eighth is, "The oblation is made by the words of consecration," yet not by them but by the oblation of the thing itself. The oblation is to be understood here of the act of oblation, not of the thing offered; of the act of sacrificing, not of the thing sacrificed. The true action of offering is in the words of consecration; that is the first proposition. The placing upon the altar; that is the second. But the second is not done until after the completion of the first.²

The ninth is, that the end of the world cannot be known, but that after the death of Antichrist there shall be but five-and-forty days to the end of the world.³ Here Bellarmine was so bold as to reply, "If this be a contradiction, it is in Holy Scripture itself, for both are found there." "The words," said Bishop Andrewes, "are perhaps in the Apocalypse, the meaning is in the *Apocryphe* of your brain. For he revealed not that to the servant which he revealed not to the Son; nor doth John contradict Christ."⁴ He proceeds to quote against him the Jesuit Blaise de Viegas on the 13th chapter of the Book of Revelation.⁵

The tenth is, that the ten kings shall burn Rome, the mystic Babylon; but that Antichrist shall hate Rome, and fight against, and burn it. But it is not so, not Antichrist, but *God shall put it into their hearts*.⁶

The eleventh is a denial that all bishops are only the Pope's vicars, followed by the affirmative, that all their ordinary jurisdiction is from him immediately, and in him, and so derived to them.⁷

In a later stage of the work our prelate very ably discusses the guilt of Garnet and of the other Jesuits as respects the Gunpowder Plot, beginning with the arch-incendiary, the Pope himself, who, he observes, cannot but be suspected, together with Claud Acqua Viva, of being long privy to the plot.⁸

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 253.

² *Ibid.* pp. 253, 254.

³ *Ibid.* p. 255.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 255.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 256.

⁶ Rev. xvii. 17.

⁷ *Tortura Torti*, pp. 258, 259.

⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 279—300.

There are some who tell us that the abuses of image-worship have lessened in the Romish Church. In this instance as in others false liberality is but the charity of ignorance. So long as the Roman breviary remains, so long will the worship of images be countenanced by the Church of Rome. Then we have speaking and wonder-working images recorded, and doubtless for no other end than to uphold a superstitious and idolatrous veneration of them. The Church of Rome professes to be unchangeable. Hear, then, how by the mouth of her greatest oracles she vindicates and covers the guilt of idolatry, and unblushingly makes God a liar. "They are not idolaters," said Bellarmine, "they do not worship idols, because they worship images of things that exist; but those images are not idols, for an idol is only the image of a thing nowhere existing." Bishop Andrewes does not omit to point out to him how plainly he contradicts God, and commands that to be done which God threatens to punish. "According to the novel theology of *Tortus*, provided only a thing has existence in heaven, in earth, in the waters, or under the earth, though it be an evil demon, a man can bow himself before it and worship God in it."¹ Thus Bellarmine went about to prove King James nearer to Julian² the apostate than was his own communion, a communion which, had it not been content to patronise blasphemy, would never have tolerated such a patron of idolatry.

Alluding to the excuse that their missionaries indeed came over into this country, though forbidden by law, to preach

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 312.

² Bellarmine's scandalous comparison of James with Julian was the groundwork of Dean Gordon's *Anti-Torto Bellarminus, sive Refutatio Calumniarum, Mendaciorum et Imposturarum Laico-Cardinalis Bellarmini, contra Jura omnium Regum, et sinceram illibatamque famam Serenissimi, Potentissimi Piissimique Principis Jacobi, Dei gratia Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Catholici Antiquæ defensoris et propugnatoris*: Lond. 1610. This work consists of a poem in hexameters and pentameters, with notes, altogether making thirty pages, including a dedicatory epistle in the same metre to the King. This is followed by some verses upon the author's anagram on the names Robertus Bellarminus, *Errorum tabens Bullis*, with which the lines themselves begin.

the Gospel, Bishop Andrewes reminds them that they came not to preach Christ, but to set up as the chief article of the faith the power of the Pope; hence their need of going in disguise that in their doctrine they might mix up sedition, and in religion find a hiding-place for treason. "Your gospel is not the gospel of peace; yours is not the conversion but the perversion of the Gentiles; nor is it so much the edification of the Church as the laying of the State in ruins."¹

In this work, a very storehouse upon the subject of the Pope's supremacy, our prelate argues at considerable length from the Epistles of Gregory the Great, removing all the cavils of the Jesuitical Leviathan.² He afterwards proceeds to shew that the four later as well as the four former General Councils were convened by Emperors independently of the Pope.³

The King in his *Apology* had singled out for reprobation the mutilation of the eucharist, private masses, and the imperfection of the words of consecration, which are not in the canon of the mass taken from St. Luke and St. Paul, where alone they appear in a complete form, but from the other Evangelists, thus neglecting altogether our Lord's words, "*given for you.*"⁴ The King animadverted upon three points. Bellarmine, by a summary method of proof, would conclude the King to be in error in all three points by proving him so only in one!⁵

Bellarmino had in his letter to Blackwell reminded him that Fisher and More died martyrs for this one head of doctrine, the Pope's headship. Bishop Andrewes draws a comparison between John Fisher and John the Baptist. The one said to Herod, *It is not lawful for thee to have her (his brother's wife)*; but Bishop Fisher said the reverse, '*It is lawful for thee to have her.*'⁶ In the course of treating upon

¹ *Tortura Torti*, p. 327.

² *Ibid.* pp. 329—339.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 348—354.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 358.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 357.

⁶ Poteratne martyrum suorum causæ magis incommodare? Sed fatale hoc *Torto* malum; nihil ut ab eo torqueri contingat, quod multo in illum magis non possit retorqueri.—p. 361.

the cause of the deaths of Fisher and More, he discovers the number of the beast out of PaVLo V. VICe Deo.¹

In the remainder of this very able volume, and one that so truly answers to its *title*, Bishop Andrewes accurately states the doctrine of the ecclesiastical prerogatives of Christian princes, and replies to the objections of the Romanists. Nowhere can the reader find this topic more clearly illustrated.

Our prelate concedes to the sovereign whatsoever power was exercised by the Jewish Kings in the Old Testament, agreeably to the Divine will, for the reformation and maintenance of true religion. "Quodcunque in rebus religionis Reges Israel fecerunt, nec sine laude fecerunt, id ut *ei* faciendi jus sit ac potestas. Leges auctoritate Regiâ ferendi, ne blasphemetur Deus, non negabitis, fecit Rex Babel (*Dan.* iii. 29) : ut jejunio placetur Deus, fecit Rex Ninive (*Jon.* iii. 7) : ut festo honoretur, fecit Ester, cum Purim, Machabæus cum Encænia promulgaret (*Est.* ix. 26 ; 1 *Macc.* iv. 56, 59). Denique iis omnibus rebus de quibus in Codice, in Authenticis, in Capitularibus à Constantino, Theodosio, Justiniano, Carolo magno, leges latæ leguntur.

"Tum delegandi, qui de lege sic latâ judicent quod Josaphat (2 *Chron.* xix. 8). Tum subditos, ne sic latam violent, juramento obstringendi, quod et Asa (2 *Chron.* xv. 14) et Josias (*ibid.* xxxiv. 32). Quod si qui in leges ita latas committant, etsi, religionis ea causa sit, sive pseudo-prophetæ crimen est (*Deut.* xiii. 10), sive idololatriæ (*ibid.* 15) sive blasphemi (*Levit.* xxiv. 23) sive sacra pollutentis (*Num.* xv. 35), in eos auctoritate regiâ animadvertendi.

"Conventus auctoritate suâ indicendi ; etiam de arcâ reducendâ et figendâ loco suo, quod fecit David (1 *Chron.* xiii. 3) : etiam de populo ad Dei cultum revocando, quod Josaphat (2 *Chron.* xix. 4) : etiam de templo dedicando, quod Salomon (1 *Reg.* viii. 64) : collapsio instaurando, quod Joas (2 *Chron.* xxiv. 4) polluto purificando, quod Ezekias (*ibid.* xxix. 5). Quanquam vero non frustra sibi præceptum putet à Deo, ut describat sibi legis exemplar, secum habeat semper, legat

¹ DC.LVV.VI. 666, "nota ipsa et numerus Antichristi."—p. 361.

sedulo, dies noctesque meditatur (*Deut.* xvii. 19 ; *Jos.* i. 8), condiscat inde, cultum Dei vel ad ipsas usque ceremonias ; nec hoc illi dictum, ut totus *ab alieno ove* pendeat ipse, quâ à se, nihil planè dijudicet : in his tamen *os Eleazari* non invitus consulet (*Num.* xxvii. 21),¹ et requireret legem ab iis, quorum labia scientiam custodiunt (*Mal.* ii. 7) : adhibebit in sacris legibus ferendis, quos adhibere par est, quosque ratio suadet, rerum illarum consultissimos, deque iis optimè respondere posse. Et in his quæ ad Deum pertinent *Amariam sacerdotem*, non *Zabadiam ducem*, jubebit præsidere (2 *Chron.* xix. 11).

“ Quoad personas. Omnibus omnium ordinum jus dicendi : qui sit (dicam stilo Scripturæ) *caput tribus* Levi (1 *Sam.* xv. 17) non minus quam cæterarum, nec minus clericorum quam laicorum Rex : Contra Abiathar *si quis superbierit*, decreto suo compescendi (*Deut.* xvii. 12) ; etiam Abiathar ipsum, si ita meritis, pontificatu abdicandi (1 *Reg.* ii. 27).

“ Quoad res. Excelsa diruendi ; id est peregrinum cultum abolendi ; nec modo *vitulum aureum* ab Aarone conflatum, quod Moses, sed et *serpentem æneum* à Mose erectum confringendi quod Ezechias ; et sive in idololatriam abeat *vitulus aureus*, sive in superstitionem *serpens æneus*, utrumque minuendi.

“ Nam de rebus quæ ad decorem domus Dei spectant, quæ dici solent *adiaphora*, statuendi quod Joas (2 *Chron.* xxiv. 12) et quæ materia schismatis esse assolent, futes et inutiles quæstiones, auctoritate suâ compescendi, quod Constantinus (vid. *Const. Ep. ad Alexandr. et Arium*, Soc. H. E. l. i. c. 7, pp. 16—18, *Cant.* 1720), ne vos quidem ipsi negatis jus esse.

“ Postremo ; si de Christianis exemplum malitis, id postulat, ut episcopus sit *τῶν ἐκτὸς*, quod Constantinus (*Euseb. de Vita Const.* l. iv. c. 24, p. 638, *Cantab.* 1720) ut *Rector Religionis* quod non modo Carolus magnus, sed et Ludovicus Pius.

“ Hæc primatus apud nos jura sunt ex jure divino.”

The title *veræ religionis rector* was applied to Charlemagne by the Council of Mentz (*Conc.* tom. vii. col. 1240 D, Labb.

¹ But this applies to the *Urim* and *Thummim*.

et Coss. Paris, 1671), and to Louis by a later Council held there. (tom. viii. col. 39 C.)—*Tortura Torti*, pp. 467—469. Oxford, 1854.

“Whatever the Kings of Israel did in the department of religion, and did not without commendation, that to be his right and privilege. The power of making laws by royal authority, that God be not blasphemed; such, ye will not deny, the King of Babylon made (*Dan.* iii. 29); that God might be propitiated by a fast, the King of Nineve made (*Jon.* iii. 7); that he should be honoured by a festival, Queen Esther made, when she proclaimed the Feast of Purim; Judas Maccabeus, when he proclaimed the Feast of Dedication (*Est.* ix. 28; 1 *Macc.* iv. 56, 59); lastly, in regard of all those things concerning which laws were enacted by Constantine, Theodosius, Justinian, Charlemagne, in the Code, the Authenticæ, and the Chapters.

“Also the power of delegating such as should pronounce judgment concerning the law so given, which power Jehoshaphat exercised (2 *Chron.* xix. 8); also of binding subjects by an oath not to violate the law so made, which power both Asa (2 *Chron.* xv. 14) and Josiah (*ibid.* xxxiv. 32) exercised.

“But if any do anything against laws so made, though it be for the sake of religion, as the false prophets, it is a criminal action (*Deut.* xiii. 10); or as idolaters (*ibid.* 15), or as blasphemers (*Levit.* xxiv. 23), or as a sacrilegious person (*Num.* xv. 35), he shall have the power of punishing such by his royal authority.

“Also the power of calling Councils by his own authority; even upon bringing back the ark and putting it in its own place, which David did (1 *Chron.* xiii. 3); also concerning the recalling the people to the worship of God, which Jehoshaphat did (2 *Chron.* xix. 4); also concerning dedicating the Temple, which Solomon did (1 *Kings* viii. 64); also concerning its restoration when it had fallen into ruin, which Joash did (2 *Chron.* xxiv. 4); also concerning its purification after it had been profaned, which Hezekiah did (*ibid.* xxix. 5).

“But although he may not think that he is in vain com-

manded by God to write out for himself a copy of the law, to have it always by him, to read it diligently, to meditate upon it day and night, to learn out of that the worship of God, to ceremonies themselves; nor that this is enjoined him, yet so that he should altogether hang upon the lips of another, and himself in fact decide nothing as of himself, yet nevertheless he should in these things not unwillingly consult the mouth of Eleazar (*Num.* xxvii. 21), and require the law of those whose lips keep knowledge (*Mal.* ii. 7); he should, in making laws regarding religion, apply to those to whom it is but just that he should apply, and whom reason points out as the best advised in such things, and as capable of giving the best answer concerning them. And in those things that pertain to God, he will command Amariah the priest, not Zebadiah the commander, to preside (2 *Chron.* xix. 11).

“As regards persons, the right of giving laws to all orders of persons, who is (to speak in the style of Scripture) the head of the tribe of Levi (1 *Sam.* 15, 17) not less than of the other tribes, nor less the king of the clergy than of the laity. On the other hand, if any Abiathar carry himself proudly, he has the right to restrain him by his edict (*Deut.* xvii. 12), and even to depose Abiathar himself from the priesthood if he deserve it.

“As regards things, he has the power to pull down the high places, that is, of abolishing foreign worship, not only of breaking the golden calf cast by Aaron, as did Moses, but also the brazen serpent erected by Moses, as Hezekiah did, and of grinding both to powder, whether it be the golden calf leading to idolatry, or the brazen serpent leading to superstition.

“For as relates to the regulation of those things which respect the beauty of the house of God, which are wont to be called *things indifferent*, which Joash did (2 *Chron.* xxiv. 12), and which are usually those points on which schism is grounded; as also the right of setting at rest needless and unprofitable questions by his authority, as Constantine did (see his Epistle to Alexander and Arius;

Socrates' *Eccl. Hist.* l. i. c. 7, pp. 16—18, Cantab. 1720), you yourselves will not deny his authority.

“Lastly, if you would rather an instance from Christians, such precedent requires that he be the overseer of them that are without, as was Constantine (Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*, l. iv. c. 24, p. 638, Camb. 1720), and the director of religion, which not only Charlemagne was, but also Louis the Pious.

“These are with us the rights of the royal supremacy, *jure divino*.”

CHAPTER XI.

Andrewes translated to Ely, 1609—Bishop Heton—Bishop Harsnet—Christmas—Easter, 1610—Andrewes at Holdenby in August—Consecration of the Scottish Bishops—J. Casaubon—Andrewes' Responsio.

ON Easter-day, 16th April, 1609, Bishop Andrewes preached before the King at Whitehall from *John* xx. 19. Very simple and ingenious to edification, very touching by the extreme naturalness of its pathos, is this most pastoral discourse on Christ's salutation and benediction, *Peace be unto you.*

"When you hear men talk of peace," saith our most fatherly bishop, "mark whether they *stand* where they should. If with the Pharisee, to the corners, either by partiality one way or prejudice another, no good will be done. When God will have it brought to pass, such minds he will give unto men, and make them meet to wish it, seek it, and find it."¹

In the course of this year he published his famous answer to Bellarmine, entitled *Tortura Torti*; and on September 22 was, on the death of Dr. Martin Heton, elected to the see of Ely. There were present at the election Dr. Humphrey Tyndall, Dean of Ely and President of Queens' College, Cambridge, and Dr. Thomas Nuce,² Dr. Andrew Willet, that most

¹ p. 420.

² Dr. Nuce was made Prebendary of the Fourth Stall at Ely February 21, 1585, Dr. Cox being then Bishop. He was also Vicar of Gazeley, to the right of the road from Newmarket to Bury. He died November 8th, 1617. Browne

laborious commentator; John Hills, Edmund Barwell, and James Taylor, Prebendaries. Dr. Martin Heton was son of George Heton, Esq., and Joan, daughter of Sir William Bowes, Knight. His father was of a Lancashire family, but himself was born in London in 1553. His father was Master of the Merchants' House at Antwerp, and caused it to be free for the refugees in the reign of Queen Mary. Martin Heton was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1582 was made a Canon of the Cathedral there. In 1588 he served the Vice-Chancellorship, and in 1589 succeeded Dr. Laurence Humphrey as Dean of Winchester. He was consecrated on February 3, 1599, to the see of Ely at Lambeth. Dr. Andrewes declined the bishopric, not willing to be a gainer himself to the loss of his see, and so he made way for Dr. Heton, and now Dr. Heton by death for him.

On November 5 the Bishop of Ely preached before the King at Whitehall from the Gospel for the day; a topic that came too near to that of this day's commemoration not to minister to our prelate abundant opportunity of comparison and contrast, of which he availed himself with great felicity.

On the day following he was confirmed in the temporalities of the see of Ely; and on the 13th he, with Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, assisted Archbishop Bancroft at the consecration of Dr. George Abbot to the see of Lichfield (afterward Arch-

Willis also gives his epitaph. It relates that his wife is buried near him, and that they had five sons and seven daughters, and thus concludes,

"To the world they living died,
So dying living they abide."

Of Willet a notice will be found elsewhere.

John Hills, B.D., was born at Fulbourn All Saints, of which place he was Vicar. He was a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, Prebendary of the Sixth Stall at Ely in 1601, Dr. Heton being Bishop, and of Langford Ecclesia in the church of Lincoln, April 27, 1609, Dr. Barlow being Bishop, Archdeacon of Lincoln September 21, 1612, and Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, 1614, in the place of Dr. Overall. He died September, 1626, and was buried at Horseheath near Newmarket.

Dr. Edmund Barwell was first a Fellow and then Master of Christ College, Cambridge, 1581, and Rector of Toft near Cambridge, and May 30, 1582, Prebendary of the Seventh Stall. He died about the end of 1609, and was buried in his College chapel.

Dr. James Taylor was Prebendary of the Eighth Stall June 2, 1584, and Rector of Westmill, Herts. He died March 19, 1624, and was buried at Westmill without any memorial.

bishop of Canterbury), and of Dr. Samuel Harsnet, Andrewes' successor in the mastership of Pembroke College, to the see of Chichester. Dr. Harsnet owed his elevation probably to the interest of Bancroft, whom he equalled in the warmth of his temper and in his zeal against all dissentients; which latter characteristic was doubtless his greatest recommendation to his patron, who had made him in 1597 one of his chaplains, in 1598 Prebendary of St. Paul's, and in 1603 Archdeacon of Essex.

Dr. Samuel Harsnet was born in St. Botolph's parish, Colchester, in 1561. He was B.A. of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1580, and was chosen to a Fellowship. With his other preferments he was also Vicar of Chigwell in Essex, which is in the patronage of the stall of St. Pancras.¹ Here he afterward founded and endowed a free school,² in which was educated the celebrated founder of the state of Pennsylvania, William Penn. He was also Rector of Shenfield, a small village near Brentwood in the same county. He distinguished himself in 1584 by a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, from *Ezek.* xxxiii. 11, against the supralapsarian doctrine "that God did not only see, but say, that Adam should fall, and so order and decree and set down his fall, that it was no more possible for him not to fall than it was possible for him not to eat." Such are his own words,³ and against such a representation of the decrees of divine predestination he did well to protest. But not equally so Jeremy Collier, who would gather from this that he disputed against the doctrine of predestination itself, a thing which would not at that time have been tolerated, as Collier could not but have known. Harsnet laid no imputation on the predestinarian doctrine, but on the private speculations of some men respecting it.

¹ To this he was preferred, as has been already noticed, by Andrewes.

² In 1629.

³ Harsnet's *Sermon at Paul's Cross*, bound up at the end of Dr. Steward's *Three Sermons* in the year 1658. See Jer. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain*, vol. ii. p. 646. Lond. 1714. What was Calvin's own teaching upon this point, namely, that the cause of the fall is to be found not in God, but in Adam's voluntary corruption, may be seen in his *Institutes*, b. iii. c. 23, § 8. He acknowledges no other kind of necessity than that which St. Augustine owned, to whom he there refers.

On November 9, 1605, he had been appointed Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and retained the mastership with his see until 1616, and then resigned, owing to the complaints and opposition of that society, headed by Dr. Wren, then a Fellow of that College, and in the next reign Master of Peterhouse and successively Bishop of Hereford, Norwich, and Ely.

On the death of Bishop Overall Harsnet was translated to Norwich in 1619, and thence, on the death of Dr. George Mountaine, to that of York. He died in 1631, and was buried at Chigwell under a monumental brass that has survived the spoliation of that century.

On Christmas-day Bishop Andrewes preached a sermon before the King at Whitehall, that is reported to have given him especial satisfaction. Mr. Chamberlain wrote to Sir Ralph Winwood, "The King with much importunity had the copy delivered to him on Tuesday last, before his going towards Royston, and says he will lay it still under his pillow."¹ This sermon is from *Gal.* iii. 4, 5: "*When the fulness of time was come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, that he might redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.* Here he saith that Christ was made under the law to become our surety,² made under the law when he was circumcised. Then, as St. Paul saith, he became a debtor to the whole law; then was his name of Jesus given him, *St. Luke* ii. 21. To get us from under the law it was not a matter of intercession but of redemption.³ So were verified as in a double sense his words at his passion,⁴ *If you lay hold on me, if I must discharge all, let these go their way, let the price I pay be their redemption, and so it was.*"⁵

¹ Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 117, ap. Nichols's *Progresses of King James*, vol. ii. p. 266. In another letter to Dudley Carleton (wrongly dated December 13, 1609,) in the recently and inaccurately edited volume, *The Court and Times of James I.*, Lond. 1848, p. 102, he observes that our prelate preached with great applause, being not only *ex similibus*, but more than himself, by report of the King and "all his auditors."

² p. 28.

³ p. 29.

⁴ *John* xviii. 6.

⁵ p. 30.

So let us rejoice with fulness of joy, "with the joy of men that have come out of *prison*, have 'scaped the *law*, with the joy of men that have got the reversion of a *goodly heritage*."¹ Well worthy indeed is this joyous discourse of that most joyful occasion which it celebrated out of so cheerful a heart.

But what an Easter² followed, when our good prelate descanted so fervidly upon Job's gospel, upon his triumphal monument, and on death's epitaph: "*I am sure that my Redeemer liveth, and he shall stand the last on the earth, (or, and I shall rise again in the last day from the earth). And though after my skin worms destroy this body, (or, as in the Liturgy of King James, and shall be covered again with my skin,) I shall see God in my flesh, whom I myself (or for myself) shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me, though my reins are consumed within me (or, and this hope is laid up in my bosom).*"³

So, he observes, St. Jerome himself applies this place as a plain prophecy both of Christ's and of our resurrection. Do we ask how Job came by this knowledge? "We shall not need to trouble ourselves to know how he knew it; not by any Scripture. He had it not from Moses, but the same way that Moses had it; he looked in the same mirror Abraham did, when he saw the same person and the same day, and rejoiced to see it."⁴ '*Shall stand.*' He notes, "It is well known it is the proper word for *rising* and not *standing*. The LXX. so turn it; the Fathers so read it. *Nec dum natus erat Dominus* (saith St. Jerome) *et athleta ecclesie redemptorem suum videt à mortuis resurgentem*. He was not yet born, and the Church's champion Job saw his Redeemer rising from the dead."⁵ Whoso will meditate upon mortality and immortality, and seek to rekindle his faith and his hope, let him come hither for comfort, and keep *this* Easter with Bishop Andrewes.

On June 4th he was commissioned to be present at the creation of Henry Prince of Wales, which took place in the House of Parliament on that day. On the preceding Sunday

¹ p. 31.² April 8, 1610.³ p. 423.⁴ p. 430.⁵ p. 428.

there was a creation of Knights of the Bath, and that was preceded on the Saturday by an aquatic spectacle, all which the curious reader will find amply detailed in the second volume of Nichols's *Royal Progresses of James I.* Within little more than two years was this noble Prince taken away. He died in December 1612, our prelate being present at his funeral on the 7th of December. Thus was our country to learn wisdom through the severe struggles of the next half century, in which the principles of arbitrary misrule on the one hand, and the dangers of a military despotism on the other, were to pave the way for the more constitutional government and the more stable and decided Protestantism which succeeded.

In singular harmony with his Easter was his Whitsuntide, full of 'holy comfort.' Then at Whitehall, on May 27, he preached upon our Saviour's promise, his covenant, and condition: *If ye love me, keep my commandments, and I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.*¹ He who could lay open their graves to the rich, and compel them to look down and learn from Dives on his bed of fire to avoid that place of torment, could as tenderly revive the disconsolate, and as affectionately animate men to the love of Christ. But at all times a spirit of holiness *shewed* in his discourses, as the good George Herbert directs in his *Priest for the Temple*. Thus Bishop Andrewes: "As Christ is our witness in heaven, so is the Spirit here on earth, witnessing with our spirits that we pertain to the adoption, and are the children of God; evermore, in the midst of the sorrows that are in our hearts, with his comforts refreshing our souls; yet not filling them with false comforts, but, as Christ's advocate here on earth, soliciting us daily, and calling upon us to look to his commandments and keep them, wherein standeth much of our comfort, even in the testimony of a good conscience."²

On August 5th Bishop Andrewes preached at Holdenby in Northamptonshire, upon the divine right of kings, from *Touch not mine anointed*,³ animadverting upon Bellarmine

¹ *John* xiv. 15, 16, p. 617.

² p. 625.

³ *1 Chron.* xvi. 22.

and Mariana, and noticing the late assassination of Henry IV. of France.¹ He observes that "the Pope saith he can make the Christ the Lord himself: if he could do so indeed, it were not altogether unlike he might make the Lord's Christ,"—set up kings who can make the King of kings.²

Hitherto episcopacy had in Scotland been upon a parity with the presbyterate in regard of ordination. The King had already restored to the Bishops their civil jurisdiction, which after the Reformation had been transferred to the supreme court of justice. He now determined to bring them nearer to the model of the English Church, and on the 15th of October summoned Spottiswoode, Archbishop of Glasgow, Lamb, Bishop of Brechin, and Hamilton, Bishop of Galloway, to London, and appointed Dr. Abbot, Bishop of London, Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, Dr. Henry Parry, Bishop of Worcester, and Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to give them episcopal consecration. The consecration took place in the chapel of London House on the 21st of the same month. Andrewes stated the necessity of ordaining them deacons and priests before they should be elevated to the episcopate, on the ground that they had not been canonically admitted to holy orders in Scotland. Spottiswoode relates that Archbishop Bancroft, who was present, maintained that this was not requisite, because where there were no bishops, ordination by presbyters must be esteemed valid; and that otherwise it might be doubted whether there was any lawful vocation in most of the reformed churches. Our prelate acquiesced in this answer, and so the consecration proceeded. Isaac Casaubon had arrived in this country not long before, and was present at this ceremony.³

Heylyn asserts that Bancroft overruled the objection of Bishop Andrewes by reminding him that the higher order included the lower, and that there were instances of bishops being made by one single ordination; and herein he is followed by Bishop Skinner, and Collier inclines to him. But Bishop Russell, in his *History of the Church in Scotland*,

¹ p. 807.

² p. 801.

³ *Casauboni Epist. Roterodami*, 1709. *Vit.* p. 52.

very impartially remarks that the authority of Spottiswoode on this occasion cannot be set aside, as he was not only present, but deeply interested in the discussion.¹

In the course of this year appeared our prelate's *Responsio ad Apologiam Cardinalis Bellarmini quam nuper edidit contra Præfationem Monitoriam Jacobi Dei gratiâ M. Britannicæ etc. Regis*. He observes that Bellarmine's zeal for the Pope's deposing power had only made the foreign princes jealous of his principles and of his works,² and that he had now found it convenient to come down from this high ground, and to fill his book with patches of his commonplaces, already before the world in a controversial and theological form; and accordingly we find the Bishop's *Answer* assuming through several chapters the character of theological theses.

In the first chapter he shews with various illustrations the uncertainty of the worshipping of the host, and refutes the answers of Romanists who defend, as he says, a *hypothetical* worship. Formerly it was always provided that the condition was understood, '*If thou art Christ I adore thee*;' but faith is not an *hypothesis* but an *hypostasis*, not a supposition but a substance. He shews that there was a time when consubstantiation was allowed in the Church of Rome. Thus he quotes with approbation the words of Biel on *the Canon of the Mass*, who says that the canon of Scripture does not define whether the body of Christ is in the Eucharist by transubstantiation or by consubstantiation. To the same effect he brings in Durandus, Peter de Alliaco, Cardinal of Cambray, and John Picus Mirandula, who was nevertheless cleared from all imputation of heresy by Pope Alexander the Sixth himself. The mode of the mystery we do not, says Bishop Andrewes, presumptuously define. We leave it with the mystery of the Incarnation. We shall hear him again speak more explicitly on this topic.

Bellarmino had alleged the mendacious authority of Maurice Cheney, who wrote of *The Life and Martyrdom of*

¹ Vol. ii. pp. 99, 100. And so Dr. Cook's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. pp. 244—246. See Jer. Collier, vol. ii. p. 702. Bishop Russell refers to Spottiswoode, p. 514, and to Heylyn's *History of Presbytery*, pp. 387, 388.

² p. 9.

the Carthusians, and had aspersed the Lord Protector Cromwell. Bishop Andrewes vindicates his memory, and eulogizes his great judgment and abilities.¹ He proceeds to give a sample of the lying legends of the Carthusian. He checks and overthrows the Cardinal's boast of the universality of his Church, and of the multitudes of converts made especially in America, referring him to Acosta. Of the converts of the Jesuits in Japan, he says that they are only made hypocrites twofold more the children of hell than themselves.² Touching upon the Scotch reformation, he highly lauds the memory of the martyrs Hamilton and Wishart, but with King James withholds all commendation from John Knox and those who acted with the same uncourtly spirit.³

As to the intercession of saints, he quotes Origen who places it amongst the hidden things of God, a thing probable but uncertain.⁴ Thence to nearly the end of the chapter our prelate discusses the arguments and authorities adduced by Bellarmine for the invocation of saints.

The second chapter proves that the cause of the King contending against the Pope in regard of the duty of his subjects to swear to him civil allegiance, is not one peculiar to him but equally affecting the interests of all Catholic and orthodox princes.

In the third he returns to treat of Papal power, opposing St. Paul's *What have we to do to judge them that are without?* to Thomas Aquinas, who attributes to the Church a power of deposing infidel sovereigns.⁵

In the fourth chapter he overthrows Bellarmine's comparison of kings and cardinals. The priest blesses the king, the king benefits the priest. Which is greater, a good word or a good deed? David and Solomon blessed the whole Church, in which the priesthood himself was included, whom Hezekiah called his sons. The King in holy writ deposed the high-priest, not the high-priest the king. He gives the history of the rise of the Cardinals, and everywhere lays open the unfaithful manner of Bellarmine in ecclesiastical history.

¹ pp. 22, 23.

² p. 33.

⁴ p. 37. In *Cant. Hom.* 3. *Rom.* ii.

³ p. 28.

⁵ p. 77.

In the fifth chapter he vindicates his Sovereign from the various charges of Bellarmine. Bellarmine had not been altogether misinformed respecting the partiality of King James for his Romish subjects in Scotland. It is true indeed the insurgent lords were in 1594 banished the kingdom and their houses destroyed, but they would not have had opportunity to rise in arms and to renew their treasons had not the King shielded them in the preceding year from their just deserts.¹

Bishop Andrewes speaks with the utmost candour of the Puritans, and in a language and spirit wholly unknown to Wren, Laud, Montagu, and Heylyn. With him they are not men more in error than the Romanists, as a living divine writes of those whom he calls Zuinglians, that they are in greater error concerning the Eucharist than those who believe transubstantiation.

“*Puritanorum* ea religio non est, quorum nulla est religio sua atque propria: disciplina est. Quod ipsum tamen de *Puritanis* generatim dictum volo, deque iis inter eos, qui præterquam quod *disciplinæ* suæ paulò magis addicti sunt, *cætera sobriè magis sapiunt*; qui, quantumvis *formam* illam perditè depereant, *in reliquâ tamen doctrinâ satis orthodoxi sunt*. Nec enim nescius sum, censeri, adeoque esse, eo in numero (non minus quam in *societate* vestrâ) cerebrosos quosdam, pronos in schisma nimis. Etiam non deesse, qui quoad religionis capita quædam, vix per omnia sani sunt. Quos ego hîc, quos ubique exclusos volo. Mihi ab exteriori regiminis formâ *Puritani* sunt, *non autem à religione, quæ eadem et est et esse potest, ubi facies externa non eadem.*”

“The King (in his *Basilicon Doron*) does not mean there the religion of the Puritans, for they have *no distinct and peculiar religion*, but discipline. And this I would have applied (not to the Scotch only but) to *the Puritans generally*, and to those among them who, except that they are too violently addicted to their order of church government, are in other things sufficiently sober-minded; and these, however infatuated in their devotedness to their ‘*platform*,’ are yet

¹ *Resp. ad Bellarm.* p. 122. *Cook's Church of Scotland*, ii. c. 8.

sufficiently orthodox in the rest of their doctrine. For I am not ignorant that there are numbered, and indeed are amongst them, some unreasonable men (as in your society) over-inclined to schism; nay, that there are not wanting some who are scarcely sound in all things as regards some points of religion. And these I would exclude in this my mention of them here and in every other place. But with me they are *Puritans* from their exterior form of *discipline*, but not from their *religion*, which both is the same and can be, where the external face of discipline is not the same."¹

In the sixth chapter he vindicates the historical passages of his *Tortura Torti*, and defends Rufus in the case of *Anselm*, and Henry the Second in the case of *Thomas à Becket*.² He denies the saintship of St. Hugh of Lincoln, who opposed the raising of money to aid Richard the First.

St. Augustine's *De Mirabilibus Sacræ Scripturæ* is by Bellarmine, in his book of ecclesiastical writers, on the authority of Aquinas, denied to be his. Bishop Andrewes referred to it to prove out of Augustine that that Father placed the Maccabees amongst the Apocryphal books.³

The passage is as follows: "In Machabæorum libris etsi ad miraculum numero inserendum [*aliter* etsi aliquid mirabilium numero inserendum] conveniens fuisse huic ordini inveniatur, de hoc tamen nullâ curâ fatigabimur, quia tantum agere proposuimus, ut de *divini canonis mirabilibus* exiguum quamvis ingenioli nostri modulum excedentem historicam expositionem ex parte aliquâ tangeremus."—l. ii. c. 34, p. 1001. *Op.* tom. 3, *Lugduni*, 1562. Erasmus indeed early ranked this work with those that had been erroneously ascribed to St. Augustine, and it has accordingly been placed amongst the spurious works that go by his name in the Benedictine edition, and in the 47th section of the 4th chapter of *Walchii Bibliotheca Patristica*, p. 275.⁴

Bishop Cosin has, in his *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, reprinted at the Clarendon Press, fully met all the pleas deduced by the Romanists from the writings of

¹ *Resp. ad Bellarm.* p. 123.

² p. 158.

³ pp. 149, 150.

⁴ *Jenæ*, 1834.

St. Augustine in favour of the First and Second Book of the Maccabees and the other Apocryphal books retained by their Church.

Certain passages of St. Augustine appear at first sight to favour their cause, and are always alleged by them for the sake of proving the equal authority of the Apocryphal with those books to which modern usage restricts the term canonical, a term formerly applied more indefinitely than at present, and so applied, it is admitted, by St. Augustine himself, in these passages, namely, in the 8th chapter of his second book *De Doctrinâ Christianâ*, and in the 36th chapter of his 18th book *De Civitate Dei*.

But it is evident from other passages in his works that as the *Canon Fidei*, the *Rule of Faith*, St. Augustine allowed only the Jewish canon. Thus, in one of his treatises against the Donatists, his second book against the Epistle of Gaudentius (c. xxiii), he says: “Et hanc quidem Scripturam quæ appellatur Maccabæorum, non habent Judæi sicut legem et Prophetas et Psalmos quibus Dominus testimonium perhibet tanquam testibus, suis dicens, *Oportebat impleri omnia quæ scripta sunt in lege et Prophetis et Psalmis de me*: sed recepta est ab ecclesiâ non inutiliter, si sobriè legatur vel audiatur, maximè propter illos Maccabæos qui pro Dei lege, sicut veri martyres à persecutoribus tam indigna atque horrenda perpessi sunt,” &c.—*Op. tom. vii. Pars Prior. p. 436, Lugduni, 1562.* “And this Scripture which is called (the book of) Maccabees, the Jews regard not as the law, the Prophets, and the Psalms, to which the Lord bears testimony as to his witnesses, saying, *All things must be fulfilled which were written in the law and in the Prophets and in the Psalms concerning me* (*Luke xxiv. 44*); but it is received by the Church not unprofitably if it be read or heard with caution, especially on account of those Maccabees who endured such undeserved and dreadful sufferings at the hands of their persecutors, as true martyrs for the law of God.” So in citing Ecclesiasticus he says, “Quæ non tantâ firmitate proferuntur quæ scripta non sunt in canone Judæorum.”—*De Civ. Dei, l. xvii. c. 20.* “Which passages are not brought

forward with such a weight of authority, not being in the Jewish canon."

Besides Bishop Cosin's *Scholastical History of the Canon of Scripture*, the reader may refer to the first chapter of the second book of Dr. John Gerhard's *Confessio Catholica*, Dr. John Rainold's *Censura Apocryphorum Vet. Test.* 1611, 2 vols. 4to., Dr. Field's *Book of the Church*, book iv. c. 22, 23, 24, and the *Preface* to the third part of L. Joh. Gottlieb Carpzov's *Introductio ad Libros Canon. Vet. Test.* Lips. 1721.

That laborious collator of manuscripts, but most dogmatical judge of them, Dr. Tregelles, in his *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek Testament*,¹ a work extremely superficial in its notice of the history of the *textus receptus*, affirms amongst other paradoxes that "we reject the Apocrypha in spite of tradition." There is no one article forced upon the Church of Rome more clearly in opposition even to her own tradition, than the reception of the Apocryphal Books into the Old Testament canon. Upon this ground we stand. In consequence of the tradition of the Jewish Church, confirmed by our Lord himself; in consequence of the tradition of the Primitive Church; in consequence of the tradition of the whole Church to the Council of Trent, we reject the Apocrypha. But of all such evidence as must needs enter into such questions, Dr. Tregelles has proved himself a most incompetent judge from the uncritical and inconsistent decisions he has in so many instances affirmed in his critical works. In these he constantly selects his evidence, passes over numerous and weighty allegations of his predecessors in the field of sacred criticism, and commends the most improbable, and those not always the most ancient, readings, by way of illustrating Bengel's rule, which is accordingly given in the larger and more inelegant type of the most modern printers, "*proclivi scriptioni præstat arduum*."² Griesbach, however, more fearlessly followed out his own rule than Dr. Tregelles has had the boldness to do.

Our prelate defends the Protestant interpretation of the words of institution in the Eucharist. Bellarmine had said

¹ London: S. Baxter, 1854. p. 187.

² p. 221.

that they (the Protestants) involved the words *This is my body* in a thousand figures. He retorts after the usual, and indeed unanswerable manner, that neither can the Romanists without a figure reconcile to their interpretation the words, *This is the cup which is poured out*.

In the eighth chapter he unfolds the legendary impiety of Rome respecting the mother of our Lord. He urges against the jesuitical Bellarmine the hymns that are sung to her; he returns to the topic of the invocation of saints; he treats of the innovation of private masses and of the mutilation of the Eucharist; he exposes the folly of the Cardinal's evasions, one of which is, that St. Luke in the Acts only speaks of breaking of bread, therefore they took (he argues) the Lord's Supper only in one kind. So then, when in the 14th chapter of his Gospel he relates that our Lord went into the house of one of the chief Pharisees (according to the Hebrew idiom) *to eat bread*, we must suppose that they drank nothing.¹ But subterfuge and dishonesty of every kind are allowed to Romish controversialists, who are always understood to wage *war* upon the human understanding. Hence Bishop Andrewes proceeds again to transubstantiation² and its concomitants, adoration and procession. He points out the absurdity of the very term *works of supererogation*, when applied to those who have not paid to God that entire and unsinning obedience which they owe to Him.³ He suffers not Bellarmine to escape touching the baptism of *bells*. Nay, they are blessed, not baptized, says Bellarmine. Not so Stephen Durantus in his book of the *Rites of the Church* then lately published at Rome; there we read they are "*baptized* but not for the remission of sins." It is a *holy dedication*, which, as Bishop Andrewes observes, is also the end of baptism. But in the *Pontifical* the bell is exorcised. No, he was too great for Bellarmine the pious Cardinal, the admiration of the more moderate and enlightened children of the Church in England. "But if in any places," writes Bellarmine, "it is called baptism, it is from this that names are given to the bells." More than this, we have in the

¹ p. 189.² p. 192.³ p. 196.

Pontifical, tinctum in aquâ—washed in water. The water is hallowed. It is said, “this commixture of salt and water is made a salutary sacrament in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.” But in the new *Pontifical* of Clement VIII. the words “efficiatur salutare sacramentum” are omitted, and in their stead is read, “*pariter fiat;*” “*quid autem fiat,*” continues Bishop Andrewes, “cogitandum relinquitur.”¹ Nay, there are even sponsors on this solemn occasion; and as a child, so is the bell clad in robes of white: “nugæ quidem sed preciosæ sunt hæ: *calumniæ* non sunt. Neque nugæ tamen; vera enim *gravamina* Pontificis legato in Comitibus Norimbergæ, 1522, exhibita: Pontifici quoque ipsi transmissa, Germaniæ totius nomine.”

From the baptism of bells we return to the worship of images. Bishop Andrewes reminds Bellarmine that Hezekiah himself was an *iconoclast*. Hence we pass on to Purgatory, which Bellarmine finds at least *implicitly* contained in Genesis, where it is written, “*surrexit Abraham à facie mortui*” (in the Vulgate “*ab officio funeris*”²), from the Burial office, that is, from prayers for the good of her soul now in Purgatory.³ Thus was Scripture not only called, but treated as a nose of wax. Bellarmine waxed warm upon Purgatory, and roundly affirmed that hell awaited those who believed not purgatory. “This,” replies our prelate, “savours more of *Tortus*, and is a more fit speech for some evil *Tortus* than for a holy cardinal, and one in which is much less of charity than of faith.” “There is juster reason that no purgatory should remain for them that believe it not; but that as they believe in heaven, so they should prepare for that place; as they believe a hell, so they should seek by all means to avoid it. But they that believe a purgatory, let them very carefully take heed lest, being deceived by the position of the ways, they should go to hell instead of purgatory; for they are places very near each other, if we believe the Cardinal. The Pope, whilst he deludes many of your religion with his indulgences, with the hope of going only to purgatory, hath brought them to hell, who, perchance, if they had feared only hell (and they would

¹ p. 197.² Gen. xxiii. 3, *stood up from before his dead.*³ p. 209.

have feared if that expectation had not utterly blinded them), might have avoided it.”¹

The remainder of this chapter consists of a most able refutation of the Pope’s supremacy—the pride, as purgatory embodies—the avarice of Rome.

From the ninth to the end of the twelfth chapter our prelate treats of the prophecies in the New Testament relating to Antichrist; first, in the second chapter of St. Paul’s Second Epistle to the Thessalonians, then in the Book of Revelation. Bishop Andrewes all along regards the Pope as Antichrist, Rome as Babylon; the name of Antichrist he, following Irenæus, conceives to be *Latinus*. How pitifully did Mr. Newman deal with the memory of Bishop Newton, because, with Bishop Andrewes, he maintained a view of Antichrist so little in accordance with the system he then favoured.²

Bishop Andrewes vindicates Wicliff and his followers from the charge of sedition, and imputes to the calumnious spirit of his opponents the anarchical doctrines ascribed to him.³ Thus did he differ in spirit from that zealous reformed Catholic De Heylyn, who all but anathematizes Wicliff as an uncatholic heresiarch. Our prelate proceeds to vindicate Luther from similar charges.

I know not what to say to our prelate’s words, “But no man sought the life of the King in Scotland.” Certainly his own words at another time appear the contrary to these. In his first sermon on the Gowrie Conspiracy he describes the actors as bloody-minded, and as no better than assassins. “Said not Absalom to his assassins, *When I give you a sign, see you smite, kill him, fear not, have not I commanded you?* Said not they *the same to him* whom to that end they had armed and placed to do that wicked act?”⁴ Here then he must needs acquit that conspiracy of the intent of assassination. Yet in his sermon four years after the publication of this work, when in 1614 he preached the anniversary of the

¹ p. 209.

² See the October No. of the *British Critic* for 1840.

³ p. 229.

⁴ *Resp. ad Bell.* p. 300. *Sermons*, pp. 782, 793, A.D. 1608.

This first brought upon him the King's displeasure. His influence declined as that of Villiers and Laud increased. In 1618 he would not suffer the *Book of Sports* to be read in his parish-church of Croydon. To the last he promoted the Protestant interest. In the summer of 1627 he again nobly withstood the unconstitutional course of his sovereign, by refusing to license Dr. Sibthorpe's sermon, preached at Northampton, in vindication of the compulsory loan. This led to his being most illegally deprived of his power, which was handed over by a commission to Laud and four other prelates. While living in forced seclusion in his house at Ford, which, with Lambeth, Croydon, Bekesbourne, and Canterbury, alone at this time remained to his see, (the other twelve had been taken from it since the Reformation,¹) about Christmas he was released from restraint and invited to court, but only to suffer hereafter further indignities, Laud still reigning supreme, and being selected in his stead to baptize the infant Prince, Charles II., in May 1630. He died in his seventy-first year, at Croydon Palace, August 4th, 1633. Dr. Hook has taken from Fuller whatsoever makes against Abbot as to the charge of undue severity toward the clergy, and omitted all that Fuller added in his commendation. He has however survived the censures of Clarendon himself; neither will his memory suffer from the more recent attack of that abortive undertaking, the *Biographical Dictionary of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, in which he is described as "a zealous Calvinist and a furious Protestant." Of the intemperance of his zeal, or of any indication of his furiousness, history is silent. Antony Wood himself, the historian of his University, is more just to his character.

In answer to the charges of remissness brought against Abbot, the testimony of Hacket, in his *Life of Williams*, may suffice. He says that with regard to the High Commission Court the Lord Keeper was not satisfied in two respects; first in the multiplicity of causes brought into it, secondly in the

¹ Wrotham, Maidstone, Otford, Knoll in Sevenoaks, Charing, Aldington, Saltwood, Tenham, Gillingham, and Wingham, in Kent; and Mayfield and Slindon in Sussex.—*Hasted's Kent*, vol. xii. p. 524.

severity of its censures. Archbishop Abbot was rigorously just, which made him shew less pity to delinquents. Sentences of great correction, or rather of destruction, have their epochs from his predominancy in that court. And after him it mended, says Hacket, like sour ale in summer. It was not so in his predecessor Bancroft's days, who would chide stoutly, but censure mildly. He considered that he sat there rather as a father than as a judge.

On November 13 Andrewes was, for the first time since his translation to Ely, included in a committee, with all their lordships then present, for a conference with the Commons on the following day at 3 p.m. in the Painted Chamber.

We return to Casaubon. On Wednesday the 14th November Casaubon, with Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, with whom he was taking up his abode at this time, dined with our prelate, probably at Ely Palace in Holborn. The Bishop had not yet published his answer to Bellarmine. Andrewes read his work to his guests, and had Casaubon with him again on the 15th and 17th, and on the Monday and Tuesday following. On the Monday he again consulted with Casaubon on his forthcoming treatise. Andrewes entrusted him with the manuscript to peruse at his leisure. He commends the Bishop's learning and his agreement with Christian antiquity, and expresses his wish that his method and spirit were followed by the divines of his own native land, in a letter to Mountague, Bishop of Bath and Wells.¹

On Tuesday, December 25th, Christmas-day, Andrewes preached before the King at Whitehall from the gospel for the day, *Luke* ii. 10, 11. He speaks of the angels' sermon, and after that the hymn *Glory be to God on high*. It was the custom after the Restoration, if not before it, to have a second anthem after the sermon. It might be that this might suggest to Andrewes his remark, "the whole service of this day, the sermon, the anthem, by angels all." The anthem thus concluded both the morning and evening service at St. Paul's, according to the Rev. James Clifford's *Divine Services and Anthems*. This little manual was published in 1660, the

¹ *Ep.* 598, p. 366. Roterd. 1709, ap. Andrewes' *Minor Works*, p. lxxviii.

second edition in 1663, another in 1664, being compiled by the Rev. James Clifford, a Minor Canon of St. Paul's, who died in 1700. The order of the Cathedral service as there observed is extracted from this rare and interesting little volume in the Preface to the Rev. John Jebb's second volume of *Choral Responses and Litanies of the United Church of England and Ireland*. This very valuable collection contains two sets of *Preces* by Amner of Ely, whom Andrewes ordained deacon, with a large body of Cathedral music composed by Henry Molle, Robert Ramsay, and Loosemoore, the incomparable organists of Peterhouse, Trinity, and King's Colleges about 1630. The common Cathedral chants in use in Clifford's time are given in the Appendix,¹ and in the earlier and more ancient part of the volume are several elaborate chants, the memorials of a more noble, enriched, and variegated kind of chant in use before the Restoration, far worthier of the divine compositions to which they were so carefully and appropriately adapted.

To return to our prelate. His genuine piety shines forth conspicuously in this sermon upon the need and nature of salvation, and the universal neglect of it. There is indeed in his sermons very generally, although there are occasional exceptions, the same glow of devotion which has made his *Prayers* so valuable, prayers which have, after the Liturgy, perhaps met with more general acceptance than any others. That his sermons should be in some measure open to the exceptions of such critics as the late Archdeacon Hare, is only what might be expected from a mind so fancifully exuberant as that of Andrewes.

We may, however, be justly thankful for the late Archdeacon Hare's vigilance in regard of the recent edition of our prelate's *Sermons*. But in his remark in p. 499 of the Notes to his *Mission of the Comforter* he was not aware that in the *second* edition we have the reading of which he doubted "in the very *next* words." Archdeacon Hare indeed, as a theologian, was not the best qualified to sit in judgment on Bishop Andrewes. Hare's note on Inspiration, written in a flippant

¹ pp. 200, 201.

spirit and throwing no light upon the subject, but rather heightening its inevitable mysteriousness, is but one of various symptoms that Archdeacon Hare was at times led away with a love of bewilderment, the not unnatural effect of his foreign predilections.

On January 17th, 1611, Isaac Casaubon was, upon the death of Dr. Nicholas Simpson, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, (whose son John was of the same College and Prebendary of the seventh stall in 1614,) preferred to the eighth stall in Canterbury Cathedral; he was a *layman* at this time. After this the King granted him, on the 19th, a pension of £300 per annum during pleasure.¹ His son Meric, who was confirmed by Bishop Andrewes, was born at Geneva 1599. He was educated at Christ Church, Oxford. Bishop Andrewes preferred him to Bledon in Somersetshire. He was afterwards Vicar of Minster and Monkton in the Isle of Thanet, the latter of which he resigned for the rectory of Ickham, a few miles to the east of Canterbury. He was made Prebendary of the ninth stall there June 19, 1628, survived the Restoration, and died July, 1671, aged 75 years, and was buried in the newer south transept.

On Easter-day, March 24, 1611, Bishop Andrewes preached again before the King at Whitehall, from *Psalm cxviii.*, *The stone which the builders refused, the same stone is become the head of the corner.* The latter part of this sermon has been largely quoted for its quaintness;² the former and more excellent has been suffered to rest in the folio edition. It abounds indeed with beauties, but the punning upon the text, and the making the King the head, not of one angle but of three, England, Scotland, and Ireland, is but little suited to that whereto it is annexed. Admirable, however, as are very many passages in this discourse, it is not as a whole comparable to that upon the same occasion in the preceding year, nor is that in point of eloquence equal to those that treat of the narrative of the resurrection.

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. ii. pp. 707, 709, 710. See Hasted's *Kent*, vol. xii. pp. 88, 89.

² In Nichols's *Royal Progresses of James II.* pp. 409, 410.

And so his Whitsunday sermon for this year, had it been less diffuse and less singular in its illustrations, which to our ears at least sounds sometimes trivial, sometimes jocular, would have deserved very considerable commendation. But there are passages in it that should scarcely be quoted, and which are only equalled for impropriety in his sermons upon the Temptation in the wilderness, where presumption is likened to gunpowder. This sermon, upon the Sending of the Holy Ghost, was preached before the King at Windsor on Whitsunday May 12.

On June 9th Bishop Andrewes assisted at Lambeth at the consecration of Dr. Buckeridge to the see of Rochester, and of Dr. Giles Thompson, his old schoolfellow at Merchant Taylor's, to that of Gloucester. Dr. Buckeridge was born at Shinfield, near Reading, was President of St. John's College, Oxford, 1606, where he was succeeded by Laud in 1611, Rector of North Fambridge near Maldon, and of North Kilworth, Leicestershire (near Rugby), Vicar of St. Giles' Cripplegate, Prebendary of Rochester 1587, of Hereford, and Archdeacon of Northampton on the same day, March 23, 1604, Canon of Windsor 1606. On the death of Bishop Felton he was translated from Rochester to Ely, April 17, 1628, having meanwhile preached Bishop Andrewes' funeral sermon in 1626. He died May 23, and was buried May 31 in Bromley church, Kent, without any memorial.

Giles Thompson was born in London, educated at Merchant Taylor's School, an exhibitioner of University College, Oxford, 1571, Fellow of All Souls' College 1580, Proctor 1586, Divinity Reader at Magdalene College, Chaplain to Queen Elizabeth, Canon Residentiary of Hereford May 23, 1594, Rector of Pembridge, Herefordshire (near Leominster), Dean of Windsor February 2, 1603. He died the year following his consecration, without ever having visited his diocese, June 14, 1612. He was buried in St. George's Chapel, Windsor. He was one of the translators of the Bible.

On June 22 Andrewes was appointed one of the first Governors of the Charterhouse.¹

¹ Dr. Bearcroft's *Historical Account of Thomas Sutton, Esq.* p. 72. London : 1737. 8vo.

Casaubon had very favourably represented to the King the learning of Cardinal Perron, and had presented him with some of the Cardinal's poems. This favour Perron acknowledged in a letter to Casaubon, in which he artfully laid the ground of the controversy which now forms the second volume of his works. He withheld from King James the name of Catholic, upon which Casaubon replied in the King's name that his Majesty was much surprised thereat, seeing that he believed all that the ancients believed with unanimous consent to be essential. To this Perron replied in a long and laboured epistle dated Paris, July 15, 1611. This letter is prefixed to his longer controversy, and is to be found in the translation of the first four books of the Cardinal's *Reply*, printed at Douay in folio, by Martin Bogart, 1630, and dedicated to '*Henrietta Maria of Bourbon, Queen of Great Britain.*' Casaubon was appointed by the King to answer Perron's letter of the 15th of July, and to give in Latin the mind of the King himself upon it. Casaubon's *Answer* was put into the hands of Andrewes and Overall, then Dean of St. Paul's, if not also of Morton, then Dean of Winchester, and Montagu, Bishop of that see. Isaacson, Bishop Andrewes' secretary, appears to have acted as Casaubon's amanuensis.¹

Soon after Casaubon had completed his *Epistle to Fronto Ducæus*, he accompanied Andrewes out of town on the 20th June. They returned together to town on the Saturday, and on Sunday, June 30th, were honoured with an invitation to the King.

On July 3rd Andrewes, Overall, Casaubon, and others dined with the Lord Mayor.

On the 16th Andrewes set out for Cambridge with Casaubon. After halting probably at Royston or at Ware for that night, they arrived on Wednesday the 17th at Cambridge, and were lodged at Peterhouse by Dr. John Richardson the Master. The Master's lodge at that time consisted of several apartments between the library built by Dr. Perne, and the hall, which then retained a handsome oriel, with a

¹ See *Ep. to Bp. Andrewes* without a date, and to *Morton* (afterwards Bishop of Durham) 18 August, p. 446. *Casauboni Epistolæ*. Roterodami: 1709.

high-pitched roof and lantern. The present lodge on the opposite side of Trumpington-street belonged to Dr. Charles Beaumont, Fellow of Peterhouse, and son of Dr. Joseph Beaumont, Regius Professor of Divinity in the place of Bishop Gunning, and Master of Peterhouse 1662, in the room of the pious and munificent Bernard Hale, Archdeacon of Ely. Dr. Charles Beaumont, his son, dying March 17, 1726, left this house to the Masters of the College for ever. He left also a large sum for the purchase of advowsons, and many valuable MSS. to the library.

Dr. John Richardson was born at Linton on the south confines of Cambridgeshire, bordering upon Essex. He was brought up at Clare Hall,¹ of which College he was B.A. in 158 $\frac{1}{2}$, or, as we write, 1582. He was thence elected to a fellowship at Emmanuel College, where he proceeded M.A. in 1585, and D.D. 1597. He succeeded Dr. Overall as Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1607. He was appointed one of the translators of the Bible in the same class with Lively, Chaderton, Dillingham, Andrewes, Spalding, and Byng. To these were deputed the historical books from 1 Chronicles inclusive, and the Hagiographa, namely, Job to Ecclesiastes inclusive. In 1609 he was made Master of Peterhouse, having been previously made Fellow of Emmanuel College by the founder himself, Sir Walter Mildmay. On Saturday, May 27th, 1615, he was, between 3 and 5 P.M., admitted to the mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge. He was also Rector of Upwell, a parish with the church mostly in Norfolk, partly in Cambridgeshire. He resigned his professorship in 1617, and was succeeded by Dr. Collins. In the mastership of Peterhouse he was followed by Thomas Turner, B.D.

Thomas Turner was born at Burnby in Yorkshire, three miles south-east of Pocklington, between York and Beverley. He was B.A. of Peterhouse 1596, chosen a Fellow there, M.A. 1600, B.D. 1609, and D.D. 1616. He was also Rector

¹ He is said to have been a Commoner of Trinity Hall in p. 41 of the translation of the Rev. Richard Parker's *Cambridge*.

of Stokehammond in Buckinghamshire, three miles south of Fenny Stratford, and was installed Prebendary of Leicester St. Margaret's, August 23rd, 1612. He died in 1617.

Our prelate was lodged at Peterhouse, as being one of the two Colleges in which the Bishops of Ely have a special interest, as having been founded and endowed by various occupants of that see. To this day the Master and Fellows of Peterhouse, now called St. Peter's College, are admitted to the mastership and fellowships, as the clergy of the diocese are to their spiritual preferments, by the Bishops of Ely.

Peterhouse existed as a corporate society as early as 1274, for in that year a charter recognises their existence as the Warden and Scholars of Peterhouse.¹ It has been objected that Hugh de Balsham, Bishop of Ely, the founder, left at his death 300 marks for new buildings. He however had previously placed his scholars in two hostels in Trumpington-street. He also assigned to it the advowson of Triplow, which, although the presentation has been of late in the hands of the Bishop of Ely, was in the last century appropriated to Peterhouse. The College found benefactors in Thomas de Insulâ, Bishop of Ely 1345, and his predecessors Hotham and Montacute, or Montague, who gave the advowson of Cherryhinton to Peterhouse in 1344. The rectory, to which a manor was annexed, was appropriated to the College in 1395 by Bishop Fordham. Dr. Richardson was doubtless known to Andrewes, as being in the same company of translators of our present incomparable version of the Scriptures. He was also, like Andrewes, of a most munificent spirit: he gave £100 "towards the building of a new court, front, and gate towards the street, now finished," says Fuller, in his *History of the University of Cambridge*. Probably Andrewes would also find himself more at home at Peterhouse than at his own College, where Harsnet was now Master, who was compelled some years after to resign in consequence of an opposition headed by Andrewes' own favourite Matthew Wren, who was at this time a Fellow of Pembroke Hall. Wren was an undoubted and invaluable benefactor to both

¹ Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, vol. i. p. 637, ap. Dyer's *Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 2.

Pembroke Hall and to Peterhouse. He carefully catalogued the muniments of the latter College, a benefit that has been both felt and owned very recently by that venerable foundation.

On Thursday July 18 Casaubon dined with Dr. Richardson, and after that arrived at Ely with the Bishop, who forthwith went to the Deanery to pay his respects to Dr. Tindall the Dean, also President of Queens' College, Cambridge. He was of a noble Norfolk family. He was son to Sir Thomas Tindall, of Hockwold near Brandon in Norfolk. Sir *William* was made Knight of the Bath by Henry VII. at the creation of Arthur Prince of Wales, and was then declared heir to the kingdom of Bohemia in right of Margaret his great grandmother, niece of the King of Bohemia, and daughter to the Duke of Theise. Dr. Humphrey Tindall, or Tyndale, was great-grandson of this Sir William.¹ He was at this time very infirm, and died October 12th, 1614, and was buried in the Cathedral. He had been made Chancellor of Lichfield and Archdeacon of Stafford both on the same day, February 21, 1586, by Bishop Overton, and retained these preferments to his death. He was also Vicar of Soham.

On Sunday July 21st Casaubon attended with Andrewes at the Cathedral. He informs us that the Bishop daily attended divine service there whilst he was in residence.

On the 24th July, Wednesday, Casaubon took a survey of Ely itself and of the Cathedral, especially admiring the octagon lantern.

On the following Wednesday, July 31 (our 9th August), the Bishop accompanied him to the Cathedral very early in the morning, and they together took especial notice of the lantern tower. At that time the choir was immediately under it.

On the 4th August, being the first Sunday in the month, the holy Sacrament was administered, the Bishop and Casaubon being present.

On Monday, 5th, the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy was observed at the Cathedral. The Dean and the other

¹ Blomefield's *Norfolk*, vol. i. p. 491.

clergy met the Bishop at the great west door, and psalms were chanted as they proceeded up the nave. After morning service the Bishop himself preached, and a few worshippers remained to receive the holy Communion.

On Tuesday, August 6th, the Bishop took Casaubon with him, on his way to Wisbeach, to his palace at Downham¹ Market, which was his favourite residence, and in the chapel of which it was his frequent practice to hold his ordinations.

On Wednesday the Mayor and ten burgesses, with a company of about one-hundred-and-fifty on horses, met the Bishop at his entering into Wisbeach.

On Thursday a sermon was preached at the church, the beauty of which Casaubon did not fail to observe. He went afterwards to the Castle where some Jesuits and recusants were confined.

On Friday the 9th the Bishop and Casaubon went on horseback to inspect the dykes on the other side of Wisbeach from that by which they entered. After going four or five miles at a walking pace they lost their way. On their return the Bishop's horse threw him, but the good providence of

¹ "The manor (of *Downham*) having been purchased by Ethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, was given by him to the monks of Ely" (A.D. 970). "On the division of the manors of the church, in the time of Hervey, the first Bishop," (A.D. 1109), "Downham was one of those annexed to the see, and became one of the chief residences of its prelates. Bishop John de Fontibus died at his palace at Downham in 1225; Bishop Robert de Oxford in 1310; Bishop Fordham in 1425; and Bishop Grey in 1478. Downham Palace was repaired by Bishop Andrewes. Bishop Wren was arrested at Downham, and sent from thence prisoner to the Tower by the order of Parliament in 1642. The Palace having been suffered to go to decay during the interregnum, and no repairs having been attempted by the succeeding prelates, Bishop Patrick, who was promoted to the see in 1691, procured an Act of Parliament to enable him to lease out the mansion and demesnes, and to secure himself and his successors from dilapidations; George Grantley of Piccadilly is the present lessee" (1808). "There are considerable remains of the Bishop's Palace which appears to have been rebuilt by Bishop Alcock, the founder of Jesus College in Cambridge, whose device with the arms of the see are upon a rich doorway of brick and stone, ornamented with crockets, &c. The offices are fitted up as a farmhouse; the park in the reign of Henry III. contained 250 acres."—Lysons' *Cambridgeshire*, p. 178.

God so ordered it that he received no hurt either from his fall or whilst between the horse's feet.¹

On Saturday the 10th, after having read some Psalms together, as was the Bishop's custom, they went to the Assizes, at which the Bishop presided. They then returned to Downham Market.

On Wednesday the 14th Casaubon and his wife went to the quarry near Ely.

On Monday the 19th the Bishop accompanied him on his horse to see the country around and beyond Ely.

On Wednesday the 21st the Bishop gave a great dinner to the nobility and gentry of the neighbourhood.

On Thursday the 29th Casaubon returned to London.

On the 22nd September Andrewes held an ordination in the chapel of his palace at Downham Market. He ordained Deacons Samuel Stubbin, B.A. of Emmanuel College 1609, and M.A. 1612, and William Rawley, M.A., Fellow of Corpus Christi College, chaplain to Lord Bacon, and Rector of Landbeach near Cambridge, where he died, aged seventy-nine years, June 18, 1667. Bacon valued our prelate's learning, and sent to him the MS. of his *Cogitata et Visa* for his remarks upon it, as he had done upon previous occasions.²

¹ "At Ely," says Buckeridge, in his funeral sermon for Bishop Andrewes, "he spent, in reparation of Ely House in Holborn, of Ely Palace at Downham, and Wisbeach Castle, £2000." (p. 19.)

Ely House was bequeathed to the see by John de Kirkby, Chancellor and Treasurer of England, Dean of Wimborne, and then Bishop of Ely. He died in 1290. Queen Elizabeth obtained of Bishop Cox a lease of Ely House, Holborn, in 1579 for a term of years to Sir Christopher Hatton. The palace was recovered, but part of the precincts remained to the Hatton family, who built upon it the houses now called Hatton Garden. During the civil war it was converted into an hospital for the use of the sick and maimed soldiers. Bishop Keene, for some years Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge, and who owed his bishopric of Ely to his brother the Spanish Ambassador, procured an Act of Parliament for the alienation of this property in 1772.

Wisbeach Castle was passed over from the King to the see of Ely. It was repaired or rebuilt of brick by Bishop Morton about 1480. Bishop Alcock died there October 1st, 1500. Andrewes repaired it. When it was sold in Cromwell's time Secretary Thurlow purchased it, and built a house on its site designed by Inigo Jones. Since the restoration it has been leased out by the Bishops.

² Letter 96, *Works*, vol. iii. p. 241.

In another letter, addressed to King James October 12, 1620,¹ Bacon mentions that the Bishop was acquainted for nearly thirty years with his intention of writing the *Novum Organon*.

After his retirement he also dedicated to Bishop Andrewes his *Advertisement touching a Holy War*, concluding in these words: "This work I have dedicated to your lordship in respect of our ancient and private acquaintance, and because amongst the men of our times I hold you in special reverence."² Andrewes usually spent July, August, and September in his diocese, and so he, soon after this ordination, returned to London.

On the 13th October, Saturday, he took Casaubon with him from London to Ware, and on Saturday the 19th they reached Royston, and were the King's guests at his house there in Armingford-street. It is still to be seen, with the private garden, in which is a mulberry-tree from one which the King himself is said to have planted, which fell down about twelve years since. They remained two days with the King.

On the 4th of November Casaubon was again with Andrewes.

On the 14th they again set out together to Royston, spent the greater part of Friday the 15th with the King, and returned.

Casaubon was with Andrewes again on the 25th.

On the next day he wrote to Daniel Heyne. He relates that on October 22nd the King commanded him to attend him to London. There were present Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Andrewes. Andrewes begged of Heyne through Casaubon to make his house his home when he was not under Casaubon's roof. Casaubon relates how he was constantly with Andrewes about this time, and that this great prelate supplied to him the place of De Thou, such was his profound learning, and so great his affability.³

On Monday, December 2nd, he again went to the King at

¹ p. 584.

² *Works*, vol. ii. p. 282.

³ Casaub. *Epist.* pp. 437, 438.

Royston with Andrewes, and remained with him there the next day.

He was again in attendance upon Andrewes on the 7th on account of a letter from Mountagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, written for the King respecting the returning of the papers with which he and Andrewes had been entrusted. These related to the letter to Cardinal Perron, which Casaubon was then preparing under the King's direction.¹

Toward the end of this year (1611) was printed at London by Robert Barker the King's printer, *Elenchus Refutationis Torturæ Torti pro Reverendissimo in Christo Patre Domino Episcopo Eliensi (Andrewes) adversus Martinum Becanum Jesuitam. Authore Richardo Thomsonio Cantabrigiensi: A Confutation of the Jesuit Martin Becan's Refutation of Bp. Andrewes's Tortura Torti*. This little volume is a 12mo of 104 pages, dedicated to the author's friend, Sir Thomas Jermyn. It is written with much point, spirit, and ability. The author animadverts upon the misrepresentation of Becan, who for the King's *supremacy* substitutes *primacy*.²

Becan would have his readers imagine that Andrewes and King James were at variance respecting the Pope's being Antichrist. We have already seen the opinion of both upon that topic. The King only conceded, that whilst he held to his own opinion respecting Antichrist, he would not place his opinion thereon amongst articles of faith.³ Thomson alleges the remarkable coincidence with *Rev. xvii.* of the name long engraven on the Papal tiara, *mystery*. This most remarkable circumstance, admitted by Lessius, himself a zealous partisan of the Romish see, was denied by Bossuet, who was exposed by M. Christian Gotthilf Blumberg in his *Exercitium anti-Bossueticum*, 1695, and again farther established in his *Mysterium Papali coronæ adscriptum*, 1702, against Dr. John Louis Hanneman, Professor of Medicine at Kiel.

Thomson objects to Bellarmine the fact that the King of Spain was by hereditary right invested with the entire authority of a *legatus à latere* in the kingdom of Sicily, having

¹ Andrewes' *Minor Works*, p. 7.

² p. 33.

³ p. 61.

power to absolve, excommunicate, forbid appeals to Rome, &c. This he proves by the very words of Ascanius Colonna, one of the College of Cardinals, in p. 161 of his work upon the kingdom of Sicily against Baronius.¹

The author, Richard Thomson, was Proctor in 1612 of Clare Hall, in which year occur also as Proctors, Stephen Haget of Queens' College, and Henry Bird of Trinity Hall.² This Thomson or Thompson is said to have been the same with the author of another Latin treatise (unless indeed that was a posthumous treatise), which was published at Leyden in 1618, *Ricardi Thomsonis Angli Diatriba de Amissione et Intercisione Gratiae et Justificationis*, 1618. The author who wrote in defence of Andrewes was incorporated of the University of Oxford July 1, 1596, according to Wood, who at the same time concludes his account of him with this observation: "One of both his names was as a M. of A. of Cambr. incorporated in this University 1593, which I take to be the same with this," namely, the author both of the *Elenchus* and of the *Diatriba*. However, our author, the author of the *Elenchus*, is doubtless truly described by Anthony Wood as a "Dutchman born of English parents," for he was an eminent tutor at Clare Hall in 1604, prior to which the pious Nicholas Ferrar was entered at that College. In a life abridged from one written by Dr. Turner, Bishop of Ely, and published in the *Christian Magazine* for July 1761 (p. 356), we have the following notice of him and of Clare Hall at that time. "In his (Ferrar's) thirteenth year Mr. Brooks himself (who kept a school near Newbury, Berkshire,) would needs carry his young scholar to settle him in the University, declaring that he was more than ripe for it, and alleging his loss of time if he staid any longer at school. He placed him at Cambridge at Clare Hall, famous for a set of the most eminent men of their times in their several faculties; Dr. Butler for physic,³ Mr. Lake, who was after advanced to be Secretary of

¹ p. 84.

² So Le Neve, but his name does not occur in any University documents for 1612.

³ Dr. William Butler was a Licentiate of Medicine 26th October, 1572, having been, previously to his election to a fellowship at Clare Hall, B.A. of

State, Mr. Ruggle (the celebrated author of *Ignoramus*) for his exquisite skill in all polite learning, *Dutch Thomson*, as we quote him still at Cambridge, Mr. Parkinson, and Dr. Austin Lindsell, afterwards Lord Bishop of Peterborough, and at last of Hereford, for their profound knowledge in divinity. The last of these, who was the general scholar, was pleased to receive a youth of such great hopes into his own tuition."¹

The other Thomson, incorporated M.A. at Oxford in 1593, was Richard Thomson of Trinity College, Cambridge, B.A. 1587-8, M.A. 1591.

The Jesuit Becan was this year answered also by the Rev. Robert Burhill, of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, whom Bishop Andrewes afterwards rewarded with the rectory of Snailwell, in the county of Cambridge, and about three miles north of Newmarket. Burhill's vindication of the Bishop is entitled, *Pro Torturâ Torti, contra Martinum Becanum Jesuitam, Responsio Roberti Burhilli Angli. Londini: Excudebat Robertus Barkerus, serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis Typographus. Anno Dom. 1611.* It is dedicated to Prince Henry. In his epistle to the reader he mentions that his references are to the Cologne edition of *Tortus*, 1608, and to the London edition of the *Tortura*, 1609.

Becan had displayed the usual arts of his fraternity, and in so doing sometimes contradicted Bellarmine whom he professed to defend, by assuming a liberality inconsistent with the ultramontaniam of the Cardinal. He also dealt in

Pembroke Hall 1563, and M.A. 1566. He was born at Ipswich, and was the most eminent physician of his age. Dyer in his account of Clare Hall has made him the same with another benefactor to that foundation, noticing him as "John Freeman Butler, Esq."* He attended Prince Henry in his last illness November 1612. He gave a chalice of solid gold for the divine service, and a handsome carpet to cover the Communion-table, and also left by his will two curious flagons, the one of crystal, the other serpentine tipped with silver, and all his books in folio. There is a mural monument to his memory, with his bust, on the south side of the chancel of Great St. Mary's, Cambridge. He died January 9th, 1618, in his 83rd year.

¹ The *Life of George Ruggle*, p. ix. prefixed to his *Ignoramus*, edited by Sir John Sidney Hawkins, 1787.

* Dyer's *Cambridge*, vol. ii. p. 38.

the popular misrepresentations of the royal supremacy, and continually laboured to pervert the meaning of his opponents. Burhill reminded him that whilst he had boasted of having refuted both the King and the Bishop in regard of the oath of allegiance, he had passed over a *third author*, George Blackwell, whom not very long before Clement VIII. had appointed arch-presbyter of England. Blackwell had written to demonstrate both the equity of the oath, and the falsity of the Papal claim to depose princes.

Becan studied insolence and invective, treating both the King and our prelate with disrespect, and professing to depreciate the learning and talent of the latter in his very title-page, which ran as follows, *Refutatio Torturæ Torti, seu contra Sacellatum Regis Angliæ quod causam Regis sui negligeret egerit*, 'A Refutation of the *Tortura Torti*, or against the Chaplain of the King of England because he had slightly handled the cause of his King.' Burhill objects to him the inconsistency of this charge of negligence on the Bishop's part with his own admission, *Si verba spectem satis cultus et elegans es; si laborem ac diligentiam, non culpo otium: at multa alia sunt quæ non æque probem*,¹ 'If I look to the style, you are sufficiently ornate and elegant; if to the pains and diligence, I have not to blame want of care. But there are many other things which I cannot equally approve.' Burhill justly charges Becan with making common cause with those traitors, Nicholas Sanders and the *proto-pseudo martyr* of the Jesuits in England, Edmund Campian. He proceeds to remind Becan that not only the Gallican and Venetian divines, but amongst the Spanish, Francesco de Victoria, Dominic Bannes, Medina, Ledesna, and Sotus denied that the clergy were *jure divino* exempt from the civil power. (p. 62). He maintains the royal supremacy on the now, alas, deserted doctrine that the end of Christian government is somewhat higher than the advancement of mere secular prosperity. The Church of Rome he does not hesitate to charge with spiritual adultery as the scarlet whore

¹ p. 22.

of the Apocalypse (*purpurata meretrix*). (p. 85.) He takes notice of the perversion of Scripture by Baronius, who, stirring up Pope Paul V. against the Venetians, admonished him that the Apostle Peter's was a twofold office, to feed and to slay, because it was said to him, *Rise Peter, kill and eat. Acts x. 13.* (p. 85.) He claims for the Sovereign the right as well of dissolving as of calling together ecclesiastical assemblies, and of interposing to set aside useless controversies, and for the suppression of religious factions. (p. 106.) Also the power of annulling unjust censures, and of nominating in ecclesiastical elections. (pp. 106, 107.) He denies to the Sovereign the right of imposing canons by his sole authority, or of condemning as heretical that which has not hitherto been pronounced heretical. (p. 108.) He notices the extravagant claims of the Pope in the 7th section (p. 85) of the *Book of Ceremonies*, to "all power in heaven and in earth." (p. 109.) He recognizes the Augustinian idea of the invisible church, namely, those who through internal grace are members of the body of Christ. (p. 134.) He objects to Becan that there is no unity in his Church in regard of essentials if Bellarmine is to be followed, who repeatedly affirms that the Pope's power of deposing princes is an article, nay, one of the chief articles of the Catholic faith. (p. 145.) He refers to various Romish writers who had taught the contrary, and here he makes use of that great storehouse of Protestant evidence, *Flacii Illyrici Catalogus Testium Veritatis*. (p. 146.) Becan, he says, must needs confess that there are three prevalent opinions respecting the Pope's dominion over princes, that of Baronius and the Canonists, that the Pope is directly lord of the world and judge of kings; that of Bellarmine and of the Jesuits, that he is so not directly but indirectly; and that of the Ghibelines and those who hold with them, that he has no such lordship and authority either directly or indirectly. (p. 147.) He exposes the historical falsehoods of Bellarmine in the 21st chapter of his book upon the Sacraments in his polemical works, and of Binius, at p. 1494 of the third volume of the *Councils*, respecting the pretended submission of the Greeks to the Church of Rome in the Council of Lateran 1215,

(by a mistake printed 1195, p. 152), and at the Council of Lyons 1274, and thirdly at that of Florence in 1439.

Toward the end of this the 15th chapter Burhill with his Sovereign applies the Apocalypse to the Church of Rome, and in the great diminution of the revenues of that church which ensued upon the Reformation, sees the commencement of the punishmet predicted against that apostate communion in the 16th verse of the 17th chapter. (p. 161.) In the 12th chapter Burhill exposes the sanction which both Popes and Jesuits had given to the assassination of Henry III. of France, and the democratic doctrine of Bellarmine that kings derived their rights from the people, the Pope from God alone, and further illustrates the tenet that no faith is to be kept with heretics. (p. 204.) He here takes occasion to expose the inconsistency of Becan, who in one place had admitted that the Council of Constance had granted John Huss a safe-conduct, and in another had denied that the Council had made any promise to him. Burhill unveils the fallacies by which Becan would with others blind the public to the reality of this obnoxious tenet, and cites numerous authorities of the Romish Church who had insisted upon it: Simanca, Conrad Brunus (l. iii. *De Hæreticis*, c. 15, n. 6, et seq. in *Tractatibus illustrium Jureconsultorum de Judiciis criminalibus sanctæ Inquisitionis*), Francis Burchardt (in *Autonomiâ*, parte iii. c. 13), Joh. Paul Windeck (in *Deliberatione de Hæresibus extirpandis*), Ayala (*De Jure Belli*, l. i. c. 6, n. 8), Molanus (*De Fide Hæreticis Servandâ*, l. iv. c. 7); and so Cardinal Hosius, in his *Epistles to Henry King of Poland*, "Never suffer yourself by any consideration to be bound to the fulfilment of those things that you have promised, because an oath ought not to be an obligation of iniquity."

In the 20th chapter Burhill lays open the impious secret of the whole history of Jesuitism, the utter prostration of mind and conscience to the will of the superior, which forms the basis of the Jesuit's preparation for his career of perfidy and crime. So the Jesuit of old went forth to subjugate the world to the Pope, as in after times he has been seen endeavouring to subjugate Popes themselves to the greatness of his own order.

Our author, in an earlier section of his work, refers with the highest commendation to Dr. Thomas Morton's *Catholic Apology for Protestants*, l. i. c. 9. Morton was then Dean of Winchester, and was in 1615 consecrated to the see of Chester, translated to Lichfield and Coventry 1618, and thence to Durham in 1632.

On Wednesday, Christmas-day, our prelate preached before the King at Whitehall, from *John* i. 14. Excellently does he instance the force of the term *flesh*, as implying our nature. So St. Augustine of holy Scripture, in the 2nd chapter of the 14th book *On the City of God: Sæpe etiam ipsum hominem, id est naturam hominis carnem nuncupat, modo locutionis à parte totum significans.*¹ Nothing can be more perspicuous than the manner in which Andrewes here makes use of his learning, applies the Nicene Creed, and sets forth the doctrine of the Church on this great article, the union of the two natures in one person intended by the expression, '*the taking of the manhood into God.*'

Beyond all praise is the simple pathos of his transition from the doctrine viewed in itself to the doctrine in its relation to us and to our nature, the wonderful humiliation which it manifested in Christ, all that in the mystery of the incarnation which is not simply the object of our faith but of our love. It is perhaps true that the very faultiness of the style, the continual mixture of English and Latin, yet frequently, as here, adds to the point of those antitheses which are so touchingly brought into our prelate's discourses.

Certainly the rejection of that simplicity, which in Bishop Andrewes is always effective because it spurns all elaborateness of construction and expression, gives to the best of our modern sermons a comparative coldness and ineffectiveness that cannot be too deeply regretted. Men scorn as overprettinesses what is too simple to be natural to them or to the vitiated taste which they profess to esteem it their duty to pamper. Upon such, with whom a preaching next to foolish has the greatest attractions, the works of Bishop Andrewes would be thrown away; they could not appreciate

¹ *Op. tom. v. pars. 2da, p. 48. Lugduni, apud Sebastianum Honoratum, 1560.*

that fertility of the imagination, that combination of simple imagery, which, like the parables of our Saviour, is of universal adaptation. Let the reader study the *point* so prominent in almost every sentence of this discourse. We may read and hear many long and overstrained compositions, out of which none shall be able to carry away so complete and so concise a lesson as this of the grace and truth of the *Word*: “*Grace* is to adopt us, *truth* to beget us anew; for, of his own will he hath begotten us, by the word of truth.”

What are many of our sermons to this one paragraph? “Good hope we now have, that he being now flesh, all flesh may come to him, to present him with their requests. Time was when they fled from him, but *ad factum carnem jam veniet omnis caro*. For since he dwelt amongst us, all may resort unto him, yea, even sinners; and of them it is said, *Hic recipit peccatores et comedit cum eis*, He receiveth them, receiveth them even to his table.”

And here we will conclude this chapter. It is brief, and comprises but one year of the life of our prelate; but we cannot better end than with the mention and memorial of His incarnation, who, by taking our flesh, assured us of his love, that love in which is bound up our true, our eternal good. For now “He seeth us daily in himself; he cannot look upon his flesh but he must think upon us. And God the Father cannot now hate the *flesh* which the *Word* is made.”¹

¹ Sermon 6 of *The Nativity*, p. 51.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Version of 1611—Dr. Gell—Bishop Marsh—Luther—Tyndale—Coverdale—Cranmer's Bible—Geneva Bible—Dr. Whitaker on the Old Testament—Tregelles—Matthæi—Valla's Collations—Complutensian New Testament—Erasmus—Stephens—His MSS. of the New Testament—Besa.

IT was in the course of this year, 1611, that the present Version of the Holy Scriptures appeared. I cannot pass over this opportunity of attempting, however briefly and inadequately, to pay my passing tribute to this noble work, a work destined to abide the shock of peradventure one and another coming attack ; a work well able to abide every effort of the innovating spirit of our own or future generations that may be directed against it. The Rev. Frederick Henry Scrivener, M.A., who has now established his reputation for accuracy and completeness as a collator of the Biblical MSS. preserved in our own country, in his *Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament*,¹ remarks of King James's version of the Bible: "I hardly need observe that it has received the highest panegyrics from Biblical scholars of every shade of theological sentiment, from the date of its publication to the present time. For more than a century after its completion almost the only person of respectable acquirements and station who wrote against it, was Dr. Robert Gell, whose twenty discourses or sermons on this subject (London, 1659, folio) I have not been able to meet with.

¹ London : Pickering, 1845. p. 101.

They are not in the British Museum nor in Sion College Library.¹ Judging from Lewis's description of the book, my loss has not been great. Gell had taken up a foolish and very unfounded notion that the Calvinistic bias of some of the translators had a prejudicial effect on the version: but *Gal.* v. 6 is the only text I can discover to which he objects on this ground.² The New Testament he thought to be worse rendered than the Old, and he complains that the order of the words in the original is wholly neglected (*Heb.* x. 34). Lewis also mentions *Matt.* xx. 23, 1 *John* iii. 20, as passages which Dr. Gell thought capable of improvement; but if he gives us any" thing "approaching to a fair analysis of the contents of these sermons, they never could have endangered the reputation of the translation which they assailed."³

Our rendering of *Matt.* xx. 23 accords with St. Chrysostom and Theophylact, as Mr. Scrivener himself admits, whilst proposing another,⁴ on the ground that *ἀλλὰ* is here to be taken for *εἰ μὴ*, *except to those for whom it is prepared of my Father*. The other passage, 1 *John* iii. 20, has been differently interpreted, and by some unnaturally connected with the preceding verse, as may be seen in *Wolfii Curæ Philologicæ in Novum Testamentum*. But our Version can no more in this than in the other instance be justly charged with inaccuracy.

In the present century our authorized Version has found indeed various opponents of very various attainments, but none without their several prejudices, none possessed of the various qualifications of that band of scholars, whose labours they have all in turn ventured to depreciate.

¹ This remark is given by Mr. Scrivener in a note.

² This is an erratum for *Gal.* v. 17, so that ye cannot do the things that ye would. Estius the Romish commentator very justly remarks that the original is equivalent to *cannot*. "Sensus est, hæc quæ dixi, caro et spiritus contrariis motibus ac desideriis ita pugnant inter se, in hominibus justis, quales vos estis; ut propter eam causam non omnia quæ vultis faciatis. Vultis enim omnino non pati motus carnis, sed sine repugnantia quod bonum est facere: verum, impediante carne, non facitis; imo nec durante hac mortalitate, *facere potestis*."—p. 580. Paris, tom i. 1653.

³ pp. 101, 102.

⁴ p. 256.

The name of the pretender whom the able pages¹ of Dr. Whitaker, then a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, have condemned to perpetual infamy, has only obtained a place in the catalogue of literary impostors.

A more formidable opponent appeared in a late Bishop of Peterborough, the learned but inveterately prejudiced Herbert Marsh, who, with the authority of Archbishop Newcome and Dr. Macknight, names that have now in their turn all but passed away from the world of theological learning, recommended in his second lecture on the Interpretation of the Bible the revision of our present Version. This recommendation was however prefaced by the admission that as the collation of the preceding versions was made by some of the most distinguished scholars in the age of James I., it is probable that our authorized Version is as faithful a representation of the original Scriptures as could have been formed at that period.² Bishop Marsh, in tracing up its genealogy, argues with all the warmth of an advocate in behalf of the influence of Luther's version upon the first English translation, that of Tyndale. Yet, strange to say, he does not appear to have made himself acquainted with the history of Luther's version. An ample history of this version was published in 1701 at Hamburg, from the pen of *Dr. John Frederic Mayer* or *Meyer*. More recently an account of it was given in *Christian Frederic Bærner's* much enlarged edition of *James Le Long's Bibliotheca Sacra*. Dr. Whitaker refers also to *Michael Walther's* (of Lubeck) *Officina Biblica*, a work in great repute with the Lutherans in the last century. Bishop Marsh observes that Luther's only help in the form of a Hebrew Lexicon, was that of Reuchlin extracted from the meagre glossaries of the Rabbins.³ Luther applied to living sources of information from amongst

¹ *An Historical and Critical Enquiry into the Interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures, with Remarks on Mr. Bellamy's New Translation.* By John William Whitaker, M.A., Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Camb. 1819.

² Bishop Marsh's *Lectures on the Criticism and Interpretation of the Bible, &c.* Camb. 1828. pp. 296, 297.

³ *Lectures*, p. 295.

the Jews, whilst engaged on his translation of the Bible.¹ Luther was not therefore dependent upon the Vulgate for the basis of his German version of the Bible. "When," says Bishop Marsh, "Sebastian Munster composed his *Dictionary Hebraicum*, he added to each Hebrew word the sense in Latin. And whence did he derive those Latin senses? From the Vulgate. Wolf, in his *Historia Lexicorum Hebraicorum*, p. 87, says of Munster, *Idem Vulgatam Versionem in vertendis Hebraicis vocibus expressit*. He adds, "Luther, who was a contemporary of Munster, learnt also the meaning of Hebrew words, by seeing how they were translated in the Vulgate." But Luther's version was the result of the most learned orientalists, as well Jews as Christians. Those learned Jews were to Luther what Bishop Marsh admits they were to Pagninus, a *living* lexicon.²

It has been conceded that Tyndale paid great deference to Luther, but it by no means follows that Tyndale was himself ignorant of the Hebrew language. Both Dr. Whitaker³ and Mr. Scrivener have vindicated Tyndale's character in this respect.⁴

Tyndale's New Testament appeared in 1526. For the dignity and simplicity of its style, it is even superior to our present Version; but his third edition, published in 1534, is his best. Mr. Scrivener has given a very concise and interesting review of Tyndale's labours on the New Testament in his *Introduction to his Supplement to the Authorized English Version*.⁵

Tyndale did not live to translate the whole of the Old Testament. Miles Coverdale, an Augustinian friar, D.D. of Tübingen and afterwards incorporated of the University of Cambridge, undertook with John Rogers, the first martyr in

¹ *Das Leben Dr. Martin Luther's nach Johann Mathesius. Mit einem Vorwort von Dr. G. H. v. Schubert in München*, p. 81. Stuttgart, 1846.

² *Appendix to Bishop Marsh's Lectures*. 1828. pp. 13, 14.

³ *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, pp. 45—47.

⁴ *Supplement to the Authorized English Version*, pp. 78, 79,

⁵ pp. 78—83.

the Marian persecution, to revise and complete the translation of the Old Testament which had been commenced by Tyndale.

“Coverdale’s complete translation of the Bible into English was printed A.D. 1535 at Zurich, as is commonly supposed, and the printing is undoubtedly foreign. It is properly regarded as the joint production of Tyndale and Coverdale” (who had been associated with Tyndale at Antwerp) “in the translation of the Old Testament, but the Pentateuch published in this edition is not the same as the former. In reality Coverdale, assisted by Rogers, who corrected the press, revised the whole of Tyndale’s work before they reprinted it, not only the published but the unpublished part.

“In his dedication to the King, Coverdale says that he used five different translations, both Latin and Dutch, in the latter of which German must manifestly be included. Now these five translations can have been no other than the Latin Vulgate, the Latin of Pagninus,¹ the German of Luther, a Dutch translation of Luther, and a German translation of the Vulgate.² Besides these, no *entire* Bibles in Latin or German were then published, though versions of detached parts may have been employed; for instance, the Latin Psalters of

¹ “The Latin translation of Sanctes Pagninus, Lyons, A.D. 1528. Pico de Mirandula testifies, ‘Sanctem Pagninum Veteri Testamento *ex Hebræo* de novo convertendo annos viginti quinque impendisse,’ ‘that Sanctes Pagnin devoted twenty-five years to a new translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew.’ Venema gives the following account of this translator: ‘Sanctes Pagninus Lucensis, Ord. Prædic. et Concionator apostolicus, mortuus A.D. 1541, nominis nactus est celebritatem non tantum per trium linguarum, in primis Hebrææ et Chaldaicæ peritiam, sed et, quod primus post Hieronymum, totam verterit scripturam è linguis originalibus in Latinam, sumtus suppeditante, et animum addente Leone X. Papâ.’ ‘Sanctes Pagninus of Lucca, of the Order of Preachers, and Preacher Apostolical, deceased A.D. 1541, obtained celebrity not only by his knowledge of the three languages, especially of Hebrew and Chaldee, but from his having been the first who after Jérôme translated the whole Scriptures out of their original tongues into Latin, at the cost and with the patronage of Pope Leo X.’ His translation was, in fact, perfectly new, and valuable from its closeness to the Hebrew.”—Dr. Whitaker’s *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, pp. 19, 20.

² “There existed several translations of the Vulgate into German long before the Reformation.”—See Le Long’s *Bibl. Sacra*.

Felix Pratensis, Conrad Pellicanus, and our own Bucer. Two of the above number, it is to be observed, are *secondary* translations, one from the Latin Vulgate, and the other from Luther. Consequently from five they resolve themselves into three, viz., the Vulgate, Pagninus, and Luther, and these Coverdale confesses himself to have used, to which, for the sake of argument, we will add the Septuagint.¹ Besides these four versions, there actually was *no other source* from which he *could* have translated except the Hebrew; and if these four be removed, it will inevitably follow that he *did* translate from the Hebrew, and from *nothing else*."²

Dr. Whitaker proceeds to prove that Coverdale did not in some instances adhere to any of the translations already mentioned, but translated for himself, and with success, from the Hebrew. As an instance he gives *Isa. lvii. 5*, as found in the Septuagint, the Vulgate, Pagninus, and Luther. Coverdale renders, *Ye take your pleasure under the oaks, and under all green trees, the child being slain in the valleys and dens of stone*. This is not literal, but it gives the sense of the original with great accuracy, and is also very unlike the translations which he employed *to help him* in his labours."³ The true rendering was admitted into Cranmer's Bible, but changed in a large black-letter edition to *Ye make your fire under the oaks*. *Among the oaks* is still found in the margin of the Authorized Version.

"Bishop Coverdale's translation," says Mr. Scrivener, "is spoken of in very favourable terms by Kennicott,⁴ who, besides several passages of the Old Testament, quotes *Luke xxiii. 32*, *John xviii. 37*, as instances where his interpretation is preferable to that of our present Bibles."⁵ Indeed Mr. Scrivener

¹ Had Mr. Scrivener borne these observations of Dr. Whitaker in mind, he would not have written the following in p. 84 of his *Introduction*: "Since it seems impossible to discover the precise versions to which he here alludes, or even to determine with certainty whether each of them contained the whole, or only a portion of Scripture, we cannot hope to arrive at any positive conclusion in this matter."

² Dr. Whitaker's *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, pp. 48, 50.

³ *Ibid.* p. 54.

⁴ *Diss. Gen. ad Vet. Test.* § 89, note.

⁵ *Introduction to his Supplement to the Authorized Version of the New Testament*, p. 85.

speaks of the *lavish praise* which Dr. Kennicott has bestowed on Coverdale's labours, and condemns his version of the New Testament as very unequal, and betraying many marks of precipitancy.¹

The second complete Protestant Bible in our language was that of John Rogers, who had assisted Coverdale, and been his corrector of the press. It was published under the feigned name of Thomas Matthew, and printed by Grafton and Whitchurch at Hamburg, as is supposed, though it bears date London, 1537. It was a mere revision of the former Bible, undertaken by Coverdale and Rogers together.²

Passing by Taverner's Bible 1539, which was taken partly from the Vulgate, and was suppressed by the Privy Council, we come to the Great Bible sometimes called Cranmer's, published also in 1539. Its translation of the Psalms is still retained in our Prayer Book. This version of the Bible was greatly indebted to the labours of Tyndale, Coverdale, and Rogers; but previously to its republication in 1541, it was revised by Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, and Nicolas Heath, at that time Bishop of Rochester, afterwards successively Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York. "Cranmer's New Testament," says Mr. Scrivener, "is full of interpolations (distinguished however from the rest of the text by a difference in the character) which depend mainly or even exclusively on the authority of the ancient Latin version. I subjoin a few instances, selected from a much larger number, in all which the additions of the Great Bible have been rejected by subsequent English translators. *Matt.* xxvi. 53; xxvii. 8: *Mark* ii. 23: *Luke* xvi. 21; xxiv. 36: *Acts* xv. 34 and 41: *Rom.* i. 32; v. 2 and 8; xii. 17: 1 *Cor.* iv. 16; xiv. 33: 2 *Cor.* xi. 21: *Col.* i. 6: *James* v. 3: 1 *Pet.* v. 2 and 3: 2 *Pet.* i. 10; ii. 4. In the following texts it agrees with Latin MSS. against the present printed text, both Latin and Greek: *Matt.* xix. 21: *John* vii. 29: *Acts* xiv. 7: 1 *Cor.* x. 17: 2 *Cor.* viii. 20. The interpolated clause in the last five

¹ *Introduction to the Supplement to the Authorized Version of the New Testament*, p. 85.

² Dr. Whitaker's *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, pp. 59, 60.

instances is also found in Wickliffe. In 1 *Cor.* xv. 47, Coverdale follows the Vulgate reading, while the Great Bible annexes it to that of the Greek, which had been adopted by Tyndale. On the other hand, this edition very properly inserts from the Complutensian Polyglot, or the Vulgate, the latter part of *James* iv. 6, which not being found in the MS. chiefly used by Erasmus (2 of Wetstein¹) had not yet been admitted into the received text. Another addition derived from the same source is *Luke* xvii. 36, the authenticity of which is not so well established.”²

In 1557 was published the first edition of the Geneva New Testament. This was followed by the Geneva Bible in 1560. This has been ascribed to several of the Marian exiles, Goodman, Gilby, Whittingham, Sampson, Cole, Knox, Bodley, the father of the famous Sir Thomas Bodley, and Pulleyn. Mr. Christopher Anderson, in his *Annals of the English Bible*, reduces the number of the translators to three, Whittingham, Gilby, and Sampson,³ and remarks that at one period or another all the three seem to have been befriended by Henry Hastings, Earl of Huntingdon.⁴ The three returned home after the last sheet of the Geneva Bible had been committed to the press, which was on the 10th April, 1560.

Whittingham on his return from Geneva was nominated to accompany the Earl of Bedford to the French court, and

¹ *Codex Basileensis*, B. vi. 25, in Bengel Bas. β. According to Wetstein it is an incorrect copy of the Gospels, written in the 15th century, in which η, ι, and ε; ω and ο, α and ε; β and υ are very frequently confounded. There are also many omissions from homoioteleuta or similar terminations of sentences. Both these defects, however, it has in common with the celebrated *Codex Alexandrinus* and many other MSS. Erasmus made use of it, but not of it only, in his edition of the New Testament; and it was from this MS. that the press was set after he had made his alterations, which are still visible, as also the marks of the printer. Bengel has allotted a place in his *Apparatus Criticus* to several of its readings, which he procured from Iselin. See Michaelis' *Introduction to the New Testament*, edited by Herbert Marsh, B.D, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Camb. 1793. vol. ii. p. 220. Its text, according to Scholz, is allied to the Byzantine family.—*Prolegomena* to his *New Testament*, vol. i. p. xciv. Lips. 1830.

² Scrivener's *Introd.* &c., pp. 87, 88.

³ Vol. ii. p. 321.

⁴ See of him John Nichols' *Leicestershire*, vol. iii. part 2, pp. 583—588.

was in his youth made Dean of Durham July 19, 1563. During the absence of the Earl of Warwick as Dean he resided at Durham the cathedral and library. He died June 11, 1571 and was buried in his cathedral.

A Henry Gilly was a native of Lancashire. B.A. Christ College Cambridge 1561. M.A. 1565. He was preferred by the Earl of Huntingdon, who was at Ashby-de-la-Zouch, to the rectory there. Mr. Park from the MSS. of Thomas Parker writes that "he lived at Ashby as near as a nation." He is noticed with great commendation in Bishop Hall's autobiography who was himself born at Ashby-de-la-Zouch. He was succeeded by his son Nathaniel Gilly, who was matriculated at Christ College December 9, 1582 but was a Fellow of Emmanuel College 1589. He was also born at Ashby.

Thomas Sampson had been Rector of All Hallows, Bread-street, London, and in 1552 Dean of Chichester. He fled to Geneva in the reign of Queen Mary, and on his return was made Prebendary of the seventh stall at Durham September 4, 1561, and was installed Dean of Christ Church, Oxford, in Michaelmas term 1561. Giving a factious opposition to the ceremonies of the Church of which he was a member, and that in so public a place as the University of Oxford, Archbishop Parker removed him from this preferment in 1564. He was however afterwards appointed to the Prebendal Stall of St. Pancras in St. Paul's, London, September 13, 1570, whilst Handlyn was Bishop of that see, and also made Master of Wigston's Hospital, on the north-east side of St. Martin's churchyard, Leicester. To this dignity he was appointed in 1568. He died there April 9, 1589, and was buried in the chapel of the hospital, where his sons John and Nathanael erected a monument to his memory.¹

To John Bodleigh or Bodley, who also had fled with his wife Joan (before her marriage Miss J. Hone, an heiress in the hundred of Ottery, Devon,) to Geneva, and who was the father of that great benefactor not only to Oxford but to the world, Sir Thomas Bodley, was granted by his renowned

¹ See the epitaph in Browne Willis's *Cathedrals*. Oxford, p. 440.

sovereign on January 8th, 1561, a patent (to him and his assigns) for the term of seven years, for the printing of the English Bible with annotations (i. e. the Geneva Bible), "faithfully translated and finished this present year, and dedicated to us."¹

The Rev. Frederic H. Scrivener, in his *Introduction* to his *Notes on the New Testament*, published by Pickering in 1845, remarks of the translators, "They appear to have paid little attention to Coverdale and the Great Bible, but taking Tyndale for their model, they subjected his version to a searching examination, retaining his renderings where they deemed them satisfactory, and never deserting his text without some adequate motive. The Geneva editors bestowed much care on the Greek particles; for although Cranmer's version had already supplied some of Tyndale's deficiencies on this head, numerous important omissions were still left for its successors to detect. Another considerable improvement was their representing in a separate character the words they found it necessary to insert in order to complete the sense of their translation. This admirable expedient is supposed to have originated with Sebastian Munster (*Biblia Latina* 1534), but it was first used in English for the Geneva New Testament."²

Mr. Scrivener thus concludes his observations on this version. "They (the translators) were intimately versed in the Scriptures, and profoundly imbued with their spirit. It is not too much to say that their version is the best in the English language, with the single exception of our present authorized Bible. And even King James's revisers sometimes retain the renderings of the Bishops' Bible, where they are decidedly inferior to that [those] of the Geneva New Testament, (e.g. *Matt.* v. 29; xii. 14; xiii. 45; xvi. 1, &c.) With the edition of 1557, however, commenced that unhappy deference to Beza's Latin Version, published only the year before, (see the Geneva renderings of *Matt.* i. 11; *Luke* ii. 22; *Gal.*

¹ "This present year," i. e. 1560, according to the *old style*. Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible*, vol. ii. p. 324.

² Scrivener's *Introd.* &c., pp. 92, 93.

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[illegible]

'The great and good' of the 'Vindicta' - have been
 and are to be found in the expression in the title of the
 book, and the evidence of the fact that their lives have been
 devoted to the service of every generation. They are
 to be found in the history, which is of course, that the
 world has always found our forefathers the 'winds of
 change' and 'winds of change' which they so justly merit. Like
 the 'winds of change', they have departed and shared
 the common fate of mortality, but they have not, like those
 of the 'winds of change', 'gone without their fame,' though but
 little to be known of their individual worth. Their reputation
 for 'winds of change' has not descended with them to the
 'winds of change' but has been the 'winds of change' of the voice of
 'winds of change' and it is the praise which admiring posterity
 has given to the memory of the great and good. Let us not,
 therefore, conclude that they have 'fallen on evil

days and evil tongues,' because it has occasionally happened that an individual, as inferior to them in erudition as in talents and integrity, is found questioning their motives or denying their qualifications for the task which they so well performed. Their version has been used ever since its first appearance, not only by the Church, but by all the sects which have forsaken her, and has justly been esteemed by all for its general faithfulness and the severe beauty of its language."¹

"It is not pretended that our translation is faultless, but we contend that its errors have been misrepresented both as to number and magnitude. Of whatever nature those faults may be, none who are able to appreciate the excellence of our English Bible, and are real friends to the cause of religion, can hesitate in declaring that their removal is highly desirable. The first step towards such a measure would be a collection of those passages which are erroneously translated, with proofs that in such instances the Hebrew is not accurately rendered. It will be found that the number of these passages is very small."²

"There are many verbs in the Hebrew which are not rendered precisely in the same voice or number in our translation as they are in the original, and all these have been charged on our translators as instances of their ignorance. This is extremely unjust, for the alterations usually occur in places where they do not affect the sense, and were evidently made for the sake of euphony."³

"There are some, but very few, errors of inadvertency in the English Version. The Masora has not been equally attended to in all places, and sometimes an absurdity has resulted from translating the Hebrew as it stands in the text, and not regarding the Keri notes. Some alterations in such passages are much to be desired, for they are very important, and are sometimes rendered in a manner quite contradictory to their real import. It is not however quite clear that some of these omissions were not intentional, and it must at the

¹ *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, pp. 92—94.

² *Ibid.* pp. 110, 111.

³ *Ibid.* p. 112.

same time be observed that all these annotations are not of the same authority, and in some cases ought to be overlooked.”¹

Whosoever will be at the pains to compare our version of the Old Testament with the second and much improved edition of Rosenmüller’s commentary, will be satisfied with the general fidelity and ability of our translators, and will deprecate any attempt in the present generation at a revision of the English Bible.

We now come to the consideration of the New Testament. This Tregelles at home and Tischendorf abroad would have us believe to be founded upon a corrupt text, essentially different from the original. This is a bold and startling theory, but as baseless as a thousand other phantasies of the boasted illumination of the age.

What Dr. Tregelles has thought fit invidiously to write of Scholz, who by his indefatigable labours doubled the number of known New Testament manuscripts, may with more justice be applied to himself. “It sometimes happens that an exploring collector is by no means the most competent person to classify and catalogue the objects which he brings home with him. His own estimate of their value may be far higher than that of an experienced man of science, whose time has been occupied rather with studying than with wandering.”²

The only genuine student who examined his materials with scholarlike judiciousness, and devoted years to the study not only of the New Testament but of the Fathers, not in printed editions but in manuscript, was Matthæi, whose scholarship raised him in the estimation of the late learned Bishop Middleton above Griesbach and all his contemporaries.

Griesbach, whilst he depreciated his labours and declaimed against his principles, was not always above being beholden to the fruits of his patient and much calumniated investigations.³ Matthæi shewed that Griesbach, in quoting the Fathers, made use of Wetstein, following him even in the

¹ *Historical and Critical Enquiry*, pp. 112, 113.

² *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 94. Lond. Bagster, 1854.

³ See Matthæi’s *New Testament*, 2nd ed. vol. i. Wittenberg, 1803. p. 344.

errors of the press.¹ He has also followed Wetstein in his attacks upon orthodoxy, whilst rashly departing altogether from his judgment on manuscripts.²

The scholarship of Tregelles is more than doubtful, who would thus translate 2 *Tim* iv. 1: "*I bear witness* in the presence of God and of Christ Jesus, who is to judge the quick and the dead, both to his appearing and his kingdom."³

Thus presented to the reader the whole verse stands utterly unconnected with the context, a circumstance altogether immaterial to this order of critics.

The *κατὰ* is changed into *καὶ* on the authority of MSS. each of them notoriously corrupt in numerous instances though in various degrees; A, C, D, F, G, i. e. the Alexandrine, the Codex Ephremi, the Codex Claromontanus, the Codex Augiensis, and the Codex Boernerianus.

Lastly, it is overlooked that in the Latin versions *testificor* and *testor* stand in this passage as does *διαμαρτύρομαι* for *obtestor*, correctly rendered in our New Testament, *I charge thee*,⁴ and convicting the reading *καὶ* (preferred by Tischendorf and Tregelles) of corruption.

But Tischendorf and Tregelles are agreed with the famous Codex Vaticanus (B. No. 1209) in setting all Greek at defiance. Thus, in 1 *Cor.* vii. 31, they read *χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον*. Griesbach himself could not be induced to venture so far with "this most important of all New Testament MSS." So Tregelles calls it,⁵ although there is ample reason to prefer the Codex Alexandrinus (A) to it, whilst however the corruptions of both are such as to render them most unsafe and unreasonable standards of the original text of the New Testament. In this last-cited instance A, B, D, F, and G are agreed.

It is however a great inconsistency in both Tischendorf and Tregelles to place all these MSS. on an equal footing.

¹ Matthæi's *New Testament*, pp. 700, 701.

² *Ibid.* p. 704.

³ *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 197.

⁴ See *Estius in S. Pauli Epistolas* in loco.

⁵ *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 158.

A and B are allowedly as old as the 5th; the other three range from the 7th to the 10th century.¹

In truth this class of critics commend upon principle the most ungrammatical and the most improbable readings. So Tregelles prints Bengel's aphorism in large letters,

*Proclivi scriptioni præstat ardua.*²

The present *textus receptus* of the Greek Testament is based upon the several editions of Erasmus, Stephens, Beza, and the Elzevirs, from 1624 to 1633.

Erasmus, before he printed his own edition of the Greek Testament, edited from the MS. in 1505 at Paris, *Laurentii Vallensis viri tam Græcæ quam Latinæ linguæ peritissimi in Latinam Novi Testamenti Interpretationem ex collatione Græcorum exemplarium Adnotationes apprimè utiles*. Not all the censures, adds Michaelis, which are in Mill's *Prolegomena*, § 1086, 1087, appear to be well grounded; and I would rather retain *εὐκὴν*, *Matt. v. 22*, with Valla, than reject it in conformity with Mill. Valla himself says on *Matt. xxvii. 12*, "Tres codices Latinos et totidem Græcos habeo cum hæc compono, et nonnunquam alios codices consulo." Now we have no reason to suppose, says Michaelis, that these included more than the Gospels, of which he had three Greek MSS. in his possession, but they hardly included the whole New Testament; nor is this account contradicted by what he writes on pp. 7—29, *Quærebant eum apprehendere*. "Septem Græca exemplaria legi, quorum in singulis ita scriptum est, *Ego scio eum, quia ab ipso sum, et ille me misit. Quærebant igitur eum apprehendere*. Cætera verba absunt, neque à Græcis exemplaribus tantum, sed etiam à plerisque Latinorum." For though Valla had only three copies of the Gospels in his own possession, he might on this passage have consulted seven, in which the clause *et si dixero quia nescio eum, ero similis vobis mendax*, which is added in several Latin MSS., was not contained.

Although Michaelis confesses his ignorance of the MSS.

¹ On D, E, F, G, see the *Preface to St. Paul's Epistles* in the 3rd vol. of *Matthæi's New Testament*, pp. 26—38. Ronneburg, 1807.

² *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 221.

used by Valla, he concludes thus : " As it is probable that the Codices Vallæ have not only been quoted in later ages under different titles, but that they contain *the same readings with the Codices Barberini and other collections of that nature*, they are at present of little importance, except in the Book of Revelation, of which the number of MSS. is so few that the extracts of Valla are a useful accession."¹

The Codices Barberini were preserved in the Vatican and other principal libraries in Rome. The *Annotations* of Valla were republished at Amsterdam in 1630 by Jacobus Revius, pastor of Daventer to the north of Zutphen in Holland, with his own observations at the end.

From an examination of the first six chapters of St. Matthew, it would appear probable that he used the uncial MS. numbered S, being Cod. Vaticanus 354, written on vellum in folio, A.D. 949, and containing the Gospels with the canons of Eusebius. Some annotations are added *secundâ manû* in the margin. It generally adheres, according to Scholz, to the Byzantine family. It was collated by the Danish critic Birch in the latter part of the last century. It is most fully described in Jos. Blanchini, *Evangeliarium Quadruplex*. Romæ, 1749. II. P.P. fol. P. I. vol. ii. p. DIV. DLXXI. and plate VI. It is by mistake numbered 344 in Tischendorf's *Prolegomena*.² It does not appear from Dr. Tregelles' *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, 1854, to have been collated by him.

Valla reads at *Matt.* iv.'10, ὑπαγε ὁπλῶ μου Σατανᾶ. Not so the *textus receptus*, but it is so given by Matthæi, Scholz, Tischendorf, and found in the Codices Vaticani, 349, 360, and 1210.

He does not with the Vulgate and B omit εἰς ἡ, but notes *melius ii codices qui sine causâ habent*.

He protests against the omission of the Doxology in *St. Matt.* vi. 11. 'Illud autem, quâ ratione niti potest, quodd bonam partem Dominicæ orationis decurtavimus ?'³

¹ *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 339—341.

² p. clxvi.

³ Matthæi justly remarks, *Qui hæc tollunt, ii necessario ambabus manibus amplecti debent* 1 John v. 7.

Tischendorf reads with B in *Matt.* xiii. 55, *James and Joseph* for *James and Joses*. Compare *Matt.* xxvii. 56. Valla corrects the Vulgate here, and has Joses *legendum est, non Joseph*.

He rejects the corrupt reading of B and of the Vulgate at *Matt.* xix. 17, *Quid me interrogas de bono?* and adopts the equally ancient reading which is supported by the other evangelists, who must have been in error if in this instance B and the Vulgate are to be followed. 'Græcè sic habetur,' says Valla, '*Quid me dicis bonum? nullus bonus.*'

At *Matt.* xxiii. 25 he reads, as do Matthæi and Scholz, contrary to B, D, L, the *textus receptus*, and Tischendorf, *Intus autem plena sunt rapinâ et injustitiâ*, regarding the common reading as an early conjectural emendation.

At *Mark* v. 1 he has for Gerasenorum, Gadarenorum.

Tischendorf, with B, C, D, L, Δ, omits the latter part of *Mark* vi. 21. Valla observes of this omission, 'Quod à nobis detruncatum esse, minus mirabile facit, quod ex Oratione Dominicâ multum detruncatum est.'

Valla has no annotations on the last chapters of St. Mark.

Excellently does he remark upon the Vulgate reading in *Luke* ii. 14, *Peace to men of good will*, 'Si ullo in loco,' &c. "If in any passage I wonder at least in this instance that such a change should have been made, that we read *to men of good will* for *amongst men good will*. And indeed what fitness was there in supplicating peace for the good, as though they were not possessed of it? Therefore the angels prayed for peace upon earth and good will amongst all men, and especially those who were not possessed of it, as the Lord said, *I am not come to call the righteous, but sinners*. Therefore let there be good will to those who have it not."—p. 62.

The received reading is far more ancient than the oldest MS. being found more than once in Origen.¹ It was the common reading of the Greek Fathers. The reading of the Vulgate found in B has been corrected in that MS. by a second hand. And although it stands uncorrected in the Codex Alexandrinus, the *textus receptus* is found in another

¹ I. 374 d. II. 714 b. ed. Paris, 1733—1759.

part of that same MS. in the Morning Hymn, which amongst other canticles follows the Psalms.¹

At *Luke* iv. 1, Valla again deserts the Vulgate à *Spiritu* for the Greek.

At *Luke* vi. 26 he corrects a remarkable error in the Vulgate, which for *the false prophets* reads *the prophets*.

At *Luke* viii. 26 he reads, *of the Gadarenes*, and so Matthæi, Scholz, and the *textus receptus*, with the Codex Alex. and the far greater number of the uncial MSS.

In v. 27 he marks the omission in the Vulgate of *ex urbe*; also the conjectural emendation in the Vulgate in c. ix. v. 4, *et inde ne exeatis*.

In *Luke* ix. 23 he observes that *daily* is not in the Greek MSS. It is retained by Tischendorf and the *textus receptus*, but rejected by Matthæi and Scholz with the majority of the uncials, but is found in A, B, and some kindred uncials and cursives.

He severely censures the reading of the Vulgate at *Luke* x. 1, where for *seventy* we have the seventy-two disciples. The twelve apostles he regards as prefigured in the twelve wells (*Exod.* xv. 27), and the seventy disciples in the seventy palm-trees in the desert, as also Origen and some of the Fathers had done; Origen in his *Seventh Homily on Exodus*; Tertullian *adv. Marcion*, l. iv. c. 24; Irenæus, l. ii. c. 37, and l. iii. c. 13. The reader may see more in Whitby on this passage, and other authors given in Wolfii *Curæ Philol. in N. T.*

Valla also condemns the reading of the Vulgate in v. 21, *In that hour he rejoiced in the Holy Spirit*, the corrupt reading also of B, C, D, K, L, X, and of the cursives 1, 33, 63, 114, 130, 145, and 253, all MSS. highly commended by Tischendorf, with the exception of 63, 145, and 253. Tischendorf notwithstanding rejects, but Lachmann follows this manifest interpolation.

Our version follows the Vulgate in omitting *And turning to his disciples he said*, at the end of v. 21. Valla censures

¹ Woide's *Prolegomena to the Cod. Alex.*, ed. by Spohn, pp. 103 and 290. Lips. 1788.

this omission, and regards it as an instance of homoioteleuton from the recurrence of the same words in v. 23. Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf are agreed in retaining these words with the *Complutensian* edition and the *textus receptus*.

Valla condemns the old reading of the Vulgate in v. 30, *suspiciens*, which nevertheless kept its place even in the Roman edition of 1590, after which it was altered to *suscipiens*.

In *Luke* xii. 15 he excepts to *ab omni*, *ab omni* avaritiâ. This reading, evidently groundless, is that of A, B, and several other uncials, and is therefore retained by Tischendorf.

At v. 49 he objects to the Vulgate, *Quid volo nisi ut accendatur?* which however retains its place, although *si jam accensus est* found a place in the margin of the Vulgate printed at Paris by Charles Guillard and Guillaume Desbois in 1551.

At chap. xv. 8 he condemns the error, which was nevertheless continued to the edition of 1590 inclusive, of *evertit* for *everrit*. This error was reproduced in an edition of the Vulgate printed at Lyons in 1648. The pious and witty Dr. Thomas Fuller, whose lot was cast, as is ours, upon a reforming age, remarked in his *Sermon of Reformation*, alluding to the turbulent spirit of the Anabaptists (the Baptists of those days): "Very facile, but very foul, is that mistake in the Vulgar translation, *Luke* xv. 8. Instead of *everrit domum*, *She swept the house*, 'tis rendered, *evertit domum*, she overturned the house. Such sweeping we must expect from such spirits, which under pretence to cleanse our church would destroy it."¹

Valla points out a kindred error in v. 14, where, for *postquam omnia consumpsisset*, the Vulgate still has *consummasset*.

Also in chap. xxiii. v. 35, *erat autem populus expectans*. This error remained in 1551, but was in the course of time removed to make way for *spectans*.

At *John* i. 14 he objects to *quasi* as inadequate to the idea of the divine reality of the glory of the incarnate Word, and would with Beza substitute *ut*, or else *velut*, or *tanquam*.

¹ Rev. A. T. Russell's *Memorials of the Life and Works of Thomas Fuller*, D.D., p. 135. Lond. Pickering, 1844.

So he very justly excepts to *factus est* in v. 15.

He notices the omission in v. 52 of *ἀπ' ἀπρι*. This important omission is common to B and L, with the Vulgate, Coptic, Armenian, and Æthiopic Versions.

In *John* iv. 1 he reads *the Lord* in the place of *Jesus*, a reading now generally adopted.

He observes at chap. v. 46 that *forsitan* is superfluous.

Tischendorf and Lachmann read *John* vi. 11 with the Vulgate, omitting all mention of the disciples. Here they are content to follow A, B, L, and the cursives 1, 33, 118, 254, all highly commended by Tischendorf except 254. Valla, following the manuscripts with which he was acquainted, preferred that reading which has since obtained a place in the *textus receptus*.

In *John* vii. 10 he reads *οὐπω*—*I go not up yet*. He does not omit the account of the woman taken in adultery in *John* viii.

He condemns, as in other instances so in *John* viii. 19, the use of *forsitan* in the Vulgate, it being unbecoming to represent God speaking as in doubt. So however the Vulgate has been suffered to remain.

He would correct the Vulgate at v. 25, where it reads, *Principium, qui et loquor vobis*. This, or *initium*, was also common to various Latin MSS. falsely revered for their antiquity by some, but justly condemned for their utter want of unanimity by Michaelis, who admits that we cannot rest upon the testimony of the old Latin versions, as Bengel and others would. His language is indeed at times all but contradictory, but the following is surely explicit: "Whoever compares the *Evangeliarium* of Blanchini, will see with his own eyes the truth of Jerome's assertion, 'Si Latinis exemplaribus fides est adhibenda, respondeant quibus? tot enim sunt exemplaria pæne, quot codices.' In collating the Syriac with ancient Latin Versions, I found one half in favour of the Syriac, the other half against the Syriac reading."¹

¹ Bishop Marsh's edition of Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. chap. 7, § 27, p. 121. Camb. 1793.

He would have *John* x. 16, *grex* for *ovile*; and *there shall be one flock and one shepherd*.

He would have corrected the Vulgate at v. 29, where it still reads *Pater meus quod dedit mihi majus omnibus est*. His correction is entered in the margin of the Vulgate. Paris, 1551.

His emendation of chap. xi. 11 has been since admitted into the Vulgate, which now reads, *Ut glorificetur Filius Dei per eam* for *eum*. So from 1592 his correction of v. 16 was inserted, *ut* for *et* *moriatur cum eo*.

In *John* xii. 32 he would have altered *omnia* to *omnes* *traham ad meipsum*.

He would render *John* xiv. 1 either *If ye believe in God, ye also believe in me*; or, *Ye believe in God, ye believe also in me*. The rendering of our own Version, the Vulgate, and Beza is more emphatic; and a similar instance of the imperative thus following the indicative mood is observable in *Matt.* xxiv. 32, 33.¹

He rejects *quia* in v. 2. Tischendorf receives *ὅτι* here on the authority of A, B and some few kindred MSS.

At v. 11 he would alter *non creditis mihi* to *credite mihi*.

He condemns the rendering of v. 24, by which the nominative to the verb is turned into an accusative, *et sermonem quam audistis, non est meus*.

In chap. xv. 11 he would alter *sit* to *maneant*. Tischendorf thinks it enough to follow here A, B, D with the Vulgate against the far greater number of uncials.

In chap. xviii. 1 he would read for *Cedron*, *Cedrorum*, after the Greek.

In v. 28 the old reading was *ad Caiapham* instead of *à Caiapha*. He censures Augustine's adherence to this reading.

Under v. 35 he notices the discovery of seven Latin MSS., five by his friend Cyriac of Ancona, in Milan and some neighbouring cities, and two at Rome by Joannes Tiburtius, of the Order of Preachers, in the now deserted monastery of St. Chrysogonus. Of the venerable basilica attached to this

¹ See the Rev. William Webster's and the Rev. W. F. Wilkinson's *New Testament* in loco. Lond. 1855, vol. i. p. 492.

convent an account is given in the Rev. Benjamin Webb's *Continental Ecclesiology*, p. 499.

At chap. xix. 34 he remarks that the translators appear to have been misled by the likeness of ἡνοιξε *aperuit* (the reading of the Vulgate) to ἐνοιξε, *pupugit* or *punxit*. However, several ancient Latin MSS. appear to have been marked with the same error.

He notices the false reading in chap. xx. 18, Venit Maria Magdalene annuntians discipulis, *Qui avidi Dominum et hæc dixit mihi*. This is countenanced by the boasted, yet in this very place inconsistent, Cod. Vaticanus B, ἐώρακα τὸν Κύριον, καὶ ταῦτα εἶπεν αὐτῇ.

In chap. xxi. 3 he observes the omission of εὐθὺς. Tischendorf omits it also with B and some kindred MSS.; also *Simon Joannis* at v. 15 (*Ιωάννου* Cod. B); and *agnos* for *oves* (also with B and C) in v. 16.

Lastly, he touches upon the ignorance of Greek frequently betrayed by St. Augustine, and especially in his approbation of the evidently erroneous reading in v. 23 of *sic* for *si*. *Si* was inserted in the Vulgate 1551 in the marginal readings, but remains uncorrected.

In *Acts* i. 14 he notices the omission of *and supplication* in the Vulgate. It is omitted in A, B, C, D, E, perhaps as superfluous.

In chap. ii. 1 he corrects the Vulgate, which has the plural for the singular, the *days* of Pentecost.

In v. 4 for *variis* he would read *aliis*.

In v. 47 he would change *augebat* to *addebat*, and supply *ecclesiæ*, which is wanting in the Vulgate. It was supplied in the margin of 1551.

In chap. iii. 8 he would read as in our version, *leaping up*—*leaping*, a distinction lost in the Vulgate.

In chap. iv. 36 he corrects *Joseph* to *Joses*. *Joseph* is the reading of A, B, D, E. In the *Acts* E is Laudianus 3 in the Bodleian Library (F 82), edited by the celebrated antiquary, *Thomas Hearne*.

In chap. v. 3 he would substitute *implevit* for *tentavit*. At chap. vi. 5 he would read *a proselyte* for *a stranger*.

In chap. viii. 26 he would read *toward* for *against the south*.

In chap. ix. he omits from *It is hard for thee* in v. 5 to the end of v. 6. The propriety of this omission is confirmed by Matthæi, Scholz, Hahn, Griesbach, and Tischendorf.

At v. 31 he would read *the churches*, but Tischendorf reads with the Vulgate in the singular with A, B, C. On the side of the *textus receptus* are E, G, H; G formerly belonged to Cardinal Passione, and is described in Blanchini *Evangelium Quadruplex*, P, I, pp. 564, 565, with a facsimile. A facsimile is also given in Montfaucon's *Palæographia*, p. 514. It has been collated by both Tischendorf and Tregelles. It is in the famous library called Angelica, from its first founder, P. Angelo Rocca, an Augustinian. It is attached to the convent and church of St. Augustine. The church was rebuilt in 1483, near the site of the Campus Martius. H, the Modena MS. in the library of the Ducal Palace, has been collated by Tischendorf, Scholz, and Tregelles; an excellent Byzantine MS., according to Scholz. But the first five verses of the first chapter and the whole of the twenty-eighth are of the 15th century, and the twenty-seventh of the 11th; the rest being an uncial MS. of the 9th century. St. Paul's Epistles are written in cursive characters of the 12th century.

In the Vulgate of 1551 *ecclesiæ* was inserted in the margin as a various reading.

In v. 32 *per fines illos universos* has given way to his suggestion, *universos*.

At v. 39 in the edition of 1551 is entered in the margin his reading, which is the allowed reading of the Greek, *cum esset cum* before *illis*.

In chap. x. 4 *Quis es*, which was retained up to 1590, was altered to *Quid est*, according to his suggestion in 1592 under Clement VIII.

Our Version is in chap. xii. 20 in accordance with Valla, Herod was *highly displeased* with them of Tyre and Sidon.

In Acts xiv. 14 Tischendorf follows the reading of the Vulgate, Valla that of the *textus receptus*, as does also Matthæi. Griesbach, following Wetstein, pleads St. Chrysostom, who,

however, has both readings. The *textus receptus* accords with G and H.

In v. 15 he would have for *dimisit*, *permisit*. The Vulgate of 1551 inserts in the margin his suggestion, *et disputatione*, but the Vulgate, omitting the equivalent expression in the Greek, retains, as in his time, *factâ ergo seditione non minimâ*.

In chap. xvii. 22 his suggestion has been received into the Vulgate, which, for *quasi superstitiosos* now reads *superstitiosiores*. This was inserted in the margin in 1551. So was also his suggestion *culturas* for *simulacra* in v. 23, but the latter has nevertheless kept its place.

At chap. xx. 7 he would substitute the *textus receptus* for the reading followed by the Vulgate, with which however Tischendorf and Scholz agree, following A, B, D, and E. The received reading is that of G and H.

Valla rejects the paraphrastic word *rapaces* in v. 29, which represents *graves*, well rendered *grievous* in our Version. He also reprehends *beatius magis* in v. 35, where it should have been *beatum*, not *bæatius*, or *beatius* without *magis*.

In chap. xxii. 12 he reads *εὐλαβής* with B, G, H, and so Tischendorf, Lachmann, and the Complutensian Greek Testament.¹ Matthæi admits that this is equal in value to the received reading, which however he retains. It is altogether omitted in the Vulgate and in the Codex Alexandrinus. Valla may possibly have found *εὐλαβής* in the Codex Vaticanus B. Scholz and Hahn retain the *textus receptus* which follows E.

The Vulgate at *Acts* xxv. 14 stood in 1551 more accurately than now. Then it had *patri Deo meo*, as Valla had suggested; now *Patri et Deo meo*.

At v. 16 he follows the *textus receptus*, where Tischendorf has only *χαρίζεσθαι* with A, B, C, E. The Vulgate has *damnare*, but the sense is rendered imperfect by the rejection of *εἰς ἀπώλειαν*.

In chap. xxvii. 9 he suggests *admonebat* (as in our Version) for *consolabatur*. Neglected in this instance, his suggestion at chap. xxviii. 1 was followed, and *Melita* (Malta) has succeeded in the Vulgate to *Militene*.

¹ But not in the later editions of *Plantinus*.

Whoever compares the Vulgate with the critical notes of Estius will see that, inaccurate as the Vulgate very frequently is in the Gospels and in the *Acts*, it is still more defective in the Epistles. Very considerable are many errors observed in this Version of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

In *Romans* iii. 25 *propitiatorem* gave place in 1590 to Valla's rendering, *propitiationem*.

There is a great variety of readings at *Rom.* vii. 25. The Vulgate has *Gratia Dei per Jesum Christum*, following D and E, *i. e.* the Codex Claromontanus and the Codex San-Germannensis. Both these are Græco-Latin MSS. The latter is, with the Codex Augiensis and the Codex Boernerianus, related to the Codex Claromontanus. The Codex Claromontanus has a Latin interpretation above, differing in some places from the Vulgate. Sabatier believed that in D and E he had found that version which some, but upon uncertain grounds, call the Old Itala or the Ante-Hieronymian Version. The Codex San-Germannensis is but a transcript of the Codex Claromontanus. Matthæi regards them both as not earlier than the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century. The reader will find much more respecting these most corrupt MSS. in Matthæi's *Preface to St. Paul's Epistles*; also in Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, and Bengel's *Apparatus Criticus*.

F and G, *i. e.* the Codex Augiensis¹ (from Reichenau, on a fertile island in the lower part of the lake of Constance), and the Codex Boernerianus, have *The grace of the Lord, &c.* Matthæi, who edited the Codex Boernerianus, shews in the Preface above named that that MS. was clearly altered from the Latin.

Valla commends the *textus receptus*, which is that of the Codex Alexandrinus, K and L, *i. e.* the Codex Mosquensis (of Moscow), described by Matthæi in the first edition of his New Testament, 1782, (*Epp. to Rom. Titus, and Philemon*, p. 265), a MS. of the 9th century, and the Codex Angelicus Romanus, already noticed as that formerly belonging to

¹ Edited, with a *Collation of Fifty other MSS.*, in 1859 by the Rev. F. H. Scrivener. Cambridge: Deighton, Bell, and Co.

Cardinal Passione. The celebrated Codex Vaticanus has a similar reading, which is adopted by Tischendorf, χάρις τῷ θεῷ, and so the Codex Barberini 29, written in A.D. 1338.¹

The Vulgate in *Rom.* viii. 10 follows the kindred MSS., the Codices Augiensis and Boernerianus. Valla reads *is life* with the *textus receptus*. He proposed *donabit* for *donavit* in v. 32, and it is a marginal reading in the Vulgate of 1551, but *donavit* is still retained.

Amongst several other errors he would amend a very serious one in the last verse of the 11th chapter, by altering *in ipso* to *in ipsum*.

In chap. xii. 1 *obsequium* is retained notwithstanding the Vulgate of 1551, entered *rationabilem cultum* in the margin, after Valla.

And so in chap. xiv. 16 *nostrum* stands for *vestrum*, although after Valla it was received into the margin of the Vulgate in 1551.

He notices the omission in chap. xv. 20, where we read only *sic autem prædicavi evangelium hoc*.

In v. 32 he reads in the future, συναπαύσομαι with the Codex Angelicus Romanus, which he probably had in his hands whilst engaged upon his collations.²

Again, with the guidance of the Codex Angelicus he anticipates the *textus receptus* in chap. xvi. 6, and reads ἡμᾶς, as does even Tischendorf in this instance against A and B and C *primâ manu*.

Juliam in v. 7 was in 1590 altered according to his suggestion to *Juniam*.

In 1 *Cor.* i. 10 the Vulgate reads, *et in eâdem scientiâ*. Valla would have altered it to *sententiâ* (now the *textus receptus*), γνώμη. The Vulgate reads γνώσει, an evident corruption, but found in Codex Basil. ix. according to Scholz; thus proving that the more modern MSS. may contain very ancient readings, unless indeed it be a Latinized

¹ Numbered 213 in Scholz, vol. ii. chap. ii. p. xxxiii. Lips. 1836.

² The same reading is found (probably an error of the transcriber in both instances) in 42 (Acts) Biblioth. Gymnasii. Francofurt, of the 11th century. See Scholz, *Prolegomena* to vol. ii. p. viii.

MS., the existence of which class of MSS. is now denied by those who altogether condemn the *textus receptus*, and plead for a new text on the principles of Lachmann, Tregelles, and their precursor, Griesbach.

In chap. ii. 13 he would read, as in the *textus receptus*, *Sancti* after *Spiritus*, which is omitted in the Vulgate, Tischendorf, Hahn, Theile, and Griesbach. Matthæi retains it with the Codices Claromontanus and Angelicus, the latter of which probably decided Valla.

He corrects chap. iii. 9, where for *cooperarii* the Vulgate has *adjutores*. *Cooperatores* was given in the margin of the Paris Vulgate of 1551.

He would adopt the *textus receptus* *φρoνείν*, omitted in the Vulgate, Tischendorf, and Lachmann in chap. iv. 6. Estius would, with Matthæi and Valla, retain it with C and L, the Codices Ephremi and Angelicus.

In chap. v. 7 he would restore *for us*, from the Codex Angelicus Christ, our Passover is sacrificed *for us*. It is given in the margin of the Paris Vulgate 1551.

In chap. vi. 2 he would reject *et portate* (Glorificate et portate Deum). It is probably a very early gloss or scholion brought into the text. So he would reject *magno*, Ye are bought with a *great* price. *Magno* is marked as a doubtful reading in the Paris Vulgate of 1551.

From his remarks upon chap. vii. 31 it appears that he did not read, as Tischendorf and some others are content to do after the famous A and B, *χρώμενοι τὸν κόσμον*. Even Griesbach, as Matthæi observes, could not carry his veneration of his favourite MSS. so far.

In 1 Cor. ix. 10 he adopts the same reading with the *textus receptus*. Griesbach, Tischendorf, and Scholz are with the Vulgate.

In v. 20 he omits *cum ipse non essem sub lege*, which however is retained by both Scholz and Tischendorf, following A, B, C, and the still more corrupted MSS. D, E, F, G. The Codex Mosquensis, marked g by Matthæi, and K by Tischendorf, sanctions the *textus receptus*.

In chap. x. 13 he rejects the reading of the Vulgate,

Tentatio non apprehendat vos, which is followed in the Codices Augiensis and Boernerianus.

In chap. xi. 15 he follows the Codex Angelicus, which agrees with the *textus receptus*.

In v. 24 he retains with the Vulgate, following K and L, (instances here of later MSS. retaining ancient readings, as also indeed in many other places,) *take, eat*; rejecting however *and*, as not being in the Greek. These words are rejected by both Scholz and Tischendorf.

In v. 31 he reads with the *textus receptus*, *εἰ γὰρ*; so C, K, L. He follows the Codex Angelicus in xii. 13, *into one spirit*.

In chap. xv. 23 he censures the reading of the Vulgate, *qui in adventu ejus crediderunt*, somewhat similar to which is the reading of F and G, *they that hoped in his appearing*.

In chap. xv. 31 he reads for *vestram, nostram*, with the Codex Alexandrinus, Basil, B. x. 20, a MS. of the 15th century. Wetstein reckons it amongst the Latinizing MSS. This, though a recent MS., has some singular and ancient readings, and was probably a critical compilation, as were so many other MSS.

In that celebrated passage, the 51st verse, he reads with us, *'We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed*. The Codex Vaticanus B is with the *textus receptus*, only omitting *μὲν*. The Codex Alexandrinus has also this reading, but the changes that have been made in it have rendered the whole passage doubtful in the eyes of some critics. Dr. Tregelles here follows the common reading, and admits the excellence of the later MSS. in a body in this instance, observing that *most later MSS.* have this (in his opinion) the correct reading. Dr. Tregelles¹ calls the Codex Angelicus in St. Paul's Epistles J, Tischendorf L. Tregelles asserts that this also favours the *textus receptus*.²

In v. 55 the Vulgate, Tischendorf, and Lachmann read *mors* twice. Not so Valla, who with the Codex Angelicus has *hades*. For the first *mors inferne* was suggested in the margin of the Paris Vulgate 1551.

¹ p. 157.

² p. 191.

In chap. xvi. 2 he has for *per unam Sabbati* of the Vulgate, *per unam Sabbatorum*. So in the margin of the Paris Vulgate 1551, *in unâ Sabbatorum*.

In 2 Cor. ii. 10 he reads agreeably to the *textus receptus* against the Vulgate and Tischendorf, with L.

In v. 16 he rejects *tam* before *idoneus*.

In v. 17 for *adulterantes* he would read *cauponantes*,—*making a gain of*.

In chap. iii. 6 he notices a strange corruption of the Vulgate, *non literâ sed spiritu*.

In v. 13 the Vulgate reads *in faciem ejus quod evacuatur*. This strange reading is countenanced if not followed by the Codex Alexandrinus which has here *πρόσωπον*. But C. B. Michaelis has shewn that this celebrated MS. was in various instances conformed to the Latin.¹

In chap. iv. 6 he proposes that which is the marginal reading in our Bibles, "*is he who hath sinned*," according to the *textus receptus*. Our present reading is that of the Vulgate which is followed by the Codices Augiensis and Boernerianus, and Bodleian 131, a MS. of the 13th century, brought from the East, and formerly in the possession of Dr. Robert Huntington. It is of the Byzantine family, according to Scholz.

In v. 7 the Vulgate had *habentes* for *habemus*. It was so corrected by or before 1551. The old reading is, according to Scholz, found in H, the Modena MS. already noticed.

Under the 7th chapter he condemns as false the tenet that repentance is made up of confession, contrition, and satisfaction.

In chap. viii. 21 he would adopt the *textus receptus*, *providentes bona*, for the reading of the Vulgate, *providemus enim bona*, and that of the Codex Vaticanus with the four corrupt MSS., D, E, F, G. Tischendorf adheres in this instance with Matthæi to the *textus receptus*, whilst Scholz follows the Vulgate, as does also Lachmann. Valla and the *textus receptus* are sanctioned by the Codex Angelicus and the more recently discovered Moscow MS. K.

¹ *De Variis Lectionibus N. T.* § 100, pp. 109—112. Hæc Magd. 1749.

So in chap. ix. 10, where Scholz and Tischendorf desert the *textus receptus*, Valla with K and L adhere to it.

In chap. xi. 1 Valla reads with K, L, according to the received text, τῇ ἀφροσυνῇ, and so in chap. xii. 9 he reads on the same authority, L, *my—my strength*; and so in v. 19, πάλιν for πάλαι, the reading of the Vulgate and of Tischendorf. Here Scholz is content with Matthæi to abide by the *textus receptus*. In this instance the Codices Augiensis and Boernerianus agree with K, L.

In chap. xiii. 7 Valla reads with L and the *textus receptus* the singular for the plural, *oramus* for *oro*. Here Tischendorf follows the Vulgate.

He points out the absurdity of *sic tam*, Gal. i. 6.

In chap. iii. 17 *in Christo* is omitted in the Vulgate after A, B, C, and so Tischendorf, but Valla would retain it. It is found in K.

In chap. iv. 18 *œmulari* (after Valla's suggestion) was inserted in the margin of the Paris Vulgate 1551, but *œmulamini* still holds its place.

In chap. v. 1 Valla retains οὖν with K, L, and the *textus receptus*. Tischendorf rejects it, though it is evidently required. Here he follows the Codex Claromontanus against his other favourite manuscripts, which however remit it to the end of the first clause of the verse, probably through the ignorance of the copyist.

Jerome had early objected to *nemini consenseritis*, the old beginning of v. 8. It was marked for omission in the Paris Vulgate of 1551. But Valla's suggestion was not acted upon, or the interpolation removed, until 1592 in the revised Vulgate of Clement VIII.

In chap. vi. 9 Valla leaves to Tischendorf and the devotees of Codex Vaticanus B, ἐνκακῶμεν for the usual reading ἐκκακῶμεν.

Eph. i. 6. *To make known*, so the Codex Augiensis and Boernerianus are *adapted* to the Vulgate, and with them reads 76 of Scholz in the Library of St. Paul's, Leipzig, containing the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, Galatians, and Ephesians.

In v. 22 the Vulgate has a reading not noticed by Tischendorf, *supra omnem ecclesiam*.

In chap. iv. 15 the Codex Augiensis and Boernerianus again give the Vulgate, *Veritatem facientes*. We have in the margin, *being sincere*; in the text, *speaking the truth*. Wolf confirms Valla's rendering, and gives *Veritatem et amorem sectantes*.

In chap. v. 5 Tischendorf and Scholz follow the superfluous and plainly erroneous reading of the Vulgate with A, B, and the other more corrupt MSS. D, F, and G, *ἵστε* for *ἐστε γινώσκοντες*. Not so Valla.

So in v. 22 Tischendorf rejects, Valla retains, as do K, L, *submit yourselves to*.

In *Phil.* ii. 4 he reads with L and the *textus receptus*, not with the Vulgate and A, B, C, and the Latinizing MSS. D, E, F, G, *considerantes*. These are followed by Tischendorf and Scholz.

In chap. iii. 13 Valla reads *nondum* with 33 or Codex Reg. 14, so much commended by Tischendorf and Tregelles, and some others given in Scholz.

In v. 21, where both Tischendorf and Scholz follow the Vulgate on the usual authority, Valla with L adopts what is now the *textus receptus*, *εἰς τὸ γενέσθαι αὐτὸ*. It is the reading of all Matthæi's MSS.

He rejects *disciplinæ* in chap. iv. 8, *si qua laus disciplinæ*.

The reading *χριστῶ*, rejected indeed by the Vulgate, by Tischendorf, and Scholz, appears to have escaped Valla. *Per Christum* was inserted in the margin of the Paris Vulgate 1551.

He is against the omission of the second *per ipsum* in *Col.* i. 20. Tischendorf retains it, though omitted alike by both B and L.

In 1 *Thess.* v. 5 *non estis* had been changed to the better reading *non sumus*, according to the suggestion of Valla, by 1551.

The Vulgate in 2 *Thess.* i. 5 has *in exemplum*, after Codex Vaticanus 367, one of the Barberini MSS. a MS. of the same

kind with Codex B, according to Matthæi (vol. iii. p. 106), but less corrupt.

In chap. iii. 16 he condemns the corrupt reading *in omni loco*, grounded indeed upon A and D, *primâ manu* according to Tischendorf, and followed by the Codex Augiensis and Boernerianus. Found also, according to Scholz, in the corrupt MS. 33, and another similarly dubious, 76, or Cæsareus Vindobonensis Nessel 114, Lambecii 39; of the 11th century.

In 1 *Tim.* ii. 8 Valla conjectured that the true reading was that which has been since adopted as the *textus receptus* on the united authority of A and L, *διαλογισμοῦ*. It is also the reading of the Codex Claromontanus.

In chap. iii. 16 he observes, ‘Quod neutraliter legitur, masculinè legendum est, addendumque *Deus*: sic enim est Græcè.’ *Θεός* is the reading of K and L. ‘Nam quomodo,’ he adds, ‘ut argumento agam, potest mysterium assumi in gloriâ?’

Matthæi justly remarks that the Greek of B and of those MSS. which give the masculine pronoun after *mysterium* is utterly inconsistent with the Greek of the Apostle, and with the grammar of the Greek language. But these are not considerations that appear to weigh with such critics as Tischendorf and Tregelles. Any conjecture is made to suffice for an answer to such difficulties.

Yet even the Codex Vaticanus 367, in many respects very similar to Codex B 1209 (which has not this Epistle), has *Θεός*, and some other inferior MSS., which are in many instances corrupted from the Latin. It argues but little for the integrity of Dr. Tregelles that he rests upon the Codices San-Germanensis, Augiensis, and Boernerianus.

Dr. Tregelles would claim, but contrary to numerous passages in their works, Cyril and Chrysostom for *his reading* answering to *mysterium qui*. Matthæi, who had done that which no other critic has done, studied the Greek Fathers not only in printed editions but in MSS., amply proves that both Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria read according to the

textus receptus.¹ Dr. Tregelles, without giving his authority, repeats from Wetstein that though in the printed works of Cyril Θεός is found, the very context would prove that ός should take its place. Several MSS., he says, contain a scholion to the purport that ός was the Cyrillian reading, even though the MSS. themselves contain the common text.² Matthæi had previously answered this as follows: "Wetstein says that the passage in Cyril VI. a. 148 (ed. Paris 1638) is now read corruptly in the printed editions, but that it is given in a purer state in that scholion. But that scholium is not transferred from that place to the scholia, but, as the index which is in the scholia plainly shews, from the twelfth chapter of the scholia. Nor does the index alone shew that, but the words themselves which are utterly dissimilar in both places."³

Those who are so desirous of setting aside the received reading in 1 *Tim.* iii. 16, are not in all instances equally willing to accept the evidence of the MSS. which they here would set up as the standard of the sacred text.

Matthæi instances in 2 *Tim.* iv. 17, where A, C, D, E, F, G, 17 (*i. e.* 33) all latinize and change the Greek singular into the plural to agree with the Latin *audiant* or *audirent*.

So in 1 *Cor.* vii. 31, A, B, D, F, G, all read *using this world*, the noun in the accusative case. Tischendorf and Lachmann⁴ indeed, consistently with their indiscriminating

¹ See the 2nd ed. of his *New Testament*, pp. 442, 443, vol. ii. ² p. 227.

³ p. 444.

⁴ "Of the 754 MSS. of the Gospels, or of portions of them, known to preceding critics, Lachmann retains but seven: the Alexandrine MS. (A of Wetstein); the Vatican (B); the Codex Ephremi (C); the Dublin Uncial Palimpsest of St. Matthew (Z); the Wolfenbittel fragments published by Knittel (P, Q); and the Borgian fragment of St. John (T). The readings of two of the most important out of the seven were very imperfectly known to Lachmann. Angelo Mai's long-promised facsimile of the Codex B has not yet (1845) appeared; and Tischendorf's excellent edition of the Codex C not being published in time, Lachmann was compelled to use Wetstein's inaccurate collation of that document. To the preceding list we ought perhaps to add the Cambridge MS. or Codex Bezae (D), whose testimony he admits for certain purposes (Præf. pp. xxv. xxxvii.), although it is posterior to the fourth century, as indeed we may reasonably suspect are most of the other seven."—Rev. F. H. Scrivener, *Introduction*, pp. 24, 25.

admiration of some of these MSS., adopt this palpable error.

Griesbach passed over this reading without any remark, so endeavouring to conceal the real character of these boasted MSS.

So again A, B, C, D, F, G, in 1 *Cor.* ix. 7, all read for *eateth not of the fruit, the fruit*. Here Tischendorf and Lachmann are content to follow.

In 1 *Cor.* xiii. 1 for γέγονα, "the *Versio antiqua Itala* as they call it, which Sabatier has restored from the most inferior MSS. D and L, has *in unum sum ut ærumentum* sonans. In G it is ἐν εἰμι ἡ χαλκός, in Latin, *unum sum aut ut æs*, "I am one thing, or as brass."

So in *Phil.* v. 18, for ἐλλόγει, A, C, D, F, G, 17 (*i. e.* 33), and 31 (*i. e.* Harleian 5537, Covelli 2), written in A.D. 1087, containing, with a few chasms, the Acts, Epistles, and Apocalypse, have ἐνλογα according to Wetstein, but A and G ἐλλογα according to Matthæi.

And so from the Latin *parabolatus*, we have παραβολευσάμενος in A, B, D, E, F, G, *Phil.* ii. 30, *being ready to venture his life*.

Dr. Tregelles would fain ascribe the origin of the reading Θεός to the Nestorian Macedonius. The apocryphal story upon which he would have his readers rest, is amply investigated and as amply refuted by Bishop Pearson in the notes to the 2nd Article in his *Exposition of the Creed*.¹

Deus is placed in the margin of the Paris Vulgate of 1551.

The opponents of the *textus receptus* do not dispute its being found in the far greater number of Greek MSS.

Respecting the Codex Alexandrinus the most conflicting testimony may be found in Dr. Woide's *Prolegomena* to his edition of that MS. No traces of the *textus receptus* are now to be seen, but the allegation of Wetstein in the last, and of Mr. Ellicott in his work upon this Epistle in the present century, that what was taken for the line in the theta in 1 *Tim.* iii. 16 is the *epsilon* in εὐσέβειαν on the other side of the page, has been as confidently denied by others who have

¹ Vol. ii. 2nd ed. Oxford, pp. 90—92.

examined this MS., and amongst them the late Dr. Henry Owen of St. Olave's, Hart Street.¹

In 2 *Tim.* ii. 4 he would omit *Deo*,—*nemo militans Deo*. In the Paris Vulgate of 1551 it is marked as doubtful, but is still retained in the Vulgate.

In chap. iv. 28 he inserts, with K, L, and the *textus receptus*, καὶ, 'and the Lord shall deliver me.'

In *Titus* i. 15 he inserts, as do K and L, μὲν. *Omnia quidem*.

In *Heb.* v. 4 he reads with the *textus receptus* καθάπερ; so E, K, L; but Tischendorf καθώσπερ, Lachmann καθῶς.

In chap. x. 34 he condemns the reading of the Vulgate, which is retained by Tischendorf and Scholz, *nam et vinctis compassi estis*, adopting our reading, *compassi estis vinculis meis*, and observing that this place especially proves this Epistle to have been written by St. Paul. Matthæi remarks that in many prefaces and headings prefixed to this Epistle, this passage is thus given as an evidence of St. Paul's having been the author. It so occurs in *St. Chrysostom*, iii. 424, d. ed. Ben. 1718—1738; *Clem. Alex.* 514. Paris, 1641; Theodoret, 611. Chrysostom has in some places δεσμίοις, whence Matthæi conjectures it found its way into the text.

In chap. xi. 15 he reads with the *textus receptus* ἐξήλθον. He corrects the Vulgate in v. 21, *and worshipped the top of his staff*, inserting after the Greek, *upon*.

In *James* i. 19 the Vulgate reads with A, B, C, *scite* for *itaque*, ὥστε, the *textus receptus*, here also adopted by Tischendorf and Scholz, Lachmann alone reading with the Vulgate. With the Vulgate also agree the Codex Vaticanus 367 already mentioned, and the MS. 1 B 12, formerly 223 in the Royal (Bourbon) Library, Naples, written in the 10th century.

He would also correct chap. iii. 1, *ye receive*, where we read, as do also Tischendorf, Scholz, and Lachmann, *we shall receive*. The Vulgate is followed by Codex Vaticanus 367, of the 11th century.

In v. 5 the Vulgate has *quantus* ignis. This evidently

¹ Woide's *Prolegomena*, edited by Spohn, with a very valuable Appendix, p. 178. Lips. 1788.

erroneous reading is followed by Tischendorf and Lachmann because B and C *primâ manu* follow it. The Codex Alexandrinus originally had the *received reading*,¹ which is here adopted by Valla. And so in the Paris Vulgate of 1551 for *quantus* we have in the margin *exiguus*.

In chap. v. 5 he proposed *addixistis, ye have condemned*, for *adduxistis*. This suggestion was adopted in the Vulgate in 1590.

In v. 7 he inserts *the rain*, omitted in B and the Vulgate, found in A, K, L.

His suggestion in v. 13 was also *partially* carried into effect in the Vulgate under Clement VIII, 1592, which first for *oret æquo animo*, read *Æquo animo est? psallat*, here following the Paris Vulgate of 1551.

In 1 Pet. i. 12 he would have read for *in quem—in quæ*, *which things* the angels desire to look into.

In v. 16 he reads *γίνεσθε*.

In chap. iii. 19 he would omit *spiritu*—*spiritu veniens*. This had stood in the Paris Vulgate of 1551, *spiritaliter*, with the various readings *spiritu* and *spiritibus* in the margin. The Vulgate has since adopted the latter.

He would restore at v. 14, *on their part he is evil spoken of, but on your part he is glorified*. The words are not in the Vulgate, and are omitted by Tischendorf because not found in A and B.

So in v. 16 he is with the *textus receptus*, "*in istâ parte legendum est*," and not with the Vulgate, which is followed by Tischendorf, *in isto nomine*. Here again Valla is with K, L, and Tischendorf with A, B.

In chap. v. 3 he would omit *ex animo*, and for *forma* read *formæ* or *exemplaria*. The Vulgate is *sed forma facti gregis ex animo*.

In Valla's time the Vulgate had in v. 6, in tempore *tribulationis*. It now has, in tempore *visitationis*. The Codex Alexandrinus has, "in the time of *inspection*," copied probably from the Vulgate. Upon such authority does Lachmann undertake to give the ancient text.

¹ Woide's *Prolegomena*, ed. Spohn, p. 440.

In 2 *Pet.* i. 12 we have *μελλήσω*, which is altogether without sense, and underivable but from *μελλω*, to delay, in A, B, C; and in Harleian 5537; Harleian 5620 (Covell 4), a MS. of the 15th century; Genevensis 20, of the 11th or 12th century; and Codex Reg. 216, of the 10th century. Valla gives the correct reading, and that of the *textus receptus*, agreeably to K and L. Lachmann and Tischendorf, who, in spite of so much internal evidence, maintain the purity of the text of these MSS. as exhibiting the primitive state of the New Testament, follow A, B, and C, whilst Scholz and Vater abide by the common reading. See on the probable origin of the pretended ancient readings Matthæi's note upon this verse.

In chap. ii. 18 he corrects the Vulgate *paululum* followed by Tischendorf, and adopts the *textus receptus*, agreeably to C, K, and L.

He rejects *et simus* in 1 *John* iii. 1. Lachmann, following the evident interpolation of A, B, C, would read *et sumus*. Tischendorf, who is more reasonable, rejects this reading.

Both reject with Valla the reading of the Vulgate in chap. iv. 3, *Omnis spiritus qui solvit Jesum*.

The only notice Valla takes of the 7th and 8th verses in the 5th chapter is, "v. 8. *Et hi tres unum sunt*, Græcè est, *et hi tres in unum sunt*." Probably he would not venture to suggest so great an emendation as he must have done if he had written freely on this passage.

In v. 17 the Vulgate reads, *And there is a sin unto death for a sin not unto death*. Here it is followed by 33 and the Vienna MS., Lambecii 37, written in 1331. But it might have been in the instance of this latter MS. a mere oversight.

In the Second Epistle v. 9 Tischendorf following A, B has *προάγων* for *παραβαίνων*. The Vulgate formerly read accordingly, *præcedit*. It now has *recedit* without any MS. authority to support it. *Transgreditur*, the *textus receptus* and the reading of Valla, was inserted in the margin of the Paris Vulgate of 1551.

In the 12th verse Tischendorf and Lachmann¹ do not

¹ Even Hahn follows them in this reading.

hesitate to read ἐλπίζω γενέσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς with the famous Alexandrine A and Vatican B. The Vulgate has *spero enim me futurum apud vos*. Valla, Non est Græcè *futurum* sed *venire*.

At the 4th verse of the Third Epistle he speaks of some MSS. that have ταύτης, which Matthæi says he found only in 33. In this it would probably be a conjectural emendation. Scholz enumerates eight MSS. in which it is to be found. Most of these are also given in Tischendorf, namely :

- 27. Harleian 5620. Covell 4, of the 15th century.
- 29. Genevensis 20, of the 11th or 12th century.
- 40. Alexandrino-Vaticanus 179.
- 66. Vienna MS., Lambecii 34, *secundâ manu*.
- 68. Upsal MS. of the 11th and 12th centuries.
- 69. Guelpherbytanus xvi. 7, of the 14th century.
- 73. Codex Vaticanus 367, probably a critical MS. compiled from several; written in the 11th century, but undoubtedly comprising many ancient but equally corrupt readings.

In the 12th verse of *Jude* Valla takes the true reading, ἀγάπαις ὑμῶν, which is in part that of the Vulgate, which has *epulis suis*. Valla however missed the sense, translating it *in dilectionibus vestris*, a kindred reading to which found its way into the margin of the Paris Vulgate 1551. From the Vulgate B derived in this instance the true reading, whilst A has ἀπάταις, with 56, i. e. Bodleian Clarkii 4; and 96, i. e. Venet. 11, of the 11th century, a remarkable MS. with a Latin version, mostly Alexandrine, but with many peculiar readings.

On verses 22—24 Matthæi should be consulted. His notes on these verses scarcely admit of abridgment. Valla in v. 23 reads *arguite* with the Vulgate and Tischendorf, following A and C *primâ manu*, and many other MSS. given in Tischendorf, who however here, as in very many other instances, appears to be indebted to Scholz, whom he handles so unsparingly in his *Prolegomena*.

Valla reads *judicando*, holding with the common reading; Tischendorf would have *judicatos*, with the Vulgate.

The second member of the verse Valla reads with the

textus receptus. Lachmann and Tischendorf add a third clause to this verse, 'and others compassionate in fear,' with the Vulgate. The Codex Vaticanus follows the Vulgate, but it is imperfect in the second clause, perhaps by an oversight of the copyist. The Codex Alexandrinus agrees with both.

We come now to the Apocalypse, recently edited by both Dr. Wordsworth and Dr. Tregelles. Tischendorf has in this book ventured to deviate from Lachmann, whose text here, as elsewhere, cannot be relied upon as presenting the text of the four first centuries, from the inherent doubtfulness of some of his chief authorities. Valla rejects the addition in the Leicester and some other MSS., which was taken into the Complutensian, *and the things that are, and those that must be hereafter*, chap. i. 2.

He rejects *ταύτης* in v. 3, found in Harleian 5537, written in 1087, and in the Codex Uffenbach 2, of the 15th century. He retains *quickly* in chap. ii. 5, rejected by Tischendorf as not found in A, C.

In chap. iii. 7 he reads, as do Matthæi and Tischendorf, in the future sense, *no man shall shut*—no man *shall open*.

He notices at chap. iv. 8 how several MSS. have *sanctus* nine times; so B, which in the Apocalypse does not stand for 1209, the celebrated Codex Vaticanus, but for another Vatican MS. numbered 2066, from which this book is given in the Roman editions of B (the Codex Vaticanus), an uncial MS. about the 8th century. Some repeat the *sanctus* six times. The Codex Alexandrinus here is with the Vulgate and the *textus receptus*, and this reading is sanctioned by the highest authority, that of the 6th chapter of Isaiah. Valla speaks of all the Greek MSS. as giving the *sanctus* nine times according to the nine orders of the angels.

There can be no doubt that all those MSS. which so repeat the *sanctus* six or nine times were purposely corrupted to suit these groundless phantasies of the several orders which were unknown until the times of *Gregory the Great*. According to Scholz *holy* is repeated nine times in 2 Regius 237, Stephani *ic* of the 10th century.

9. Bodleian 131, olim Roberti Huntingdon, 13th century.

29. Harleian 5613, written in 1407.
30. Guelph. (Wolfenbottle) xvi. 7, of the 13th and 14th centuries.
32. Dresden, antea Loescheri, of the 15th century. According to Scholz "notæ optimæ."
33. Vienna 23, Lambecii 1, of the 13th century. Used by Alter in his New Testament, Vienna, 1787.
34. Vienna 302, Lambecii 34, of the 12th century. "Tres codices emendatores distingui possunt."—Scholz.
35. Vienna 307, Lambecii 248, 14th century. Contains, besides other minor theological treatises, the Apocalypse with the Commentary of Andreas Cretensis.
41. Alexandrino-Vatican. 68, of the 14th century.
42. Pio-Vatican. 50, of the 12th century.
48. Matthæi l, placed by him in the first class of his MSS. for the Apocalypse. Synod 380, of the 12th century.
49. Matthæi o, Synod 87, of the 15th century. Placed by him in the third class.
50. Matthæi p, Synod 206, of the 12th century. Placed by him in the first class.

Holy occurs six times, according to Scholz, in the Codex Vaticanus 579, of the 13th century; and Codex Vaticanus 1160, in two volumes, of the 13th century.

In chap. iv. 11 Valla reads, not with the Vulgate, Scholz, Tischendorf, and Matthæi, *they were*, but *they are*.

In chap. v. 10 Valla has, according to Scholz and Matthæi, given the true reading, *Et fecisti ipsos Deo nostro reges et sacerdotes, et regnabunt super terram*.

In the Vulgate, chap. ix. 11, is added, *Latinè habens nomen exterminans*. Valla would omit this gloss.

In chap. xi. 13 the Complutensian and Matthæi read *day* for *hour*, with B.

In v. 17 Valla reads, with the *textus receptus*, *And who art to come*, omitted in the Vulgate in his time, but since received into the text. It is omitted by Griesbach, Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf, and in A, B, C, according to Tischendorf.

In chap. xii. 18 for *stetit* he reads *steti*, with Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf, and so B.

In chap. xv. 3 the Complutensian, Scholz, Matthæi, and Tischendorf read, *O King of the nations* for *O King of saints*. The Vulgate has, *O King of ages, Rex sæculorum*, with C and 18, Coislin 202, mostly of the 13th century.

In v. 4 Valla justly objects to *quia solus pius es* in the Vulgate for *sanctus es*. For *lino mundo* the Vulgate in Valla's time read *vestiti lapide mundo*!

In chap. xvii. 8, for *the beast that was and is not* (the reading of the Vulgate), *and yet is*, the reading of the Complutensian is now generally adopted, *that was, and is not, and shall come*.

In chap. xxi. 6 he reads, with the Complutensian and with Matthæi, *γέγova*, alpha et omega. This reading must at once yield to the sufficiently-supported authority of the *textus receptus*, and to the parallel passages in this Epistle.

In chap. xxii. 14 the Vulgate has *Beati qui lavant stolas suas in sanguine Agni, ut sit potestas eorum in ligno vitæ*.

Tischendorf and Lachmann have, *Blessed are they that wash their garments, omitting in the blood of the Lamb*. The majority of MSS. is in favour of the common reading.

In v. 20 Valla would retain *val* in both places, and so Matthæi with the *textus receptus*. Tischendorf and Scholz reject it at the commencement of the latter clause.

The reader will, I trust, be interested in this review of a noble attempt before the Reformation at bringing back the New Testament to the standard of the best Greek and Latin MSS. then known. In very many instances Valla's efforts were crowned with success; and that so many excellent suggestions were never applied to the improvement of the Vulgate, affords overwhelming evidence of the very inadequate nature of the Clementine revision. But, alas, Valla was destined in his lifetime to nothing but disappointment in regard of this noble undertaking.

Valla found a friend in that great patron of learning, and most pacific, moderate, and illustrious of the Roman Pontiffs, Nicolas V. This remarkable person was, previously to his

elevation to the Popedom, known as Thomas de Sarzano, Bishop of Bologna. Sarzana is but a few miles to the east of Spezzia, which gives its name to the gulf that opens into the Mediterranean, to the south-east of Genoa. It lies on the road from Rome to Genoa. Valla was attacked by Poggio, against whom he wrote his *Antidotum Poggii*. With Poggio conspired Antony of Palermo, a profligate author, who is said narrowly to have escaped condign punishment for a work of the most abominable immorality. This was the man who, having no sense of religion himself, endeavoured to fix a false charge of infidelity upon Valla, and imputed to him the assertion, since repeated as having proceeded from Valla, that he had reserved his darts against Christ himself. Valla, on the other hand, was in various points a favourer of both a doctrinal and practical reform in the Church of Rome. He exposed the pretended donation of Constantine, and the apocryphal character of the works assigned to Dionysius the Areopagite. This he did in his *Collations*. He wrote also a discourse upon the Eucharist, and a treatise on Free Will, in which he maintained the doctrine of St. Augustine and of the ancient Church and Bishops of Rome. He was opposed to the secular power of the Papacy. He enjoyed a canonry in the Basilican church of St. John Lateran, and dying the same year with Pope Nicholas V. was buried at Rome in 1455.

Erasmus found a MS. of the *Collations* in 1504, and Christopher Vischer Prothonotary apostolic, offering to be the patron of the book, Erasmus published it in 1505, and dedicated it to him. Pope Pius IV., when he inserted in the *Index Expurgatorius* Valla's *De falsâ Donatione Constantini*, *de Libero Arbitrio*, and *de Voluptate*, suffered the *Collations* to pass. But his successor, Sixtus V., placed it in the list together with the book *De Personâ contra Boethium*, with the proviso, *nisi corrigantur*. However the *Collations*, but with another name, and with many defects, were destined to come forth in four editions, besides that of 1505 at Paris. The first was published at Basle by Cratander in 1526; the second in 1540, in the collection of Valla's works; the third by Balthazar Lazius, also like the last, published at Basle in

[illegible]

tensis, Ferdinandus Pintianus, and Lopez de Stunicâ. At least these had the charge of the Greek Testament. Other persons superintended the Hebrew and Chaldee.

Of these the most eminent was the first-named Ælius Antony Lebrixa, known by the name of Nebrissensis. He was born in 1444, at Lebrixa or Lebrija, to the south of Seville. After he had studied at Salamanca he travelled to Italy, whence he was recalled by William Fonseca, Archbishop of Seville. He restored the study of the *Belles Lettres* and the sciences in Spain by his public lectures. After that prelate's death he quitted Seville and returned to Salamanca, where he was endowed with the professorships of grammar and poetry. He was there accused by the scholastics of favouring novelties, and in 1488 retired to the family of John de Stunicâ, Grand Master of the Order of Alcantara, but he was soon recalled to fill the first professorship in the University of Salamanca. King Ferdinand sent for him to court in 1504 to write his history, and Cardinal Ximenes employed him on his Polyglot. He afterwards gave him the direction of the University of *Alcala*, not far east of Madrid. There he died July 11, 1522, aged 77 years. His chief theological work is a critical treatise on fifty difficult passages of holy Scripture, entitled *Quinquagesimum*, highly commended by Dupin.

Bishop Marsh, following Wetstein, depreciated the Greek Testament of the Polyglot, affirming more positively than truly that there cannot be a doubt that the Complutensian text was formed from modern MSS. alone.¹ Not so Michaelis, who maintains that the Complutensian Greek Testament latinizes much less than that of Erasmus; and that though Wetstein was a declared enemy of this edition, the readings which he has preferred to the common text are in most cases found in the Complutensian Greek Testament. He therefore, he adds, degrades it in words, but honours it in fact.²

He further remarks that many readings, which were formerly supposed to be ratified by no authority, have been since dis-

¹ *Criticism of the Bible*, lecture iii. p. 96. Camb. 1828.

² Vol. ii. p. 439.

covered in Greek MSS., and that several which have been lately collated, agree with it in a very remarkable manner. For instance, the Havniensis 1, (in which Henster found forty readings that agree with the Complutensian, and are in no other MS.) the Laudianus 2, and Vindobonensis Lambecii 35. "Likewise in the Septuagint," says Michaelis, "I have observed that readings which were before peculiar to the Complutensian edition, have been confirmed by the Alexandrine MS. These circumstances may reasonably lead us to conclude that the Complutensian edition was faithfully taken from MSS., and that those Complutensian readings which are in no MS. known to us at present, were actually taken from MSS. used by the editors. So long, therefore, as we are without the MSS. from which this edition was taken, *it must itself be considered as a valuable MS., or as a Codex Criticus that contains many scarce readings.*"¹

Michaelis considers that part of it which gives the Apocalypse as better than the common editions, and observes that Bengel has made great use of it and adopted many of its readings, although he inconsistently condemns it in § 19 of his *Fundamenta Criseōs Apocalypticæ*. With this book in particular the Codex Guelpherbytanus very remarkably coincides. Matthæi agrees with Michaelis in his judgment of the Apocalypse as given in the Complutensian edition.

The extracts of Mill, Bengel, and Wetstein are by no means complete, and they have neglected one thing which is absolutely requisite in this edition, to quote the Latin as well as the Greek; for if the Greek contradicts the Latin text, it is a proof that it was supported by a great majority of MSS., since otherwise they would not have deviated from the established version of the Church. And it is certain that they could not have avoided the difference, because they have pointed it out by an especial mark. Goeze, in his complete defence of this Version, printed at Hamburg in 1765, with a collection of the principal differences between the Greek and Latin text of the Complutensian, has given extracts from it,

¹ Vol. II. pp. 439, 440. Matthæi, in his Appendix to the Apocalypse (first edition) condemns the editors as guilty of a love of innovation.

which in the proper sense of the word may be called critical, and which no future editor of the Greek Testament ought to leave unnoticed. Goeze published a *Continuation* of his *Defence* in 1769. These are books which every one ought to read who would form a proper judgment of the Complutensian Polyglot. It would, concludes Michaelis, be rendering a real service to the cause of sacred criticism, to publish an exact copy both of the Greek and Latin Testament of the Complutensian Polyglot.

Its readings were inserted as of MS. authority in Bishop Fell's Oxford Greek Testament of 1675, and in that of Gerard of Maestricht taken from it, and published at Amsterdam in 1711. According to Michaelis, Professor Moldenhauer, who was in Spain in 1784, went to Alcala, and was informed that the librarian about 1749, wanting room for some new books, sold the ancient vellum MSS. to one Toryo, who dealt in fireworks. He farther adds that Gomez declares that these MSS. cost 4000 aurei, and that amongst them were seven of the Hebrew Bible. Martinez, a man of learning and an excellent Greek scholar, heard of this barbarous sale soon after, but it was too late, for they were already destroyed, except a few scattered leaves which are now preserved in the library. That their number was very considerable appears from the fact that the money was paid at two different payments.—*Michaelis*, vol. ii. p. 441.

“Dr. Bowring subsequently made enquiries and believed that the report was incorrect, the same MSS. being there as those described by the Cardinal's biographer Gomez, and in Bowring's opinion they are both modern and valueless.¹ But Bowring's letters are by no means clear or decisive on the subject, for he says that the number of *Hebrew* MSS. in the University was only seven, and seven is the number that now remains.” Of *these seven* he affirms that they are *modern* and *valueless*. His attention therefore was not specially directed to *Greek* MSS. but to Hebrew ones. Indeed he states that there are at Alcala no Greek MSS. of the whole Bible.

¹ See the *Monthly Repository*, vol. xvi. for 1820, p. 203, and *New Series*, vol. i. for 1827, p. 572.

“ Subsequent enquiries made by Dr. James Thomson clear up the matter. All the MSS. formerly known to belong to Cardinal Ximenes, and preserved in the Library at Alcala, are now with the rest of that library at Madrid; and the catalogue made in 1745 correctly describes the MSS. which still exist. The librarian at Madrid communicated to Dr. Thomson a catalogue of the Complutensian MSS., whence it appears that the chief MSS. used in the Polyglot are still preserved in safety, but the Greek New Testament is not contained in any of them. *All the MSS. used in the Greek Testament by the editors were furnished from the Vatican, to which they were probably returned.*” A sale to a rocket-maker did take place about the time mentioned, but the librarian was a learned man, and could not have sold MSS. Probably he sold only waste and useless paper when he got all the books in the library rebound.¹

By a comparison of the peculiar readings in the first ten chapters of St. Matthew, it appears probable that the Vatican MSS. in the hands of the editors of the Complutensian New Testament were as follows:—

- S. The Uncial Vatican MS. 354, written in A.D. 947 by an Eastern monk. Contains the Gospels. The text Byzantine.
- 127. Vat. 349, containing the Gospels with the Eusebian Canons. The text mostly Alexandrine.
- 128. Vat. 356, like the Codex Vat. 349, of the 11th century, containing the Gospels. The text Byzantine.
- 129. Vat. 358, formerly belonged to Cardinal Cusanus: of the 12th century; contains the Gospels with scholia. Text Byzantine.
- 130. Vat. 359, of the 13th century, written by a Latin scribe; contains the Gospels with a Latin version. Mixed text, but mostly Alexandrine.
- 142. Vat. 1210, of the 11th century; contains the Gospels, Acts, Epistles, and Psalms. Very many readings

¹ *Biblical Review* for 1847, vol. iii. p. 186. Davidson's *Biblical Criticism*, vol. ii. pp. 107, 108.

are entered in the margin. In the Gospels the text is mostly Byzantine.

157. Urbino-Vatican 2, probably written for the use of John II., Emperor of the East, who succeeded on the death of Alexius A.D. 1118. It contains the Gospels with the Eusebian Canons; pictures, the chronicon of Jesus Christ, the chronicon of Hippolytus, and a preface from Chrysostom. It was transcribed from very ancient MSS. at Jerusalem: mostly Alexandrine.

In several peculiar readings the Complutensian Testament agrees with these MSS., all of them prior to the period to which Wetstein would have the MSS. used by the editors of the Complutensian Greek Testament to have belonged. He would have them to have been all as late as the 14th, 15th, or 16th centuries. So Griesbach and Bishop Marsh after him would have it concluded that they had only some modern and worthless MSS. in their hands. Whosoever will look into the Complutensian Greek Testament for himself and compare it with the labours of modern critics, will probably come to a more favourable judgment of its merits and of the MSS. from which it was probably compiled.

But even if it could be proved, which it cannot, that the MSS. in question were all as late as the 14th century, it would not prove them worthless. They might be copies of much earlier MSS.

Michaelis was of opinion that the editors were supplied with other MSS. than those that were sent from the Vatican, and mentions the Codex Rhodiensis, now unknown, and the Codex Bessarionis which was used in the Septuagint, and presented to Cardinal Ximenes by the Senate of Venice. Already were there also MSS. in Lombardy, and probably at Florence and elsewhere, accessible to Ximenes.

“From the Greek text of the Complutensian edition were printed the following; namely, seven at Antwerp by Plantin, in 1564, 1573, 1574, 1590, 1591, 1601, 1612; five Geneva editions in 1609, 1619, 1620, 1628, 1632; and lastly, that of

Mayence in 1763. These are described in Le Long's *Bibliotheca Sacra*, ed. Masch, P. I. pp. 191—195."¹

In 1821 Gratz published a Greek Testament at Tubingen, giving the text of the Complutensian with the Latin Vulgate. Van Ess contributed very greatly to the circulation of this edition, giving away many copies amongst the theological students of Germany, and disposing at a low price of others. At length in 1827 he brought out his own valuable edition of the New Testament both in Greek and Latin, also at Tubingen.

In this edition the reader has the Complutensian text; those of the five editions of Erasmus; Robert Stephen's edition, Paris, 1546, the basis of the *textus receptus*; and the critical editions of Matthæi and Griesbach. The Vulgate presents that version as it stood under Popes Sixtus V. and Clement VIII., in the several editions of 1590, 1592, 1593, and 1598. The parallel passages are given under the verses to which they belong.

Before the Complutensian Polyglot was delivered to the public, Erasmus published his Greek Testament with a new Latin translation. This work he undertook at the request of the famous printer, Froben of Basle, who was anxious to anticipate the publication of the Complutensian Polyglot. Froben proposed the work to Erasmus on April 17, 1515. It was published in the following spring. But it should be borne in mind that the attention of Erasmus had long before this been directed to the critical study of the New Testament. This has been overlooked by Dr. Tregelles, and by those who with him have had an object in depreciating the labours of Erasmus.

"The manuscripts which Erasmus is known to have used are those noted by Wetstein in the first part, 1, 2, 3, 61, 69 (*Proleg.* p. 120), 4, 7, in the second part, and 1 in the fourth part." So Bishop Marsh in his *Notes to Michaelis*.

They were as follows:—

1. Codex Basileensis, B. vi. 27. Erasmus calls it *exemplar Capnionis*, and also *Reuchlini*, because he had borrowed it

¹ Michaelis's *Introduction to the New Testament*, ed. Marsh, vol. ii. part 2, p. 845.

from Reuchlin, though it was not his property. It was one of those which were given by Johannes de Ragusio to a convent in Basle, and Reuchlin borrowed it and kept it the remaining thirty years of his life. It is on vellum, in small characters, and contains the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse. Erasmus suspected, and Wetstein, who at first opposed the opinion, afterward agreed in the charge of Erasmus that it was Latinized. Wetstein has likewise observed that this MS. alone has *as many readings which differ from the printed text, as all the other MSS. together*. Amongst its other singularities is one strangely commended by Michaelis at *Luke* x. 42, which he calls the preferable reading of Origen, the Coptic, and the margin of the Philoxenian Version, ὀλίγων δὲ ἐστὶ χρεῖα ἢ ἐνός, which, he says, is found in only two MSS. of which this is one. The other MS. is no other than the boasted Codex Vaticanus B.

A reading peculiar¹ to this MS., προφήτης ἐστὶν ἡ ὥς εἰς τῶν προφητῶν, was probably taken from it by Erasmus, from whose edition it has been transmitted to others. It is said to be also found in the Philoxenian Version; Tischendorf indeed assigns this reading also to the uncial Δ, the Codex Sangallensis. According to Dr. Tregelles, this and the Codex Boernerianus are severed parts of the same book.²

When we find that Wetstein's 1 has more peculiar readings than any other MS., we shall not be surprised at the approbation bestowed upon it by Tregelles. He classes it with X, 33, 69, and D, F, of St. Paul's Epistles, the value of which he regards as *very great*.³

2. Basil. B. vi. 25. An incorrect copy of the Gospels abounding in itacisms, as though the copyist wrote from dictation, and according to the pronunciation. It was from this MS. that the press was set after Erasmus had made his alterations, which are still visible. It is of the 15th century, and the text, according to Scholz, of the Byzantine family.

¹ Peculiar in the insertion of ἡ, *Mark* vi. 15.

² *Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament*, p. 165.

³ *Ibid.* p. 173. D and F are the Codices Claromontanus and Augiensis.

3. A MS. in the Imperial Library at Vienna, Cæsareus Vindobonensis Forlosian 15, and in Kollar's Supplement 5. It formerly belonged to the Monastery of Canons Regular of the Blessed Virgin at Corsendonck near Turnhout, to the north-east of Antwerp in Brabant. This is a MS. of the 12th century, containing the Gospels with synaxaria, the Acts, the Epistles, with prefaces and the Eusebian Canons. This was lent to Erasmus, and used, as perhaps were some of the others, in his second edition of the New Testament. The loan of this volume is attested in his own hand at the beginning of the MS. and at the end of the Gospel of St. Luke in 1519. It was collated by Alter for his edition of the Greek Testament in 1786 and 1787, and is described by Treschow in his *Tentamen*, Copenhagen, 1770, 8vo. and by Kollar. Wetstein contends that the text has been sometimes altered from the Latin. It was collated by Walker,¹ and was at that time in the library of a Dominican convent at Brussels.² Complete extracts are given from this MS. in Alter's *Greek Testament*, vol. i. pp. 704—750, and vol. ii. pp. 559—630. It is described in Treschow's *Tentamen*, pp. 85—89.

4. Basil, B. vi. 17, containing St. Paul's Epistles to *Hebrews* xii. 18. "A remarkable reading which Erasmus took into his text on the authority of this MS., *Rom.* viii. 35, *From the love of God*, instead of—of Christ, is," says Michaelis, "found only in this MS. and the Moscow MS. noted N.; some others have it as a scholion. The reading is likewise ancient, for it is found in Origen, but it does not necessarily follow that it be genuine."³

The celebrated Codex Vaticanus B reads, *from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus*. In A the words are now lost, whatever they were. The text of this Basil MS. is, according to Scholz, mostly Byzantine.

5. Basil, B. ix. Wetstein has named it Codex Amerbachii.

¹ Richard Walker, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, D.D. 1728. See notices of him in Bishop Monk's *Life of Bentley*.

² Wetstein's *Prolegomena*, p. 46. Marsh's Michaelis's *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. part 2, p. 729.

³ *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 221.

Mill (according to Michaelis) has given very groundless conjectures respecting it. Wetstein was an eye-witness of what he relates. It was altered in some places by Erasmus, and delivered into the printing-house like Basil, B. vi. 25. It was written before the 15th century. The text (according to Scholz) seldom recedes from the Byzantine.

6. Basil, B. x. 20 (4 Acts and Paul, Wetstein), contains the Acts and all the Epistles, elegantly written in the 15th century, the text (according to Scholz) mostly Byzantine. Wetstein reckons it amongst the Latinizing MSS., and observes that the copyist has inserted marginal glosses into the text: thus, *Rom. xiv. 17*, he adds to *righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost*, καὶ ἀσκήσεις, a piece of monkish morality.¹

In 1 *Cor. xiv. 34*, for ἐπιτέτραπται this MS. alone has ἐπιτέτακται. Lachmann reads ἐπιτρέπεται, the reading of A, B, D, E, F, G. But the Alexandrine, amongst its numerous inaccuracies, has ἐπιτρέπετε.

This MS. was, in the opinion of Michaelis, copied at least in part from a very ancient one.²

7. For the Apocalypse Erasmus had but one, and that an imperfect MS., the Codex Reuchlinianus. "Yet," observes Michaelis, "in the editions of Erasmus we find variety even in the Revelation; a proof that Erasmus applied either his own conjectures, or consulted other sources in particular readings. Besides, Erasmus himself acknowledges that Reuchlin's MS. had several chasms, and that the last leaf in particular was wanting. In these cases he made a virtue of necessity, and translated the Latin into Greek."³

8. The Codex Montfortianus, called also Dublinensis, from its having at length, after passing through several hands, found a resting-place in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin,

¹ *The contemplative or monastic life.* This reading is passed over by Tischendorf but noticed by Scholz, who is in numerous instances of a similar kind more complete than Tischendorf.

² See his *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 222. According to Bishop Marsh, vol. ii. part 2, note 65, this was also the opinion of Semler.

³ Michaelis' *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 312, 313.

was examined by Erasmus subsequently to the second edition of his Greek Testament, 1519. It contains the whole New Testament, but is written in a modern hand, and is probably of the 16th century. Erasmus, in his third edition, 1522, inserted 1 *John* v. 7 as in this MS., to which he appeals under the general appellation of a British manuscript.¹ Both he and Wetstein regarded it as a Latinizing MS., and 1 *John* v. 7 itself is an indication of this. "It is written in such Greek," says Michaelis, "as manifestly betrays a translation from the Latin."²

Dr. Dobbin published in 1854 a collation of this MS. throughout the Gospels and Acts with the Greek text of Wetstein and with certain MSS. in the University of Oxford. Mr. Scrivener, whose accuracy is now established beyond question, observes, from a careful comparison of this and the celebrated Leicester MS., that we can hardly resort to the Codex Montfort, as Tregelles suggests (Horne's *Introduction to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 216), for the readings of the Codex Leicestrensis in those parts of the Apocalypse which are defective in the latter MS."³

"Perhaps," says Michaelis, "there never existed a more able editor of the New Testament. His editions, notwithstanding their faults, are much esteemed, and in some respects equivalent to MSS., though he has sometimes resorted to conjecture, and has in several instances altered the Greek text to the Vulgate. Examples of this have been given by Goeze, and every reader will observe them in examining Wetstein's various readings."⁴ The reading ἀπωλείας, 2 *Pet.* ii. 2, not known to Michaelis, is in some cursive MSS. according to Tischendorf. The manner in which he endeavoured to supply the chasms in the Codex Reuchlianus, containing the Revelation, has been already noticed. But Michaelis observes that he seems to have taken the same liberty in

¹ Codex Britannicus.

² See *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. i. p. 286.

³ *Contributions to the Criticism of the Greek New Testament*, p. 43. Camb. 1859.

⁴ *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 444.

many places where he had not that excuse. Witness *Acts* ix. 5, 6. However Matthæi found this passage in the margin of one MS., but in a recent hand. Erasmus took it from the Vulgate.

In his *Annotationes in N. T.* he gives a particular account of those Greek readings which differ from the Latin, yet his Greek text Latinizes much more than the Complutensian. Erasmus excited much opposition from venturing to give a Latin version of his own together with the Greek text. He afterwards published the Vulgate together with it.

We have already seen that Valla attempted a revision of the Vulgate in the preceding century. Michaelis assigns the honour of renewing this great work to Robert Stephens, who published the Latin New Testament from ancient MSS. in 1543 and 1545.¹ Besides the Complutensian editions of the Vulgate New Testament at Paris in folio in 1528, 1532, 1540, Johannes Benedictus, a Doctor of the Sorbonne, published a critical edition of the Bible according to the Vulgate in 1541, also in folio. This was followed by the edition of Isidore Clarius at Venice, folio, 1542, for which Pope Paul III. rewarded him with the mitre, translating him from the abbots of Casino in the Pope's states, to the see of Foligno. He is said indeed to have been greatly indebted to the labours of Sebastian Munster. Johannes Hentenius edited the New Testament in 1547 for the University of Louvain, availing himself of the labours of Stephens.

In 1551 appeared the smaller edition of the Vulgate New Testament, Paris, 1551, by John Benedictus, so frequently referred to in these pages. Another edition of the Vulgate, with a preface by John Faber, Doctor of the Sorbonne, appeared in 1574, and again at Antwerp in 1580. At length in 1590 came forth the imperfect revision by authority of Pope Sixtus V., which was again revised and improved, and yet but very unsatisfactorily in 1592, by authority of Clement VIII. The succeeding editions exhibited some fluctuations down to that of 1598.

For the history of Erasmus as a translator the reader is

¹ *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. p. 126.

referred to Jortin's *Life of Erasmus*, and to his works, and to Wetstein's *Prolegomena*.

After the Complutensian Polyglot was permitted to go abroad, Erasmus availed himself of it in his edition of 1527. Mill relates that of an hundred alterations which Erasmus made in this edition, not less than ninety relate to the Revelation alone.

Erasmus probably availed himself also of the labours of his learned contemporary Aldus Manutius, and so, as well as from MS. 1, Erasmus had his choice as well of the so-called ancient as of those which have by some been unjustly stigmatized as modern readings. The probability is, that the so-called ancient readings are mostly not older than the third and fourth centuries. Many of these are evidently corruptions, and such as even Griesbach and Tischendorf themselves have been compelled to reject in favour of the readings of more modern but more faithful MSS. Various instances of this have already passed before the reader in these pages.

And it has been already seen that at this early period numerous and most respectable MSS. from the time of Valla to that of Erasmus were made tributary to the great work of forming an authentic Greek text of the New Testament.

Erasmus had published his first edition early in 1516.¹

In 1517 Aldus Manutius published his *Biblia Græca*. He probably made use of Codex Vaticanus 360, which was in his own possession. It is in quarto, of the 11th century, and comprises the whole of the New Testament except the Book of Revelation. In this MS. are numerous itacisms. It wonderfully harmonizes with the 8th of Stephens' MSS., Codex Reg. 62, called L, the MS. of Reuchlin, Basil B. vi. 27, a Latinized MS. in the opinion of Erasmus, who had

¹ "It is easy to declaim on the low date and little worth of the MSS. used by the Complutensian divines, by Erasmus, or Stephens; but what would have been the present state of the text of the Gospels, had the least among them conceded to the Cambridge MS. or Codex Bezae, the influence and adoration* which its high antiquity seemed to challenge?"

* "Codices vetustatis specie pæne adorandos."—B. Stephani *Præf. N. T.*, 1546. Rev. F. H. Scrivener's *Introduction to his Supplement to the Authorized English Version*, p. 7.

it in his hands, and the Leicester MS., of which the Rev. F. H. Scrivener has given a minute account in his *Introduction* to his edition of the *Codex Augiensis and Fifty other MSS.*, p. 40. Camb. 1859. It has a great number of peculiar readings. In various instances it agrees, says Dr. Birch, with the Gothic Version of the Gospels only. He collated the four Gospels in this MS., Codex Vaticanus 360.

Robert Stephens formed his celebrated Paris edition of 1546 from the Complutensian and Erasmus, together with the aid of fifteen MSS. of various value and of very different kinds, which were collated by his son Henry. He may be considered as the parent of the *textus receptus*. Bishop Marsh observes indeed that the second MS. of the 16 (including the Complutensian as the first) could not have been collated until after 1547, because this MS. was collated in Italy, and Henry Stephens did not go into Italy before that year. He further remarks that Mill, on collating the Complutensian and Stephens, found that the variations between them amounted to at least 1300. The third edition, which is in folio, is one of the most elegant editions that was ever printed, and has the readings of Stephens' MSS. in the margin. In the fifth the various readings are printed at the end.

The sixteen MSS. of Stephens are reckoned with the Complutensian Greek Testament as the first. This has been already considered.

The second was probably the Codex Bezae, or D. The elder or Christian Benedict Michaelis, in § 80—82 of his *Tractatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus Novi Testamenti*, and Bishop Middleton, toward the end of his work upon the Greek Article, have treated at some length, of this remarkable MS., upon which and upon similarly doubtful authorities Hug contends as Tregelles has since done, that the Christian Church has long lost the original text of the Scriptures. This MS. is written in large or uncial letters without any separation or distinction of words, the lines not of the same length, but some longer, others shorter; the Greek and Latin words corresponding, word for word, the very same

order of the words for the most part preserved. The Greek occupies the left, the Latin the right side of the page. Mill, *Prolegomena*, 1269. And (*Prolegomena*, 1271) he thus proceeds: "Certainly the text itself of the MS. both Greek and Latin alike is the production of a Latin copyist, which Father Simon shows, from the similarity of the characters, from letters purely Greek admitted into the version on the opposite side of the page, from the very design of Græco-Latin MSS. of this kind, which certainly could not have been for the use of the Greeks (for what need could they have had either of the Latin version or of the Latin tongue?) but they appear to have been made altogether for the use of the West, that by means of the Greek text inserted opposite the Latin, those who had some knowledge of Greek might be aided in acquiring a more accurate knowledge of the New Testament, and in amending their own Latin version wherever it might require correction; lastly, from the orthographical errors, of which some abundantly evince a Latin amanuensis, for instance, Ἡρώδους, Ιωάννους, Ιωάνναι, Σαμαριτάνων, Φλαγγελώσας, λεπρώσου, and others of the same kind. On these see Mill in *Varr. ad Matt.* ii. 1; x. 5; xxvi. 6: *Mark* xv. 15. Again, Mill (*Prolegomena* 1272) graphically depicts the freedom which the copyist of the MS. has taken in altering the Greek to the Italic version. "The Latin part of the MS. exhibits the Italic translation in its interpolated state before its revision by Jerome, but the Greek part a text marvellously corrupted and debased, but evidently derived from the same sources with the Italic version." And he adds a little after, "In regard of the Greek of this MS. the wanton license which the interpolator, whoever he was, took in the compilation of this MS. is all but incredible. You would at first sight believe that he had in view not to give the same text with the writers of the Gospels, but, observing the order of the text and retaining the history, to give each Gospel in a more complete and copious form. For this is the purport of the various particles introduced into the text of each Gospel, and of the whole periods in the other parts; of the many transpositions in each, to give greater clearness to the

history; of the paragraphs inserted from the apocryphal Gospels, and of the other innumerable interpolations. Then again, other features of this MS. would incline one to another opinion; other words, for instance, introduced instead of the genuine, not at all more significant, and therefore no way conducive to the clearness and entireness of the history; changes of numbers, cases, tenses, scattered over the MS. without any reason; infinite transpositions, for which no adequate cause whatsoever can be conjectured; lastly, many passages curtailed, and portions here and there cut out, and indeed whole sentences which make beyond compare for the completeness of the evangelical history." Michaelis proceeds to instance from Mill the omission of *Kaivàv*, *Luc. iii. 36*, evidently from design, and refers to Bengel on *Matt. xx. 29*.

Michaelis then condemns Mill for admitting that, notwithstanding its manifold corruptions, this MS. must be held to contain many ancient readings of undoubted purity, differing from those now received. Michaelis justly excepts against any reading being received on the *sole* authority of such a document, in opposition to other MSS. and to all versions, not excepting the Vulgate itself, to which so many of the readings of the Codex Bezae are conformed.

He then proceeds to examine the readings in this MS. which Mill adduces as genuine.

1. Mill pleads for the omission of *κωφοὺς*, *Matt. xv. 30*. It is retained by Tischendorf, Matthæi, Scholz, Lachmann, and Griesbach. It is omitted only here and in 219, a Vienna MS., Lambecii 32, of the 13th century, and in three Evangelistaria, one of the 15th, the others of the 13th century.

2. *Matt. xxv. 1*. The Beza MS. adds after *the bride—the bridegroom*, with the Velesian readings, the Vulgate, Syriac, Armenian, and Persian Versions. Michaelis answers that the Cambridge MS. (as this is also called) and the Velesian readings follow the Vulgate, as the Persian the Syriac. The question lies therefore with these three, the Vulgate, Syriac, and Armenian. But here we may oppose Mill to himself, who says, "But as neither MSS. nor Jerome, Hilary, Chrysostom, and Origen, as far as we can gather from their com-

mentaries, recognise it, we must take it as clearly an addition, borrowed perhaps from *Rev.* xxi. 2. Had the Vulgate been revised according to Johannes Benedictus, *et sponsæ* would have been omitted. It is found also in 1 (Basil, B. vi. 27), one of the favorite MSS. both of Tischendorf and Tregelles, and in another commended by Tregelles as giving the ancient text, 209, Venetian 10, of the 15th century, collated by Birch and Engelbrecht.

3. *Matt.* xxv. 6. *Cometh* is omitted after *Behold* the bridegroom. This omission indeed is not peculiar to D. It is omitted also in B, L (Regius 62), a MS. of the same class, of the 8th century, and Z, the Dublin fragment of St. Matthew, edited by Dr. John Barrett, Dublin, 1801. It is accordingly omitted by Tischendorf and Lachmann. It is found in the great majority of uncials, and retained by Matthæi, Scholz, Vater, and Hahn. It is found in the Vulgate; Bengel retains it, and accounts for the omission from the eye resting upon the word that follows it, *Go forth*.

4. Mill pleads for the omission of *that just person*, *Matt.* xxvii. 24. Here again D and Mill are followed by Tischendorf, because it is omitted also by B. It is also omitted in 102, a Medicean MS. containing the five last chapters of St. Matthew and the first seven of St. Mark, commended by Tischendorf as giving the ancient text.¹ It is found in the majority of uncials, and in the Vulgate, and with a transposition in the Codex Alexandrinus, the antiquity of which is far greater than of the Codex Bezae.

5. *Matt.* xxviii. 12. This MS. has ἀργύριον ἑκάνον, the singular in accommodation to the Latin; whereas the received text, suitably to the Greek language, is in the plural. Mill ignorantly defends this Latinized reading.

6. *Mark* ii. 16. καὶ πίνει is omitted in D. This reading does not indeed rest on the sole authority of D. The same omission is found in B, 102 mentioned above, also in 235 Havniensis (Copenhagen) 2, written in 1314, the text mostly Alexandrine, containing the Gospels adapted for church use; and in 271 Reg. 75a, a MS. of the 12th century, said to have

¹ Also in four, and only four, of Matthæi's MSS.

in Mark a mixed text, and to conform to the Byzantine family in the other Gospels. The great majority of the uncials, with the Codex Alexandrinus, retain the words, and so do Scholz, Tischendorf, and Matthæi. Tischendorf probably considered that the testimony of A and C, with so many other uncials, and amongst them K and L, which often accord, but more especially L, with the oldest MSS., was sufficient to outweigh B and D and the few cursives that followed them. The words are rendered in the Vulgate, *et bibit*. They are in *Luke* v. 30, but not in *Matt.* ix. 11. Not being in the same form in St. Luke it is most probable that they were not inserted in St. Mark from that Gospel.

7. *Mark* x. 2. *προσελθόντες* is wanting in D, but is found in the majority of uncials, including A and B, and therefore it is retained by Tischendorf and Lachmann themselves, and is found in the Vulgate.

8. *Mark* x. 46. *ἔρχεται*, the singular for the plural against all the other uncials which contain this passage.

9. *Mark* xiii. 33. In *watch and pray, and pray* is omitted. The same omission occurs in B and in 122, the Leyden MS. of the 12th century. Tischendorf omits it on this very insufficient authority, as does also Lachmann. On the other hand, A and C, the approximating uncials K, L, Δ, and the Byzantine group E, F, G, H, with S, retain the words.

10. *Mark* xiv. 1. *καὶ τὰ ἄζυμα* is omitted. Neither Tischendorf nor Lachmann here follow Mill, against the all but universal evidence which is in favour of the *textus receptus*.

11. *Mark* xiv. 22. *Jesus* is omitted in D. Here, because B is with D, Tischendorf omits Jesus. Lachmann inserts it, but with hesitation. A and C, and a majority of the uncial MSS., retain it, as do both Scholz and Matthæi.

12. *Luke* iv. 5. *ὁ Διάβολος* being omitted by B and L, and a few cursives, Tischendorf omits it also; but Lachmann rightly retains it, for it is in A, which is equally ancient with B, and in the Gospels more accurate.

13. *Luke* vi. 34. *τὰ ἴσα*, as much again. Here both Tischendorf and Lachmann desert Mill, not content with him to accept D as the sole representative of the ancient text.

14. *Luke* xxi. 24. ἄχρι πληρωθῶσι, omitting the sequel, *the times of the Gentiles*. The same observation applies in this instance.

15. *John* vi. 14. ἀληθῶς is omitted. The same remark is similarly applicable here.

16. *John* vi. 23. *After that the Lord had given thanks* omitted. Also omitted in 69; the Leicester MS., retained both by Tischendorf and Lachmann.

17. *John* viii. 2. *And he sat down and taught them*. Mill will have this to have been interpolated from the other Evangelists, because it is omitted in D. This being a portion of the history of the woman taken in adultery is omitted both by Lachmann and Tischendorf, but it is in the majority of the uncials. It was known to St. Augustine. There is abundant MS. authority, and what ought never to be overlooked, internal evidence for this history. See Middleton *On the Greek Article*. It is accordingly retained by Scholz, Matthæi, and Hahn.

18. *John* viii. 34. *Of sin* omitted. Retained by both Tischendorf and Matthæi, as in the case of *Luke* vi. 34, &c.

19. *John* viii. 53. *Than our father* omitted. The same remark applies in this instance.

20. *John* ix. 17. *Again* omitted. The same observation applies here also.

21. *Acts* ii. 1. *They were all with one accord in one place*. D and the Syriac omit τὸ and ὁμοθυμαδόν. Mill in this instance, as in others, is inconsistent. The latter word is also omitted by Tischendorf and Lachmann, who have ὁμοῦ with A and B.

22. *Acts* xvi. 5. *In the faith* omitted. The same remark is applicable here as at *Luke* vi. 34; xxi. 24: *John* vi. 14; viii. 34, 53, and ix. 17.

The elder Michaelis then proceeds to shew from numerous instances that the Greek was accommodated to the Latin version then in use, as at *Matt.* iii. 16, where *descending* is in the Greek made not to agree with the Greek but with the Latin *Spiritus*, and accordingly changed from the neuter to the masculine. But not only so, this MS. appears to have

been written by a Latin scribe ignorant of Greek. For instance, accommodating the Greek at *Matt.* v. 24 to the Latin, and changing the present into the future, instead of *προσολσεις* he has *προσφερεις*. But Wetstein¹ remarks that the Latin also is marked with the greatest anomalies, of which, he adds, not a few instances are found also in the old *Itala* version. Amongst these he gives *calicem quod*—*sanguis quod effunditur*—*ut seducantur et electos*—*agrum quod dedit*. The forms of Latin are intermixed with those of Greek letters, and whether from writing by dictation only, and so mistaking, as in *ἐργαζόμενοι* for *ὀργιζόμενοι*, or from other causes, the orthographical inaccuracies are most material and very numerous.² It was probably written in Gaul, for *μερίμναις* is rendered *soniis*, in the French, *soins*.³

For an account of the controversy respecting the identity of the Codex Bezae, or Cambridge MS. D, with the second of those used by Stephens, the reader is referred to Michaelis, *Introd. to the New Testament*, vol. ii. pp. 235—240, and Bishop Marsh's notes upon those pages in the second part of that volume, pp. 687—699. Matthæi, in his second edition of the New Testament, in a note upon *Matt.* xxvii. 52, hazards a conjecture that Stephens' second MS. is one still kept at Geneva, in the library of the Reformed pastor there, and that once belonged to Beza. Matthæi gives a remarkable interpolation in that MS. at the place in St. Matthew above mentioned. This MS. does not appear to have been noticed since Matthæi's time.

The third of Stephens' MSS. is Codex Reg. 2867, now 84, on vellum in quarto, containing the four Gospels. In many places incisions have been made in the leaves. This MS. was identified by Le Long. Scholz collated SS. Matthew and John in this MS. and found the few readings noted by Stephens. It was written in the 12th century. Scholz's account of its mutilations varies from that in Michaelis. Michaelis says that it is defective in *John* i. to ver. 13; Scholz that it wants *Matt.* ii. 9—20; *John* i. 49 to the end, and

¹ *Prolegomena*, ed. Semler, pp. 84, 85. Halle, 1764.

² *Ibid.* p. 85.

³ *Ibid.*

iii. 11. The text is mixed, but more frequently Byzantine. For *Amindab* it reads *Amindam* as do 1. 115. 127. 157. MSS. commended by Tischendorf as giving the ancient text. In ver. 13 it has the Alexandrine reading, *ποταμος*. In E. 11. *ειδον*. In iii. 1 it omits *δε*. In ver. 6 it has *the river* before *Jordan*, an Alexandrine reading. In ver. 8 it has *fruit* wanting of, the reading preferred by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf; it is the reading also of the Complutensian and the Vulgate. The *plural* is retained in our version from the editions of Erasmus. It omits *and with fire* in ver. 11, as does also Matthæi,¹ regarding it as brought in hither from St. Luke. In iv. 18 it omits *Jesus*; *And Jesus walking by the sea of Galilee*. So likewise Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf. In ver. 24 it has, with eight other MSS. commended by Tischendorf as giving the ancient text, namely, C, 1, 4, 33, 127, 131, 208, and 262, *ἐξῆλθεν*, instead of the common reading which is however retained by Tischendorf in this place. In v. 28 it has *αὐτὴν* for *αὐτῆς*, the reading preferred also by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf. It has the account of the woman taken in adultery, but marked with *obeli*.

The worth of this MS. may in some measure be estimated by the above specimens; and those who adopt the standard of Tregelles and Tischendorf cannot surely complain that the *textus receptus* was a work of chance and grounded upon modern and inadequate authorities, with the evidence of D from amongst the uncials, and 4 as leading the cursive MSS. By the elder Michaelis it is indeed placed amongst the Latinized MSS., a class in favour with the critics of the Tischendorfian and Griesbachian schools.²

4 δ. Regius 2871, now 106, contains the whole of the New Testament except the Revelation. It is thus arranged: the Acts, the Catholic Epistles, the Epistles of St. Paul, and the Gospels with prologues. It is on vellum in quarto, is

¹ Matthæi's note upon this passage in his *first* edition is worth consulting. He simply refers to it in his second. He attributes its insertion in St. Matthew to the influence of the ancient scholia, and of St. Chrysostom upon the Vulgate, and upon the early compilers of MSS.

² *Traotatio Critica de Variis Lectionibus N. T.* § 85, p. 94. Halle, 1749.

referred to the 12th century, and exhibits a mixed text. Collated by Scholz.

5 ε'. Reg. 3425, now 112. The whole New Testament except the Apocalypse. Identified by Le Long, numbered 6 by Wetstein. On vellum in 12mo, of the 11th century; contains also synaxaria and the Liturgy of St. Chrysostom. It exhibits a mixed text. It was collated by Scholz in the four first chapters of St. Mark, in the 7th and 8th of St. John, and in the whole of St. Matthew.

In *Matt.* iii. 6 it adds *the river*, with 4, i. e. Codex Reg. 2867, and in chap. iii. 11 omits with that MS. *and with fire*. In chap. v. 47 it has *your friends* for your brethren. Here the Complutensian and Matthæi adopt the same reading, whilst Tischendorf retains the *textus receptus* with B, D, as does also Scholz. In ver. 48 it reads, with B, L, 1, 13, 33, and some others, *your heavenly Father* for *your Father which is in heaven*. At chap. ix. 36 it has ἐσκυλμένοι, the reading alike of Scholz, Matthæi, and Tischendorf. In chap. x. 8 it omits *raise the dead*. It is also rejected by the critical authorities above named. In chap. xii. 6 it has μείζον, a reading adopted by the three above-named critics. It has the history of the woman taken in adultery. At *Acts* xx. 28 it reads *the church of the Lord and God*, the reading also of the Complutensian and of Matthæi.

In 1 *Tim.* iii. 16 it has the received reading, *God was manifest in the flesh*.

The two last chapters of the Epistle to Titus and the Epistle to Philemon, nearly to the end of the 12th verse, are wanting.

6 ς'. Reg. 2886, now 71; Fleischer, but 72 Griesbach; Wetstein's 7. On vellum in quarto, of the 11th century; contains the Gospels with prologues, synaxaria, the Eusebian Canons, and figures. The text more Byzantine than Alexandrine. Collated by Scholz in the first six chapters of St. Mark, and in St. John from the 3rd to the 8th chapter inclusive. In *Mark* i. 5 this MS. has *there went out* in the plural number, the reading of Erasmus. In ver. 11 it reads, *In thee I am well pleased*, with B, D, 1, 4, 5 (the 4th of

Stephens' MSS.), 13, 22, 28, 33, 69, 118, 131, 209, 435, all MSS. commended by Tischendorf as giving the ancient text. This reading is also that of a few other MSS. This MS. was probably prepared by some critic, as was the case with many others. Thus by an over-nicety, as Matthæi observes, the article is omitted before *angels* in ver. 13. It contains the history of the woman taken in adultery.

7 ζ'. Reg. 47 (not 49 as in Michaelis II. p. 300), formerly 2242; written in 1364 at Constantinople; contains the New Testament with prologues, synaxaria, the Psalms, and the Canticles sung in divine service. Scholz collated the Gospels and Acts, and the rest of the New Testament only partially. He describes it as rarely departing from the *textus receptus*, and as exhibiting therefore for the most part the Byzantine text.

8 η'. Reg. 62 L, formerly 2861, on vellum in quarto; an uncial of the 8th century. Imperfect from *Matt.* iv. 21 to v. 14, and in the last chapter from the 17th verse to the end; also in the 10th chapter of *Mark* from the 17th to the 30th verse, and in the 15th from the 2nd to the 20th verse; and lastly in *John* xxi. from ver. 15 to the end. Some of the leaves have been misplaced by the binder. It is to be observed, says Wetstein, that Beza produced forty various readings and more from this very MS., and amongst them that notable one at *Mark* xvi. 9. This is another and apocryphal termination to this Gospel, probably added by the critical compiler of this eclectic manuscript, from the objections unjustly taken on the alleged ground of internal evidence to the usual conclusion of St. Mark. The style is too artificial and didactic for the Evangelist. This addition is given in Scholz. It also occurs with some variation in 274, Reg. 79^a, written on vellum in quarto for the use of the Church of Callipolis, in the Thracian Chersonese in the 10th century.

L is condemned by the elder Michaelis (after Mill) as a very corrupt and Latinizing MS. It is accordingly highly commended by Tischendorf¹ in company with B and Δ, the

¹ "Qui toties soli fere veram lectionem conservârunt."—p. 272. *N. T.* 1859.

Codex Sangallensis, of the 9th century, which has an inter-linear Latin version.

In *Mark* xi. 8 it has ἀγρῶν for δένδρων with B, an undoubtedly false though very ancient Alexandrine reading. Tischendorf indeed adopts this reading, which even Lachmann rejects.

At *Luke* x. 42 it has the singular reading, *there is need of a few things or of one*, found in Origen, and in the Syriac and Coptic versions. This palpable corruption it retains in common with B, 1, 33, and a very similar reading is found in 38, another of Stephens' MS. It has some other remarkable corruptions together with B, as at *Luke* xxiii. 42 and 45. With B it also reads (and is herein followed by 33 Reg. 14) at *John* i. 18, *the only begotten God*, a reading rejected by both Lachmann and Tischendorf, but too unique not to find an advocate in Dr. Tregelles, although truth compels him to admit that the *textus receptus* is at least as old as Irenæus.

L, although agreeing with B in very numerous instances, does not invariably copy it. It is not so Alexandrine in its forms. In *Matt.* i. 18 it reads γέννησις. For ἐστράθη, B, C, D, it has ἔσση in *Matt.* ii. 9. In ver. 17 it has ὑπο where B, C, D, Z have διὰ, the reading of Tischendorf. It does not omit *Luke* xxii. 43, 44. It has a vacant space with B, C, where the history of the woman taken in adultery is usually found.

9 θ'. Corslinianus 200, Wetstein's 38. It has several chasms. It was sent as a present from the Court of Constantinople to Louis IX. It was written on vellum in quarto, in the 14th century, at the command of the Emperor Michael Palæologus. So Scholz, but Bishop Marsh thought that it might be older. Montfaucon assigned it to the 13th century. It has neither the Epistles of St. Paul nor the Apocalypse. So Scholz, who consulted it; but Wetstein, followed by Michaelis, describes it as containing the whole New Testament except the Apocalypse. It is defective from *Matt.* xiv. 15 to xv. 30; from xx. 14 to xxi. 27; and from *Mark* xii. 3 to xiii. 4. Wetstein agrees with Mill in commending this MS. as one of the best of those which Stephens used, but differs from

him in regard of the extent to which he represents Stephens as having followed it. Its text is Byzantine.

10 *ι'*. Reg. 2870, now 102, Wetstein's 7 in the Acts; on vellum in octavo, of the 10th century. Contains the Acts and St. Paul's Epistles with prologues. The text, according to Scholz, is Byzantine. According to Mill (*Prolegomena*, 1170), it varies from the edition of Stephens in more than 330 places, where most of its readings agree with the Vulgate. It is therefore reckoned by the elder Michaelis amongst the Latinizing MSS. The Epistle to the Hebrews is placed between 2 Thessalonians and 1 Timothy.

11 *ια'*. Not yet discovered. A Latinizing MS. varying from the text of Stephens in about 400 passages, of which 276 agree with the Vulgate or some other Latin text. Estius had long since condemned it on this account in his *Comm. on 1 Pet. iii. 19*, p. 1182. Paris, 1653. Stephens has once quoted it, *Rev. xiii. 4*, for *the beast* in the dative case, according to the reading of C, and several other MSS. given by Scholz. The *textus receptus* has the accusative case, but the dative is the reading adopted alike by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf.

12 *ιβ'*. Reg. 2862, now 83, Wetstein's 9; on vellum in quarto, written in 1168. The text mostly Byzantine. Contains the Gospels, with the Canons of Eusebius and synaxaria.

13 *ιγ'*. Discovered by Bishop Marsh to be the Codex Vatabli, Kk. 6. 4. in the University Library, Cambridge. It belonged to Vatablus, who was Hebrew Professor at Paris in the time of R. Stephens, and one of his most intimate friends. It is a MS. of the Acts and of all the Epistles. It is Wetstein's 9 in the Acts, and 11 Paul, of the 11th century, and, according to Scholz, exhibits the Byzantine text. According to Mill (*Prolegomena*, 1173) it has in the Acts a few passages with which the Vulgate coincides, but many more in the Epistles, and is therefore ranked by the elder Michaelis amongst the Latinizing MSS.

14 *ιδ'*. In the library of St. Victor, Paris, 774. Griesbach refers it to the 13th century. It has lost the Gospel of St.

Mark, and the first leaf of St. John's Gospel. Griesbach has given extracts from it under the title Codex 120. It is said to harmonize with the Reg. 2244, now 55, of the 5th century, with a Latin version. This, the 14th of Stephens' MSS., is 12 of Wetstein's, who makes it the same with 2865 Reg. which is numbered by Scholz not 12 but 31. It is classed by Mill amongst the inferior MSS.

The Reg. 2244, now 55 (in Michaelis, II. 303, numbered 204), was, according to Wetstein, written by Jerome of Sparta, Greek Professor at Paris, and preceptor of Reuchlin and Budæus. It is thus a very modern MS, but Griesbach attached no small weight to it from its favouring that pseudo-antiquity which he followed.

15 *æ'*. Reg. 2869, now 237, on vellum in quarto, neatly and correctly written, in the 10th century; contains the Acts, Epistles, and Revelation, with prologues, scholia, and the treatise of Dorotheus, Bishop of Tyre, on the twelve Apostles and seventy-two Disciples, an apocryphal and legendary work. The text is, according to Scholz, mostly Byzantine. It is numbered 10 Acts, 12 Paul, 2 Apoc.

16 *ς'*. Not yet discovered, numbered 3 Apoc., and containing only the Apocalypse.

From this enumeration it will be seen that Stephens had before him specimens of very various states of the text of the New Testament, and not a few MSS. which Tregelles, Tischendorf, and the pseudo-antiquaries who prefer A, B, C, D, L, *Δ*, to all other MSS., are bound to regard on their own principles with the deepest respect.

"Professor Scholefield's Greek and English Testament, printed at Cambridge in 1836, although stated to be an exact reprint of the Stephanic edition of 1550, differs from it in *Luke* vii. 12; x. 6; xvii. 1, 35: *John* viii. 25; xix. 7: *Acts* ii. 36: *Eph.* iv. 25: *James* v. 9: 1 *Pet.* iv. 8: 2 *Pet* ii. 12: 2 *John* 5: *Rev.* vii. 10."¹

The first edition of Robert Stephens appeared in 1546, the second in 1549, with 77 alterations; the third very finely

¹ Rev. F. H. Scrivener's *Introduction to his Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament*, p. 6. Lond. Pickering, 1845.

executed in folio, 1550; the fourth in 1551; the fifth by his son Henry in 1569. Meanwhile Crispin copied his edition from Stephens in 1553; and Vogel his edition, Leipzig, 1569.

That celebrated divine and eminent scholar Theodore Beza published his first edition of the New Testament in 1565, with additional readings copied from the margin of Robert Stephens' own unpublished copy of readings collected in preparing for his third edition, that of 1550. "Theodore Beza's several editions of the Greek Testament contain a text essentially the same as that published by Stephens, from whose third edition he does not vary in much more than eighty places. But his critical labours claim our especial notice from the deference paid to them by the translators of the English authorized version; who, though they did not implicitly follow Beza's text, yet have received his readings in many passages where he differs from Stephens'." Mr. Scrivener then subjoins a list of those places in which our translation agrees with Beza's New Testament against that of Stephens. *Matt. xxi. 7, ἐπεκάθισαν, they set him.* Beza, with the Vulgate and Castalio, ἐπεκάθισεν, *he sat.* Stephens. This latter reading is adopted by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf. Beza's is the reading of L.

Matt. xxiii. 13, 14. Here also our translators followed Beza for the worse. Matthæi observes upon this place, that in all the better MSS. ver. 14 is read before ver. 13.

Mark viii. 24. I see men as trees walking. So Beza and the Vulgate. But Stephens follows the other reading, *I see men walking indeed, but I see them as trees, i. e. indistinctly.* See Wolfii *Curæ Phil.* This reading was adopted by Erasmus, and has been received by Matthæi, and after him by Tischendorf, on very ample testimony.

Mark ix. 40. For he that is not against us is on our part. So Beza, Erasmus, and Tischendorf. It was probably altered to this reading from St. Luke, but stands as in Stephens in the majority of uncials, He that is not against you is on your part. And so Matthæi and Scholz, and so the Vulgate.

Mark xii. 20. Beza inserted *ergo, now*; rejected by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf.

Luke i. 35. Beza adds *of thee*, as it stood in the first edition of Erasmus. The addition came from C, 1, 33, the Vulgate, and some few other sources. Some, observes Matthæi, introduced it into the text from the scholia, others by a pious fraud, against the heretics.

Luke ii. 22. Beza has *the days of the purification of Mary*, and so the Vulgate, *purgationis ejus*, followed by the Complutensian. But Stephens, as also Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf, *the days of their purification*. See this reading vindicated in Surenhusii Liber *καταλλαγῆς*, pp. 303, 304. Amsterdam, 1713.

Luke x. 22. Here Stephens, with the Complutensian, Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf, prefix, *and turning to his disciples he said*. These words are omitted in D and some kindred MSS., but are found either wholly or in part in A, B, L themselves.

Luke xv. 26. *One of the servants*, Stephens after Erasmus, *one of his servants*.

Luke xvii. 36. This verse, received into our version, is omitted by Stephens, Matthæi, and Tischendorf. It owes its place in Beza and our version to the influence of the Codex Bezae, and is in several kindred MSS. as 13, 33, 69, and some others, but is not found in the majority of MSS. of every class.

John xiii. 31. For *and it was night when he went out*, v. 30, we read, *and it was night*, v. 31, *therefore when he was gone out, &c.* The first reading was adopted by the Complutensian and Matthæi.

John xvi. 33. For *in the world ye have tribulation*, the reading also of Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf, we have the future; but the present might here stand for the future.

John xviii. 24. *Now Annas had sent him bound* for *Annas had sent him bound, &c.* The latter reading is adopted by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf.

Acts xvii. 25. *And all things.* Stephens read *κατὰ πάντα*, as does the excellent uncial G, the Codex Angelicus. The *textus receptus* follows A, B. *Κατὰ* might easily have arisen out of *καὶ τὰ*.

Acts xxii. 25. Stephens, Erasmus, and Matthæi read *et* when he had bound him (*i. e.* the lictor understood). Beza, Scholz, and Tischendorf read in the plural with our version. And so not only B, but the Codex Angelicus G.

Acts xxiv. 13. Erasmus and Stephens read *me*, *neither* can they prove me guilty of. Matthæi retains this reading. The *textus receptus* is grounded upon A, B, E, G. E is the Codex Laudianus edited by Hearne.

Acts xxiv. 18. *Whereupon*. So Beza and our version, *de* only referring to the preceding nouns in the same gender, alms and offerings, v. 17. The better reading is that of Stephens and Erasmus, in the neuter plural, the reading both of the Codex Angelicus and of H, the Modena MS. 196.

Acts xxvii. 13. Beza pointed this verse so as to connect *ἀσσον*, which some had taken for the name of a city in Troas, others for a small town in Crete, with the latter clause as in our version; in the Latin of Beza, *propius præterlegerunt Cretam*.

Rom. vii. 6. *That being dead wherein we were held*. So Beza and our version, but Stephens, following Erasmus, *we being dead to that* (the law) in which we were held; the reading of both Matthæi and Tischendorf, and of the Codex Angelicus.

Rom. viii. 11. *By his Spirit that dwelleth in you*. And so the Complutensian and A, C, followed by the *textus receptus*. But Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf return to the Stephanic reading, *on account of his Spirit, &c.*, which is supported by the Codex Angelicus.

Rom. xii. 11. Our translators here justly rejected Stephens, *serving the time for serving the Lord*.

Rom. xvi. 20. Here they adopted *Amen* at the end, against the authority of all the best uncials.

1 *Cor.* v. 11. *ὁ πόρνος*, Steph. 1550. *ῆ*, Beza, 1565: Elzevir, 1633. *Be a fornicator*, not *be either* a fornicator, as Stephens would require.

1 *Cor.* xv. 31, where, however, Beza's first edition of 1565 coincides with Stephens. The latter, with Erasmus, read,

by our rejoicing. Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf read with our translators, the *textus receptus*, and Beza.

2 Cor. iii. 1. Stephens has a full-stop after *to commend*, Beza a note of interrogation, *Do we begin* again to commend ourselves?

2 Cor. v. 4. Stephens has *ἐπειδὴ*, Beza reads *ἐφ' ᾧ*, the now universal reading.

2 Cor. vi. 15. For *Belial*, Stephens, and after him Mill, Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf read *Beliar*.

2 Cor. vii. 12. Stephens, Mill, Matthæi, and Tischendorf here read, *but that your care*, *ὑμῶν τὴν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πρὸς ὑμᾶς*. The reading of Beza, and of our version after him, appears the more natural.

2 Cor. vii. 16. Beza added *therefore*—I rejoice therefore: but it is omitted in the best MSS., and by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf.

2 Cor. xi. 10. Stephens here read erroneously, *σφραγήσεται*. It is synonymous in the LXX. with *φραγήσεται*. See Matthæi *in loc*.

Col. i. 24. Beza here read with the Codex Claromontanus, *ὃς, who now, &c.*, instead of *now I rejoice, &c.*

Col. ii. 13. Beza: *having forgiven you*; with the Codex Angelicus and many cursive MSS. So Matthæi, whilst Scholz and Tischendorf read with Stephens and Erasmus, *us*.

1 Thess. ii. 15. Beza has on ample authority, *their own, &c.*, retained by Matthæi, omitted by Scholz and Tischendorf.

2 Thess. ii. 4. *Above all that is called God*, as though the Greek were in the neuter. So Beza. This reading is not noticed in Tischendorf. It is taken from the Vulgate, the Latin version of the Codex Boernerianus, the Wechelii or Fra. Junii Lectiones, and the worthless collection called Valesii Lectiones. The *textus receptus*, retained by all the recent critical editors of the New Testament, is, *above every one that is called God*.

1 Tim. i. 4. Stephens read *οἰκονομίαν*, the reading alike of Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf. Beza, following Erasmus who followed the Vulgate, has *οἰκοδομίαν*. According to Wolf, the words are sometimes taken synonymously.

Heb. ix. 1. Stephens read *the first* tabernacle; a reading now generally rejected. Beza rightly supplied *covenant*.

James ii. 18. Stephens read ἐκ, Beza χωρίς. With Stephens read the *textus receptus* and Matthæi; with Beza, Scholz, Griesbach and Tischendorf, and A, B, C. Matthæi follows the better uncials G and K, i. e. the Codex Angelicus and Codex Mosquensis.

James iv. 13. Beza has these verbs in the future tense, Stephens in the conjunctive aorist, but in either case the sense is the same. See Wolfii *Curæ Phil.* With Stephens are Matthæi and Scholz; with Beza, Tischendorf and the *textus receptus*. Both tenses are found in the Codex Alexandrinus; a remarkable instance of the uncertainty and inaccuracy of that celebrated manuscript.

James v. 12. Stephens read εἰς ὑπόκρισιν, Beza ὑπὸ κρίσιν, and after him Scholz and Tischendorf; whilst Matthæi retains the reading of Stephens, which is that of the uncials G, K. This is also Luther's reading. See Wolf's note and references on this verse.

1 Pet. i. 4. The two first editions of Stephens had *for you* with Beza, but the third was changed to *for us*, the marginal reading of our Bibles. Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf read with Beza and our version, on the united authority of A, B, C, G, K.

2 Pet. iii. 7. Stephens read *by his*, Beza *by the same word*. With Stephens read Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf, on the united authority of B, C, G, K.

1 John i. 4. Beza, *that* your joy may be full, and so Scholz and Tischendorf; but Matthæi with Stephens, *that* our joy, with B, G.

1 John ii. 23. Our translators supply, but in italics with Beza, the latter part of this verse, which was not contained in Stephens, but is now supplied by Matthæi, Scholz, Tischendorf, and other critical editors. It is however wanting in G, K. Mill suspected that it was a gloss introduced into the text. It is in the Vulgate, and hence probably was copied into A, B, C, the usual authority with Tischendorf.

1 John iii. 16. Beza supplied *of God* from the Vulgate.

Our translators have admitted the words, *but in italics*. It is neither in the *textus receptus* nor in the modern critical editions of the New Testament.

2 *John*, ver. 3. For *grace be with you*, Stephens has *grace be with us*, following B, G, a reading universally rejected.

3 *John*, ver. 7. This is a doubtful instance, as it might either way be rendered *his name*.

Jude, ver. 19. Stephens did not read *ἐαυτοὺς*, neither do Matthæi and Tischendorf. Scholz is with Beza and the *textus receptus*. But these readings do not necessarily involve a different sense from that of our version.

Jude, ver. 24. Neither does this passage involve a different meaning, *αὐτοὺς* being *you yourselves*.

Rev. iii. 1. Erasmus and Stephens omitted *seven* in *the seven spirits of God*.

Rev. v. 11. Erasmus and Stephens omit in the last clause, and the number of them was *ten thousand times ten thousand*.

Rev. vii. 10. All the editions of Erasmus and Stephens had, *And crying out with a loud voice, saying, Salvation to him that sitteth upon the throne of our God, and to the Lamb*.

Rev. viii. 11. Erasmus and Stephens omitted *of the waters*.

Rev. xi. 1. In all the prior instances taken from this book all the more eminent critics have confirmed the changes made in our version under the influence of Beza; but here Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf retain the reading of Stephens, unnatural as it appears. Beza followed the Complutensian in inserting *and the angel stood*. Wolf would supply the sense, as would Vitranga, so as to bring this passage into harmony with the Vulgate, which has, probably on conjecture, *et dictum est mihi*.

Rev. xi. 2. For *without*, Erasmus and Stephens read *within the Temple*. Here there is no dissent amongst recent editors.

Rev. xiii. 3. Erasmus and Stephens have, *and there was wonder throughout all the world*. Lachmann alone retains a part of this reading.

Rev. xiv. 18. Erasmus and Stephens omit *of the vine*.

Rev. xvi. 14. For *which go forth* they read *to go forth*.

Rev. xix. 14. Stephens omitted, Beza inserted, τὰ before ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ.

I add, on the authority of Mr. Scrivener, who kindly furnished me with these additional instances :

Philemon, ver. 7. Χαριν. Stephens.¹

Χαράν. Beza, Elz.

John viii. 6. μὴ προσποιουμενος, not in Stephens, but in Beza's later editions, as previously in the Complutensian. The verb used in Isidore Pelus, l. 1. Ep. 420, for animum advertere.

Jude, ver. 12. *With you*, Beza, 1565. Not in Stephens or Elzevir.

Rev. i. 11. Stephens omits, Beza has, *the seven*.

Rev. xvi. 5. Beza's later editions added, *and shalt be*.²

The passages in which our translation agrees with Stephens against Beza are, according to Mr. Scrivener, the following :

Mark xvi. 20. *Amen*, retained also by Matthæi, but rejected by Scholz and Tischendorf; found in the majority of the best uncials.

John xviii. 20. Beza here read πάντοθεν undique.

Acts iv. 27. Beza read *in hâc civitate*, after the Codex Bezae; a reading adopted by Scholz and Tischendorf because found also in A, B.

Acts xvi. 7. Beza has *the spirit of Jesus*, and so Scholz and Tischendorf, following A, B, D, E; but Matthæi, with G, H, does not admit it.

Acts xxv. 6. Our translators give Beza's reading, *no more than eight or ten days*, in the margin. This reading is also that of Scholz and Tischendorf, but rejected by Matthæi, who is supported by G, H, i. e. the Codex Angelicus and the Codex Mutinensis 196.

Rom. v. 17. Beza reads, *by one offence*, as in the margin, and so Tischendorf; but Scholz and Matthæi read with our version and B, C, K, L.

1 *Cor. iii. 3.* For ἐν ὑμῶν of Stephens we read in Beza

¹ Matthæi retains χαριν. It is here equivalent to χαρά.

² Matthæi does not admit *and shalt be*.

1589 and 1598 (supposed by some to be the standard of our authorized version) ἐν ἡμῖν, probably a misprint, for his version has *inter vos* as the authorized version.

1 Cor. x. 28. Beza, 1589 and 1598, omits καὶ before τὴν συνελθόντων.

2 Cor. iii. 14. ὁ, τι καταργεῖται, Stephens. *Which is done away*, Authorized Version. Beza has ὅτι, *Quoniam* evacuatur. But in an edition of the Latin Bible from Tremellius, Junius, and Beza, Amsterd. 1669, we have *quod*.

2 Cor. viii. 24. Our translators have *and* with Stephens, *and before the churches*, but omitted by Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf.

Gal. iv. 17. Our translators place Beza's reading *us* in the margin. It is not admitted by the recent critical editors.

Phil. i. 23. Beza reads, as do Scholz and Tischendorf, *for*; our version and Matthæi with Stephens, *which is far better*. The former follow (Scholz, inconsistently as he frequently adjudicates in these points,) A, B, C.

Col. i. 2. Beza has *in Christ Jesus*, following the Codex Bezae. Scholz, Matthæi, and Tischendorf alike preserve the *textus receptus*.

Titus ii. 7. Beza omits *sincerity*, ἀφθαρσίαν, as do likewise Scholz and Tischendorf. It is found in K, L.

Heb. x. 2. Beza's reading is put in the margin.

Rev. iv. 10. The verbs are given in the present tense.

It is the characteristic of our age that it thinks itself capable of doing everything, and every one who has a little knowledge puts his hand to his pen, and makes some complaint of the inferiority of the men and of the institutions of past ages. The Bible and the Liturgy have not escaped their share of criticism. Mr. Swainson has felt so deeply the shortcomings of our venerable translators, and is, with not a few other of our modern theologians, so well satisfied of his own superiority in comparison, that he, with a freedom not unusual indeed amongst his critical brethren, announces, "We can scarcely hope for much unity of sentiment between the educated and the uneducated members of the Christian body in England until that revision is accomplished."¹

¹ *The Creeds of the Church*, Appendix, p. 219. Camb. Macmillan, 1858.

So wretchedly, it appears, were the great mass of the people provided for in the reign of James I. by the utmost efforts of the most learned, pious, and conscientious divines of our Church, then entrusted with the great work of preparing the present Authorized Version! Such insinuations are as unjust as they are ungrateful. Neither do Mr. Swainson's criticisms, in the note whence this allegation of the unfitness of our version for the great body of its readers is taken, prove his right thus to sit in judgment upon this noble work. He begins with correcting our translators thus:

Gal. i. 8, 9. Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel than that which we *did* preach unto you, let him be accursed. As we have said before, so say I now again, if any one preach any other Gospel unto you than that *ye received*, &c. Strange that he should have omitted to insert *which—than that* which ye received. For in many other instances he appears to have made but little allowance for the then state of our language.

Then, "no one," p. 215, "can fail to see the difference between *the Holy Ghost is given to us* in *Rom. v. 5*, and *the Holy Ghost was given to us*." But our translators have not inaccurately represented St. Paul's intention, which was to speak of the effect of that gift as continuing. And so in *Rom. v. 2*, where he would read, *we have obtained access*, and in *ver. 5*, where he proposes, *the love of God has been shed abroad in our hearts*. And so he will have for *ye are become dead*, *Rom. vii. 4*, *ye did become deadened*.¹ The most able attempt

¹ Respecting the usage of our translators in regard of the Greek tenses, the point to which Mr. Swainson has directed his attacks, Mr. Scrivener excellently observes: "No two languages precisely agree in their mode of expressing the time of an action; and the Greek in particular is furnished with so extensive an apparatus for this purpose, that it is often hopeless to render its rich and varied forms into English or any modern tongue (encumbered as they are with the awkward system of auxiliary verbs), without entirely losing the concise energy of the original. Under these circumstances our wisest course would seem to be, not to press too closely those minute peculiarities of the Greek, which, however they may add to the perfect comprehension of the writer's spirit, are by no means essential to his sense: and on this principle the translators of our English Bible have for the most part acted."—*Introduction*, pp. 44, 45.

at a new translation is probably that of *the five clergymen*; but it has been laid open so effectually in the pages of the *Christian Remembrancer*, that the authors themselves would probably pause before they substituted, if they had the power, their own for our Authorized Version. Those who persevere in a demand for a new version, like many other theoretical reformers, little calculate upon the probable result of their success. Let them thus dismiss and cast away the richest treasure of their own rich language, and they will in vain look for the same tribute of veneration in the case of their own production. *Theirs* will be the signal for a thousand various versions, the signal for a still more fatal disunion than the Christian world has ever yet exhibited.

Mr. Scrivener modestly entitled his observations, *A Supplement to the Authorized English Version of the New Testament*. Let others who labour in the same field of sacred literature aim no higher; let them look upon themselves as *supplementing*, and merely supplementing, the labours of their predecessors, not as supplanting them. If they desire the stability of the faith and church of their country, let them cease to propose the greatest of all revolutions, the dislodging the Bible of two hundred years from the reading-desk and pulpit of the Church of England *from the rising of the sun unto the going down of the same*.

Never probably will the world enjoy another two such centuries, another such period, with its Milton, its Bacon, its Taylor, its Barrow, its Newton, its Dryden, its Pope, its Addison, its South, its Fuller, its Andrewes, its Field, and its Butler. They are for the most part altogether unrepresented in the present generation, which however, if it knew its own advantages, would rejoice that it still could peruse these same Scriptures which moulded their minds, and tended greatly to foster in not a few of them a simplicity and majesty of style not unworthy those sublime subjects to which they devoted their hallowed labours.

Mr. Scrivener's *Supplement* has as yet only reached to the end of St. Matthew. It is to be hoped that he will yet favour the world with more of his investigations in this way. Pro-

fessor Selwyn's edition of the late Professor Scholefield's *Hints for an Improved Translation of the New Testament* is of considerable value, far more sparing in its suggestions than sundry subsequent publications, and far more cautious in its spirit. For the study of the Greek Testament Professor Scholefield recommended a Grammar (in Latin) of the Greek of the New Testament, by John Charles Wilhelm Alt, Ph. D., Pastor of the Church of the Holy Ghost at Eisleben near Halle, published in that city in 1829.

Our translators, in their Address to the Reader, inform us that they not only consulted the translators or commentators, *Chaldee*, Hebrew, *Syrian*, *Greek*, and Latin, but also the Spanish, French, Italian, and Dutch, thereby meaning the German. A notice of all the European versions of the New Testament may be found in *Rumpæi Commentatio Critica ad Libros N. T.* ed. 2da. Lips. 1757, frequently called Carpzov's, who wrote the Preface.

As this memorable Preface is only found in our great Bibles, the reader is here presented with the answer of the translators themselves to the charge of not having *uniformly* translated the same words. "Truly, that we might not vary from the sense of that which we had translated before; if the word signified the same thing in both places (for there be some words that be not of the same sense everywhere), we were especially careful, and made a conscience, according to our duty. But that we should express the same notion in the same particular word; as for example, if we translate the Hebrew or Greek word once by *purpose*, never to call it *intent*; if one where *journeying*, never *travelling*; if one where *think*, never *suppose*; if one where *pain*, never *ache*; if one where *joy*, never *gladness*, &c.; thus to mince the matter, we thought to savour more of curiosity than wisdom, and that rather it would breed scorn in the atheist, than bring profit to the godly reader. For is the kingdom of God become words or syllables? Why should we be in bondage to them if we may be free? use one precisely, when we may use another no less fit or commodiously? A godly Father in the primitive time shewed himself greatly moved that one of new-fangledness, called

κράββατον [a bed] σκίμπους, though the difference be little or none.¹ And another² reporteth that he was much abused for turning *cucurbita* (to which reading the people had been used) into *hedera*. Now if this happen in better times, and upon so small occasions, we might justly fear hard censure, if generally we should make verbal and unnecessary changings. We might also be charged (by scoffers) with some unequal dealing towards a great number of good *English* words. For as it is written of a certain great philosopher, that he should say, that those logs were happy that were made images to be worshipped, for their fellows, as good as they, lay for blocks behind the fire: so if we should say, as it were, unto certain words, Stand up higher; have a place in the Bible always; and to others of like quality, Get ye hence, be banished for ever; we might be taxed peradventure with S. James his words, namely, *to be partial in ourselves*, and judges of evil thoughts. Add hereunto, that niceness in words was always counted the next step to trifling; and so was, to be curious about names too: also that we cannot follow a better pattern for elocution than God himself; therefore he using divers words in his Holy Writ, and indifferently for one thing in nature: we, if we will not be superstitious, may use the same liberty in our English versions out of Hebrew and Greek, for that copy or store that he hath given us."

"The marginal references are much more numerous in King James's Bible than in the earlier translations. In the New Testament alone we meet with 855 marginal annotations, whereof 724 are found in the first edition of 1611; the rest (including 20 explanations of coins, measures, &c.) having been subsequently added by various hands, chiefly by Dr. Blayney in the Oxford editions of 1769. Of the original marginal notes about 18 point out various readings of the Greek text: (*Matt.* i. 11; vii. 14; xxvi. 26: *Mark* ix. 16: *Luke* ii. 38; x. 22; xvii. 36: *Acts* xxv. 6: 1 *Cor.* xv. 31: *Gal.* iv. 17: *Eph.* vi. 9, a reading adopted by Tischendorf: *James* ii. 18: 1 *Pet.* i. 4; ii. 21: 2 *Pet.* ii. 2, the reading of

¹ *Nicoph. Callist.* l. viii. c. 42.

² St. Jerome in 4 *Jonæ*. See S. Augustin. *Ep.* 10.

Matthæi, Scholz, and Tischendorf: 2 *Pet.* ii. 11; 2 *Pet.* ii. 18, the reading of Scholz and Tischendorf: 2 *Joh.* ver. 8, the reading of Tischendorf). Much the greater part present a different reading of a single word, or propose a change in the construction of a clause; the sense given in the margin being often, though not I think for the most part, superior to that in the text. Some may be interesting to an English reader as affording specimens of Greek or Hebrew idioms, (*Luke* xii. 20: *Acts* vii. 20; xviii. 11: *Rom.* vi. 13: *Col.* i. 13: *Rev.* xi. 13); while a few, no doubt, are sufficiently trifling, (*Joh.* xix. 25: 1 *Cor.* v. 8: 1 *Thess.* v. 11: *Tit.* iii. 6). Of the unauthorized additions to the margin of the New Testament I cannot speak quite so favourably. Here again several relate to the various readings of the Greek: *Matt.* vi. 1; x. 10: *Acts* xiii. 18: *Eph.* ii. 5: *Heb.* x. 2, 17: *James* iv. 2: 2 *Joh.*, ver. 12: *Rev.* xv. 3; xxi. 7; xxii. 19. (To these may be added the frivolous variation *Beelzebub* for *Beelzebub* thrice repeated, *Matt.* x. 25; xii. 24: *Luke* xi. 15;) and so far may be deemed useful. The greater part, however, are either totally erroneous (*Acts* xv. 5: 1 *Cor.* iv. 9: 2 *Pet.* i. first note), or very idle (*Matt.* xxi. 19; xxii. 26: *Mark* vii. 22: *Acts* viii. 13; xvi. 13; xxvi. 7: *Gal.* iv. 24: *Eph.* vi. 12, &c.), or explain peculiar phrases with unnecessary minuteness (*Matt.* xiv. 6: *Luke* ii. 15: *Joh.* xi. 33: 2 *Joh.* ver. 3. In some places, however, this latter margin is undoubtedly correct (*Matt.* xviii. 19: *Luke* xviii. 2: *Acts* xiii. 34; xviii. 5, 28: *Rom.* v. 11: 2 *Pet.* i. second note), and in several others it should not be rejected without further inquiry (*Mark* xi. 17: *Luke* xxi. 8: *Acts* ii. 6: *Heb.* i. 6, 7), though on the whole I do not conceive that the additional notes have much enhanced the value of our excellent translation.”¹

About 1833 a pamphlet was put forth in the form of *Four Letters to the Bishop of London*, arraigning in no measured terms the conduct of the privileged publishers of the English Bible, whom it accused of wilfully departing from the original edition of 1611 in numerous important

¹ The Rev. F. H. Scrivener's *Introduction*, pp. 58, 59.

instances. The author soon after obtained and made public the sanction of a sub-committee of four dissenting ministers in London with regard to a portion of this charge. They appear to have lent their names in inexcusable ignorance to this abortive attempt—an attempt as malevolent as it was unfounded. In behalf of the University of Oxford Dr. Cardwell replied by a statement in the third volume of the *British Magazine*.¹ In regard of the *italics* as printed in our present Bibles, the Bishop of Ely, then Dean of Peterborough, most amply vindicated the italics as they at present stand, and as they were corrected in 1638, the Bible of 1611 having in this respect been printed in a very faulty state.

The hitherto partial spirit in which the history of the Greek text upon which our authorized version of the New Testament is grounded has been hitherto treated of, and the interest that must ever be attached to that version itself, will I trust prove an adequate apology for this supplementary chapter. It will not have been without its use, should it tend in some measure to enhance in the eyes of its readers the value of the Authorized Version, and to excite in them a desire to follow up for themselves the many various questions that are comprehended in this branch of sacred criticism.

¹ pp. 323—347.

CHAPTER XIV.

Easter 1612—Andrewes a Governor of the Charterhouse—His speech concerning Vows—His Whitsunday sermon—Ordination at Downham—His 5th of November sermon—And on Christmas-day—Casaubon's Answer to Cardinal Perron—Dr. Collins.

WE find Casaubon again with Andrewes on the 3rd of February, 1612, in company with Overall, the only two Englishmen with whom he says in his diary he was on terms of intimacy.

On Maundy Thursday, April 9th, he dined at Ely House, Holborn, with our prelate. He after dinner was present with his wife at the washing of the feet of some poor men, *quæ fit*, he says, *in hac ecclesiâ egregie*. In 1639 Charles is said to have kept this day at York, where Wren, Bishop of Ely, washed the feet of thirty-nine poor old men in warm water, and dried them with a linen cloth. Afterwards Curle, Bishop of Winchester, washed them over again in white wine, wiped, and kissed them.¹

Our prelate, on April 12, Easter-day, 1612, preached before King James at Whitehall Chapel, from 1 *Cor.* v. 7, 8, on the Christian Passover, deriving from this place the Easter festival. He cites 2 *Sam.* xii. 13, according to the Vulgate, *The Lord hath transferred, or passed over thy sins*, that is, to another: and so the Septuagint. The death of the firstborn passed over to the Lamb. Our souls are dearer to us than our firstborn, and both our sin and curse pass over from us to Christ.

Drake's *Eboracum*, p. 137, as quoted in *Hierurgia Anglic.* p. 334.

The Passover was both sacrificed and eaten. But in rigour of speech neither the Passover nor the Eucharist is a sacrifice; there is in the latter *no immolation*.¹

And here Bishop Andrewes speaks explicitly against the real presence of the present *Via Media*. He denies all eating of Christ's glorified body. *Let us keep the feast* he refers to the participation of Christ, not as glorified but as suffering. "He, as at the very act of his offering, is made present to us, and we incorporate *into his death*, and invested in the benefit of it. If an host could be turned into him now glorified as he is, it would not serve. *Christ offered is it*. Thither we must look. To the serpent lift up, thither we must repair, even *ad cadaver*" [to the dead body]. Thus a spiritual, not a real corporeal presence was the doctrine of Bishop Andrewes. Nothing can be more severe than his allusion to the mass; he calls it *Anti-Christ's goat*.² Nor can this surprise us when we reflect that he regarded that service as idolatrous, and therefore antichristian.

Our prelate was appointed one of the first governors of the Charterhouse, and one of the overseers of the founder's will, in which capacity he attended his funeral in the chapel of the Charterhouse May 28th. He also addressed a letter to Sutton's executors, directing them to pay the sum of £10,000 for the repair of Berwick-bridge, in fulfilment of the provisions

¹ "There must be actually somewhat *done to celebrate this memory*, that done to the holy symbols that was done to him, to his body and his blood in the Passover: break the one, pour out the other, to represent how his sacred body was broken, and how his precious blood was shed. And in *corpus fractum*" [the body broken] "and *sanguis fusus*" [the blood shed] "there is *immolatus*" [he was sacrificed]. "This is it in the Eucharist that answereth to the sacrifice in the Passover: the memorial to the figure. To them it was, *Hoc facite in mei præfigurationem*, do this in *prefiguration* of me; to us it is, *Do this in commemoration of me*. To them, *prænuntiare*" [to foretell]; "to us, *annuntiare*" [to announce]: "there is the difference. By the same rule that theirs was, by the same may ours be termed a *sacrifice*. In rigour of speech neither of them, for to speak after the exact manner of divinity, there is but one only sacrifice, *veri nominis*, properly so called: that is Christ's death. And that sacrifice but once actually performed, at his death; but ever before represented in *figure* from the beginning, and ever since represented in *memory* to the world's end."—p. 453.

² "*Anti-Christ's goat may be so eaten; the lamb Christ cannot.*"

of his will, which directed a certain sum to be applied to charitable uses.¹ Thomas Sutton, Esq., the founder, was born at Knaith, near Gainsborough in Lincolnshire. About seven years before his death he purchased the manor of Castle Camps in Cambridgeshire, and resided there, and left it with the advowson of the living to the Charterhouse. Dr. Nicholas Grey, the first Master of the Charterhouse, was appointed to the rectory. It is at present held by the Rev. George Pearson, B.D., who after having taken his degree at Emmanuel College was chosen to a fellowship at St. John's, and was made Christian Advocate in 1834.

In the Trinity term 1612 he delivered his speech in the Star Chamber concerning vows, in the Countess of Shrewsbury's case. Elizabeth Cavendish, Countess of Shrewsbury, was sent to the town on a charge of having been adviser to Arabella Stuart, to whom she was aunt. She answered every question that related to herself only, but begged to be excused answering to anything that could implicate her unfortunate relative. The King ordered her to appear before certain commissioners, who fined her to the amount of £20,000, and moreover condemned her to discretionary imprisonment. The Countess pleaded that she had made a vow not to answer. Our prelate maintained its unlawfulness. A lawful vow he defined 'a deliberate promise to God made of something acceptable to him.' The Countess had vowed thus, said Bishop Andrewes, 'O Lord, I promise thee that being never so lawfully examined, I will not answer,' but 'if all should make the like, not to answer any, then were justice quite overthrown and could not proceed. The overthrow of justice can be no matter of vow.' Such examination as that in question was warranted by the law of God in *Deut.* xiii. 14, and xvii. 4. Again, God's own practice was designed as a pattern to judges. He asked Adam of his sin in Paradise. Herod and Jephtha both vowed unlawfully. A vow ought not to be indefinite. David vowed the like, to be the death of Nabal; but upon better advice (being put in mind by Abigail, it would be no scruple nor

¹ See Bearewell's *History of the Charterhouse*, pp. 46, 102, 118—120.

upbraiding to his conscience if he shed no blood, and so kept not his heady vow) he did not keep it.

He concludes, in the quaint manner of the age, with an assurance that the Countess may safely vow never to make any such vow more.¹

Upon May 31 he took his turn at the chapel on Whitsunday, and preached from *Acts* xix. 1—3, upon the divinity of the Holy Ghost, against the Socinians who were about that time agitating their controversies in this country. Excellent are his remarks upon the true Christian motives in distinction from the merely political, moral, and philosophical. Whatsoever is done from a selfish end, and from no higher, is not religiously done, but only that of which God is the centre, which is done to his glory, and not for our own. but for his name. He quotes *Isa.* xxvi. 18, according to the Septuagint, and *Psa.* li. 10 as it stands, not in the text but in the margin of our authorized version, '*constant.*' The great impediments to the coming of the Holy Spirit to us he sums up thus—pride, lust, and malice, that is, every form of uncharitableness.

To invite the Spirit to us, he exhorts to the frequenting of the sanctuary, to prayer, to the preached word and meditation upon it, and to the sacraments. Of the Word he saith, "The Holy Ghost is Christ's Spirit, and Christ is the Word. And of that Word, the Word that is preached to us is an abstract. There must needs then be a nearness and alliance between the one and the other. And indeed (but by our default) the Word and the Spirit, saith Esay, shall never fail nor ever part, but one be received when the other is."

We find our prelate, at his palace at Downham on the 27th July, writing as follows to Sir Thomas Lake :

"SIR,—Since my coming hither to Downham I have received information from Mr. D. Felton, that the Bishop of Chichester, waxing weary of his mastership of Pembroke Hall, intendeth very shortly to make it over to one who, save that he hath for(e)bid his turn (a man may say it in charity),

¹ See Bishop Andrewes's *Posthumous Works*, pp. 79—87. Lond. 1629, 4to. Hallam's *Constit. Hist.* i. p. 480. Howell's *State Trials*, ii. p. 769. Lingard's *Hist. of England*, ix. p. 101. *Truth brought to Light*, p. 70.

that many years hath (and this year especially) shewed himself unworthy of such a place; one Muriell, concerning whom the Sub-Almoner can very well inform you. I wish the House well, as I am bound. I know that wish well to D. Felton. And his Majesty hath freely been pleased to signify his good liking of him, and to wish him some preferment, and even this place itself (if it like you to remember so much), upon some occasion heretofore in this kind. The better sort of Fellows do wish for him, and, as now it standeth, I might say, the greater. But it is certainly intended by the Bishop to make an election of fellowships before he gives over, that shall be brought in only on condition to give their voice afterward as he shall appoint them. I write you for no end but only to set you about good works. And a blessed deed would you do if you shall help the College (hitherto of good report) and a worthy Master, such as I hope D. Felton would be; which otherwise is like even to sink and come to nothing if it light not in the better hands. Sir, I desire you for his sake, for mine, but specially for the College's, to add this to the number of the rest of your good deeds, and prevent this evil, and be a means that a good House may have a good head, which I much desire, because then I shall be in hope once more to see that College, which otherwise I am not like. I prescribe nothing, neither doth it become me: but if his Majesty please to interpose his authority or commendation, there is conceived good hope, which in what sort it may best be, none can better devise than yourself, to whom therefore I leave it; this being my desire that it may appear I have not been wanting to my motion for the good of that poor College. You shall, as for many others, so for this, look for your reward at the hand of God, to whose blessed keeping now and ever I commend you. From Downham in the Isle of Ely, the 25th July, 1612, where I yet am in expectation that now Games' I shall see you and my Lady. Utinam.

"Yours ever to my power,

"Very assured,

"L. ELIENSIS."

Written at Ely, between Great Stangroom and Buckden in Huntingdonshire.
See Appendix.

Thomas Muriel was B.A. and M.A. 1592, Senior Proctor 1611, Archdeacon of Norfolk 30 August 1623, Rector of Hildersham and Vicar of Soham. He died at Hildersham, 1629.¹ Harsnet preferred him to his Archdeaconry.

Sir Thomas Lake, "who was born at Southampton, was bred a scholar (under Hadrian Saravia), and afterwards was taken into the service (in condition of an amanuensis) of Sir Francis Walsingham, Secretary of State, by whom being commended to Queen Elizabeth, he read to her French and Latin. A little before her death she made him Clerk of her Signet, and after her death he was chosen by this state into that place to attend King James I. from Berwick, who afterwards made use of his present service in some French affairs, and conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. After Sir Robert Cecil's time the place of secretary was joined in two principals; and not long after he was one of them, and so continued with honorable esteem of all men, until that malice and revenge, two violent passions overruling the weaker sex, concerning his wife and daughter, involved him into their quarrel, the chief and only cause of his ruin."²

In August Bishop Andrewes was attacked with an aguish fever, from being in the open air too late in the evening. To this illness Isaacson, his first biographer, alludes where he says, "He was not often sick, and but once till his last sickness in thirty years before the time he died, which was at Downham in the Isle of Ely, the air of that place not agreeing with the constitution of his body. But there he seemed to be prepared for his dissolution, saying oftentimes in that sickness, *It must come once, and why not here?* And at other times before and since he would say, *The days must come when, whether we will or nill, we shall say with the Preacher, I have no pleasure in them.*" To this illness Andrewes himself alludes in his Latin letters to Isaac Casaubon, dated the Vigil of St. Bartholomew, i. e. August 23rd, and the Nativity of the Virgin, September 8th.³

¹ Loder's *Framlingham*, p. 241.

² Wood's *Fasti Oxon.* i. 769.

³ Casauboni *Ephemerides*, pp. 1203—1205. From Burney MSS. numbered 363, 15, and 365, 16. Andrewes' *Works*, vol. xi. pp. xlii.—xlv. Oxf. 1854.

In the first Andrewes invites Casaubon to come with his wife and revive his spirits, and exchange the great heat of the metropolis for the cooler air of Downham. He cannot forego a pun, a semi-double pun upon this subject, *Nam Dunamiæ mira caloris ἀδυναμία, nec æstus, quod sciam, ullus æstate hæc totâ.* He then refers, for a proof of his comparison, to his illness occasioned by too late exposure to the evening air. He urges him to devote his principal attention to his *Exercitationes in Baronium*, and to pass over the tribe of inferior writers whom Rome had, as the Bishop observes, *jesuitically* set on him to draw him off from his great work against Baronius. He alludes by name to Erycius Puteanus, who, as the editor of the eleventh volume of our prelate's works observes in a note, had just published his *Stricturæ in Casaubonum*. He makes no very favourable mention of Peter de Moulin, and speak of his sirenlike influence with the King. He condemns the controversy then in agitation, as likely to lead to nothing but the introduction of new distinctions in the language of theology.¹ I would rather, he adds, two or three lines from antiquity than as many books of these men, which savour of nothing but the love of novelty. He then expresses his hope that the King may not intermeddle with these disputes, which in his opinion threatened to break out into a disease. He concludes with a cordial invitation to Casaubon to come now and see on his way Stourbridge Fair, the most celebrated in all England; or, if that will not induce him, the Hebrew copy of St. Matthew in the library of Corpus Christi College. He holds out to him the enjoyments of the country, the trial of his skill in deer-shooting, and promises to detain him but a few days.

In his second letter, also from Downham, he expresses his regret that Casaubon could not accede to his request, and says, "I shall owe to London what I cannot have at Downham." He again urges him respecting his work against Baronius, and again advises him not to lose too much time amidst chronological questions of only secondary importance. He alludes to Richard Thompson of Clare Hall, and to his being

¹ *Litem ipsam, quod attinet, desipiam, si quid in eâ videam nisi καυοφάρλας.*

proctor that year; Thompsonus valet, et novum magistratum meditatur, in eoque totus est. He was in the same company with Andrewes as one of the translators of the Bible. He was intimate with Casaubon. Peter du Moulin, a French refugee on account of religion, was collated by Archbishop Abbot to the fourth stall at Canterbury in 1615.

On September 20th Andrewes ordained the following deacons in the chapel of the Palace at Downham :

Theodore Bathurst, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke Hall.

Alexander Bolde, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke Hall.

Walter Balcanqual, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Dean of Rochester 8th March, 1625, and of Durham May 13, 1639. He was sent by the King to the Synod of Dort, died on Christmas-day 1645, and was buried at Chirk in Denbighshire.

Bathurst was B.A. 1606, M.A. 1608, B.D. 1615, D.D. 1620. Bolde was B.A. 1607, M.A. 1610, and B.D. 1618; chosen Fellow of Pembroke Hall 1610. Balcanqual was B.D. 1616, D.D. 1620. His *supplicat* for B.D. says, "7 years after M.A.," but no record exists of his B.A. or M.A. degree.

John Martin, Queens' College, Cambridge, B.A. 1609, M.A. 1612.

On November 5 the King and Queen were absent from the chapel at Whitehall on account of the illness of Prince Henry.¹ Our prelate discoursed excellently, but not without some quaintnesses, from *Lam.* iii. 22, *It is the Lord's mercies that we are not consumed, because his compassions fail not.* With no small skill does he by comparison illustrate the greatness of this our national deliverance. He makes numerous allusions to the history of the plot, allusions such as may for ever set at rest the artful misrepresentations which the Jesuits of former and of the present time have invented to palliate this truly Romish atrocity. Thus he reminds his audience that the conspirators were "bound" by oath, bound secondly "by their *sacrament of penance*. Thither they went in an error, as if it had been some fault; but they found more than they went for: went *for absolution*, received a flat *resolution*. It was not

¹ Nicholls' *Royal Progresses of James I.*, vol. ii. p. 502.

only no sin, but would serve to expiate their other sins; and not only expiate their sins, but heap also upon them an increase of merit. In effect, that our *consumption* would become their *consummation*. Bound last with the *sacrament of the altar*, and so made as sure as their *Maker* could make it."

Andrewes attributes the unriddling of the celebrated letter, to the King under the special guidance of God.

On the following day, November the 6th, between seven and eight in the evening, Prince Henry died of an epidemic fever.

On December 7th Bishop Andrewes was present at the funeral of the Prince at Westminster Abbey. Archbishop Abbot preached the funeral sermon from *Psa. lxxxii. 6, 7: I have said ye are gods; and all of you are children of the Most High. But ye shall die like men, and fall like one of the princes.*

We find Andrewes preaching again at Whitehall on Christmas-day from the Epistle for the day, and most christianly setting forth the condescension of the Son of God in visiting our world, "as if a great prince should go into an hospital to visit and look on a foul diseased creature."

Towards the end of this year appeared Casaubon's *Answer to Cardinal Perron*. It was published in Latin, in quarto, by John Norton, 1612, either in November or December. This was a further exposition of his Majesty's faith, in answer to the Cardinal who had withheld from him the name of *Catholic*. The King professes to believe one Catholic Church made up of many communions. He maintains an unity of faith and doctrine, of charity and hope; but if any depart from the integrity of Christian doctrine, he leaves Christ. From such the Scriptures bid us depart. Cardinal Perron had quoted largely from St. Austin. The King replies that the Church is much changed from what it was in St. Augustine's days. Then there was an unity of faith by which error could be easily detected. But after the division of the empire the Church itself also was divided. The King affirms that to be doctrine necessary to salvation which is drawn from the fountain of the

Scriptures through the channel of the consent of the ancient Church. Our Church has succession both of persons and doctrines. The Church of England would willingly prove before any free Council that her intent in the Reformation was to restore the primitive model. We have departed from the innovations of Rome, but not from the old Catholic Church. We had a long time borne an intolerable yoke of exactions *which alone would have justified separation*; and the Church of Rome had used against us both secret and open violence, and received in her bosom and still cherished the most manifest traitors and called them martyrs, and contended for their innocence daily against all laws human and divine. The King notices Bellarmine's personal favours to the conspirators, as indeed has been already observed.

The King animadverts upon the addition of auricular confession to the essentials of religion, and upon the enforcement of celibacy, and traces the self-flagellation of the more religious members of the Church of Rome to the custom of the priests of Baal. He maintains the distinction of essentials and non-essentials, and points out agreement in the few points that are truly essential as the only way to unity. Those, he says, are simply necessary which the Word of God expressly commands to be believed, or which the ancient Church has elicited by necessary consequence from the Word of God.

The King highly commends unforced and voluntary celibacy, and here fails not to express his detestation of the doctrine advanced by some of the Romish jurists and theologians, that concubinage and fornication are more tolerable in a priest than marriage. The King had often said that, for his part, he would never have dissolved monasteries if he had found them faithfully abiding by their proper regulations.

With respect to what should be considered primitive antiquity, the King is willing to have the first five centuries after the Christian era so regarded, and the rule of Vincent of Lerins admitted. But with respect to all appeals to antiquity, his Majesty will nevertheless have the Scriptures to be the sole foundation of faith, and only source from which things necessary to salvation are to be drawn. The Fathers

he admits in the next order as expositors of what is in the Scriptures, not as propounders of independent articles of belief.

Upon the Real Presence the authority of Bishop Andrewes (before alluded to) in his second work against Bellarmine is adduced as declaration of his Majesty's faith. Concerning the sacrifice of the mass there is no proper sacrifice; the Eucharist is, as St. Chrysostom explains in his *Homilies on the Epistle to the Hebrews*, not a sacrifice, but a commemoration of one.

Touching prayers for the dead, praying for the rest and peace of the departed was an early practice. This the King confesses. So the ancient Church signified its belief in the resurrection. "But although the English Church," adds the King, "does not condemn this observance in the former ages, it does not conceive itself bound now to retain it, and that for many and most special causes: first, because it is persuaded that *the custom began without any precept from Christ*. Again, *it cannot be proved to have been as old as the Apostles*. Neither were they such prayers as are now offered for the dead. Lastly, the custom soon introduced superstition."

Of invocation of saints the King observes, that men have been brought to repose more on the saints than in Christ, and to fear to comply with his call, but first they must go to his holy mother. So, instead of the Psalms men used the *Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary*, and the *Legends*. Here his Majesty takes occasion to condemn the *Psalter of the Virgin*. The King firmly believes that the saints pray for us, but that the practice of the Church of Rome in the point of invocation is the *highest impiety*. The worship of saints the King dates from the fourth century. His Majesty then in conclusion, having answered Perron, objects to him and his communion, the saying the divine service in an unknown tongue, the half-communion, solitary masses, and the worship of images. Under the first head he notices the opposition of the Romish Church to the translation of the Scriptures, the trouble into which Benedict Renatus was brought by his labours in that way, and the confession of the Douay translators that they

undertook their version, being forced by the importunity of heretics.

Such is the King's answer to Perron, prepared indeed probably in the preceding year, but delayed until the latter end of 1612. It does not profess to enter upon the whole or even upon the greater part of the Romish controversy. It is full of deference to Christian antiquity, but that deference is bounded by the true Protestant principle, that the Holy Scriptures are the sole foundation of faith, and it is broadly admitted that corruption of doctrine justifies departure from the communion to which we might have before belonged.

Towards the end of this year appeared *Increpatio Andreæ Eudæmono-Johannis Jesuitæ, de infami Parallelo, et renovata assertio Torturæ Torti, pro clarissimo Domino atque antistite Eliensi. Auctore Samuele Collino, Etonensi, S. Theol. Doctore, Reverendissimo Patri ac Domino Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi à Sacris. Excudebat Cantrellus Legge, inclytæ Academiæ Cantabrigiæ Typographus. Anno Salutis 1612.*

The *Parallelus* of Eudæmon Johannes (L'Heureux) has on the title-page this motto:

Cypr. l. ii. Epist. 6, ad Martyres.
Steterunt Torti Torquentibus fortiores.

It is written in a virulent and abusive spirit. Its allegations from history are minutely examined and exposed with that combination of vivacity and learning for which Dr. Collins was distinguished.

Dr. Collins maintained indeed, as Jewel had done before, that Augustine was himself implicated in the destruction of the British monks, as having counselled the war against them. He observes that if even this is disclaimed, it is admitted that as a prophet he foretold their massacre with approbation. This cannot be denied, unless we conjecture that the prediction was but one of the many legends which Venerable Bede credulously inserted in his Church History. It appears that the reading now followed had been altered in some MSS. to soften down the bitterness of spirit implied in this account of Augustine. *Ab hostibus* was read by some, by others

ab eisdem, which Dr. Collins gives as the reading of two MSS. in the library of Balliol College. The recent editor of Bede, the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, Vicar of Leighton Buzzard, gives A.D. 613 as the year of the massacre of the monks, upon the authority of the *Annals of Munster*, according to Ussher.¹

Collins in his preface expatiates on the excellencies of his patron Archbishop Abbot, and bears testimony to his having reconciled many of the opposite party to episcopacy. He describes his course as one of fidelity and integrity in every diocese to which he had been promoted, and speaks of his popularity as having been earned without descending to any base expedients. He justifies the commendation of his sovereign, who said of Abbot that it had not repented him that he had made that man. It would indeed have been better for James had he always retained the same regard for the Archbishop, or rather had his regard been more consistent.

Most of the works of L'Heureux are in the University Library, Cambridge. They are :

I. *Disputationes contra Sophismata Roberti Abbatis Oxoniensis de Anti-Christo. Lib. iii. Ingoldstadt, quarto, 1609.*

II. *Ad Actionem proditoriam Edwardi Coqui Apologia pro Henrico Garneto Jesuitâ. Colon. Agripp. 8vo. 1610.*

III. *Confutatio Anticotoni. Quâ respondetur calumniis occasione cædis Christianissimi Regis Franciæ, et sententiæ Marianæ, ab anonymo quodam in P. Cottonum et socios ejus congestis. Moguntiæ, 1611.*

IV. *Castigatio eorum quæ Danæus scripsit contra Bellarmini Controversias. Ingoldstadt, 1605, quarto.* Danæus was Lambert Daneau, an eminent French Protestant divine, born at Orleans about 1530. He died at Castres to the east of Toulouse, in 1596. His *Responsio ad Bellarmini Disputationes Theologicas de rebus in Religione controversis* was published at Geneva in octavo, 1596–1598.

V. *Castigatio Apocalypsis Apocalypseos Thom. Brightmanni Angli. Colon. 1611.*

VI. *Parallelus Torti et Tortoris ejus Cicestriensis: seu*

¹ *Ven. Bede*, p. 359. Seeleys, 1853.

Responsio ad Torturam Torti pro Rob. Bellarmino. Colon. Agripp. 1611.

VII. *Epistola Monitoria ad Joh. Barclaium de Libro ab eo pro patre suo contra Bellarminum scripto. Colon. Agripp. octavo. 1613.*

VIII. *Responsio ad Capita quatuor primæ Exercitationis Isaaci Casauboni, et ad Antilogiam Roberti Abbatis adversus Apologiam R. Garneti. Colon. 1615.*

IX. *Epistola ad amicum Gallum super Dissertatione Politicâ Leidhresseri, et Respons. ad Epistolam Is. Casauboni, 1613. Col. Agripp.*

X. *Admonitio ad Lectores Librorum M. Anto. de Dominis. Colon. Agripp. octavo, 1619.*

¹ See further Nathanael Southwell's memoirs of Jesuit authors, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu. Opus inchoatum à R. P. Petro Ribadeneira et productum ad annum 1609: Continuum à Philippo Alegambe ad an. 1643: recognitum et productum ad an. 1675 à Nathanaele Sotwello (Southwell). Rom. 1676, fol.*

CHAPTER IV.

*Continued—James Esq.—Andrewes's Impressions of the Churches of
 England and Rome—Translation of the Bible—The new Sacra-
 ment—The Fall of the House of Stuart—Especially Sermon
 1614—The Church's Separation—The Fall of the Commonwealth—Of
 the Irish mission—The French—Andrewes's Epigrams—
 Andrewes's Sermon on the new Translation.*

ON the first Sunday of the new year 1612 we find
 Andrewes amongst those who received new-year's gifts from
 the King, which he was made the following Tuesday the
 21st January. He was also with the King upon the following
 Sunday, the 28th. On Saturday the 29th he saw the back of
 Andrewes's Epistle to James I. He wrote against him "a
 book" he wrote "sermons by W. Andrewes." On Sunday the
 1st of February he was again with the King. On Tuesday
 he was at a great supper being invited to dine with a friend
 in his own parlour. From this supper he was sent the
 next day, which his papers were retained by him. On this
 Tuesday he was with the King. On Sunday the 7th
 February he received the first communion at the French
 Church, which he did not do again till 1613. The day following
 the 8th of Feb. he was with the King. On the 10th he was present
 at the first service of the new Translation of the Bible at the
 house of the Lord Bishop of London, which was a service of which
 he was not a spectator at the following day Sunday the 11th.
 He was again with the King on Sunday the 18th.

On the 22nd Feb. he was appointed to be preaching a sermon

upon the holy Eucharist and on transubstantiation, which was to have been inserted into his *Exercitationes in Baronium*.¹ Upon the various subjects connected with the doctrine of the Eucharist his mind appears from his diary to have been still in an unsettled state. He seems to have imagined that the doctrine of the Fathers considerably differed both from the transubstantiation of the Church of Rome and from the several systems of the Reformed Churches. The probability is that he had never devoted his time so uninterruptedly to the study of theology, as to have had the opportunity of tranquilly considering the whole controversy in all its length and breadth. Of the Fathers he seems never to have made himself at home with St. Augustine. He was a more constant student of St. Chrysostom, an admirer of St. Basil's Epistles, and read in Theodoret. His diary² contains remarks upon St. Ambrose on certain of the Psalms. He commends the treatise of Augustine, *De utilitate credendi*. Dr. Morton, Dean of Winchester, afterwards raised to the see of Durham, cautioned Casaubon on one occasion of the injury he might bring upon himself by his freedom of speech respecting the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.³ Some on this account suspected that he held with Rome, others with Luther. Montague, Bishop of Bath and Wells, had animadverted upon his conversation. However, his mind does not appear to have been thoroughly convinced at any time upon this subject. Thus toward the end of 1613, within a year of his death, he notes in his diary, "To-day I read the Dialogue of Ecolampadius on the Sacrament of the Eucharist, and admired his learning and expertness in the Greek Fathers. I would by no means have missed reading it. Thanks to the Lord Jesus. Amen." He moreover was anxious that his son Meric should not disown the Reformed French Church, but communicate as well with that as with the Church of England.⁴ He was, notwithstanding some manifest waverings even after his coming to England, attached to the cause of the Reformation, and

¹ "Post ejus obitum quid de eo libro actum sit, aut à quo surreptum, nondum resciri potuit."—*M. Casauboni Is. F. Pieters*, p. 78.

² pp. 882—885.

³ *Ephemerides*, vol. ii. p. 818.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 1061.

especially to the Church of England. But his reverence for patristic learning alienated him from Du Moulin and many of the French Protestants. He was too ready to magnify the obscurity of Scripture, and gathered rather too precipitately from Cyprian and Tertullian, that which did not exist in their days, auricular confession.¹ In short, he addicted himself to no system.

On the 24th February 1613 we find Bishop Andrewes thus addressing the Right Hon. Sir Dudley Carleton, then Ambassador at Venice.

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,—The speech which hath passed between Mr. Chamberlain and me was but matter of ordinary talk, such as might very well have received satisfaction on my part without this trouble of your Lordship. But since it hath liked your Lordship to vouchsafe it so much pains, I cannot but be glad, for by this means I am honoured by letter from you. As it falleth out when new things happen (such as this was) enquiry is made into the occasions of them. Howbeit, of this partie I think no man, surely myself never made the reckoning, as I hold it, for any great matter, whether it were won or lost. There be some other there where your Lordship is, whom I hold for other manner" [of] "men, of whom I would have been glad seriously to have understood the causes if I had been so happy as to have had speech with the gentleman your Lordship's Secretary more than once, or yet with Mr. Chamberlain, whom I see nothing so often as my desire is. And as for that he hath lately written, I think it will not be thought much ever to see the light, inasmuch upon some matter as they use to term it. The revising of the Council of Trent were a matter of much better consequence being performed as it is hoped, there to be. God certainly, and so man's reason under him, Powers must take up this business and by other means than by the pen. Wherefore I hope shall be Ambassador he that shall be the minister and answerer hereunto. My Lord, the less I write I am the more contented to thank you for your honorable and kind letters. I thank great courtesy of your Secretary's hands."

with all due respect. But the times will require much attendance, and he, I know, will be loth to omit any that may the leastwise hinder the affairs in his trust. Were mine ability higher ought,¹ or of any moment, I would most willingly offer it to be disposed by your Lordship; and such as it is, I do offer it, if it may be in any ways fit to be used by you. Praying your Lordship to accept these poor lines in pledge thereof, I so, with my very loving remembrance, commend you to the blessed keeping of God, who send you that honor and reputation that is meet there, and that happie return hither which you desire.

“At my house in London,

“24 Feb. 1648. styl. Anglic.

“Your Lordship’s

“Ever very assured,

“L. ELIE.”

On Thursday the 12th of March Casaubon called on the French Ambassador, Bishop Andrewes, and others.

On the 20th he was agreeably occupied with the reading of Pacian.²

On the 23rd March he was invited by the Prince, the son of the Margrave of Baden, and was afterwards detained for some time from his studies in most agreeable conversation with Grotius.

The 1st of April Casaubon was in consultation with Andrewes.

On the 4th April, and not on the 8th (as it is by a mistake in the folio edition), being Easter-day, Bishop Andrewes preached excellently before the Court at Whitehall from the Epistle for the day, *Col.* iii. 2, upon the spiritual resurrection that must, in this life, precede the resurrection of the body. We must cry to him who rose this day to draw us after him, and not leave us still in our graves of sin. The soul must first rise, and then draw the flesh upward with it. “For, as well observeth Chrysostom, these two were not thus joined (the *spirit* and the *flesh* I mean) that the flesh should

¹ i. e. any higher.

² *Epistola ad Sempronianum contra Novatianos.*

pull down the *spirit* to earth, but that the *spirit* should exalt the flesh to heaven."¹

He reminds his courtly audience how all are ready to seek *on earth* the things above, as the sons of Zebedee sought a place on earth at Christ's right hand, "not so much as good-wife Zebedee's two sons (that smelt of the fisher-boat), but means was made for them to *sit* there."

In the following we meet with his own peculiar force and ingenuity: "And if *Nature* would have us no *moles*, *Grace* would *have us eagles* to mount where *the body is*. And the Apostle goeth about to breed in us a holy ambition, telling us we are *ad altiora geniti*, born for higher matters than any here: therefore not to be so base-minded as to admire them, but to seek after things above. For, contrary to the philosopher's sentence, *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*, Things above they concern us not; he reverses that; yes (and we so to hold), *Ea maximè ad nos*, They chiefly concern us." The things, he says, we chiefly seek, are with Christ above; rest and glory. Most felicitously does he observe that it is only in heaven that these are found in union. Here rest is inglorious, and glory is restless. There they dwell together, and that for ever and ever.

The 5th and 6th April Casaubon was with the King. On Wednesday the 7th he dined with Overall at the Deanery, St. Paul's, with his wife and Grotius. Much conversation passed between them. On Thursday the 8th Grotius called upon Andrewes at Ely House. There were present Dr. Steward, about this time Fellow of All Souls' College, having been a Commoner of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in 1608, Dr. Richardson, Master of Peterhouse, the Regius Divinity Professor at Cambridge, and another divine. Archbishop Abbot, who mentions this meeting in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, adds that Grotius surprised them all by his freedom and loquacity.²

On Friday the 9th Casaubon was at court, and complains

¹ p. 461.

² Abbot to Sir R. Winwood, June 1, 1613. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 459.

that he lost part part of the day. On Sunday the 11th he was at the Royal Palace at Greenwich with the King, together with his wife and part of his family.

On the 12th we find Casaubon writing to Daniel Heyn,¹ and making mention of the admiration in which both the King and Bishop Andrewes held the learning of Grotius. He entreats that Heyn will not be in London in the months of July, August, and September, during which Andrewes was from the metropolis. Our prelate had expressed his earnest desire to see Heyn.

In Wolf's *Casauboniana* we have the following reminiscence of his conversations with Andrewes and Overall. The Bishop of Ely and Dean of St. Paul's often told me that he (the learned Dr. Whitaker) at the beginning held the Fathers and the ancient Church in great esteem, and approved that doctrine which was based upon their unanimous agreement. But when upon his marriage into the leading family of the Puritans he wholly cultivated their intimacy, he all of a sudden began to confine his admiration to Calvin; and I have often heard the Dean of St. Paul's affirm, that when serious disputes arose at Cambridge amongst the theologians, some defending the new, others the old doctrine, he more than once went to Whitaker and asked him the reason why he preferred the opinions of Calvin alone to the consent of the ancient Church, he at length had proceeded so far as to say expressly that he was prepared to defend all the opinions of Calvin, and that it was his purpose to take an opportunity of so doing."²

Whitaker, according to Gataker in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, was twice married. Both his wives were women "of good birth and note." One was of the Thoresby family, descended from an uncle of Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds.³ We have seen that Overall took a middle course between the teaching of Whitaker on the one hand and the Semi-Pelagians on the other. The reader will find a reference to this topic in the 5th chapter of this volume.

¹ *Ep.* p. 529.

² J. C. Wolffi *Casauboniana*, pp. 28, 29. Hamb. 1710.

³ Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 441.

There have been those who looked upon Casaubon as but comparatively ill employed upon theological controversies. He could not, with his bias to classical learning and devotedness to it, do equal justice to the vast fields of ecclesiastical history and dogmatic theology. In his diary he frequently complains of the difficulties in which he found himself involved. A remarkable instance we have in p. 1018,¹ “In Cypriani loco *una ecclesia, una Cathedra*, hæsi, et conatus sum lucem afferre,” I was in difficulty respecting that place of Cyprian, ‘one church, one see,’ and endeavoured to obtain that which would throw light upon it.

This passage, taken from Cyprian’s *Epistles*, was alleged by Cardinal Bellarmine in the 16th chapter of his second book of *Controversies*, and is fully treated of in the 36th chapter of Field’s *Book of the Church*.

“There is,” saith he, “one God, one Christ, one Church, one chair founded upon Peter by the Lord’s own voice. No other altar may be raised, nor other new priesthood appointed, besides that one altar and one priesthood already appointed. Whosoever gathereth anywhere else scattereth. (Cyprian’s 8th Ep. 1st book.) Surely it is not possible that the Cardinal should think, as he pretendeth to do, that Cyprian speaketh of one singular chair ordained by Christ for one Bishop to sit in, appointed to teach all the world. For the question in this place is not touching obedience to be yielded to the Bishop of Rome, that Cyprian should need to urge that point, but touching certain schismatics which opposed themselves against him; and therefore he urgeth the unity of the Church and of the chair, to shew that against them that are lawfully placed, with consenting allowance of the pastors at unity, others may not be admitted; and that they who by any other means get into the places of ministry, than by the consenting allowance of the pastors at unity amongst themselves, are in truth and in deed no Bishops at all. So that Cyprian, by that one chair he mentioneth, understandeth not one particular chair appointed for a general teacher of all the world to sit in, but the

¹ *Ephemerides*.

joint commission, unity and consent of all pastors, which is and must be such as if they did all sit in one chair.”¹

On Tuesday, April 13, Bishop Andrewes preached at Greenwich previously to the departure of Prince Frederic, the Count Palatine, and his consort Elizabeth. His text was *Isaiah* lxii. 5. He contends against our present Version that it should be thus read, *And the bridegroom shall rejoice over the bride, and thy God shall rejoice over thee.* In the bidding prayer which follows the introductory portion of the sermon he includes the Churches that are in Great Britain and Ireland, and the two Palatinates. In the sermon itself he deduces the worship of the Romish Church from *Samaria*.² Not so certain in our day who profess a most inconsistent veneration for our prelate. In treating of the espousals with Sion, he draws a brief sketch of the Church of England and contrasts it with that of Rome, and in language at which those who advocate the recently cast up *Via Media* would shudder. Of Jewel’s *Apology* he remarks, ‘*En ecclesiæ nostræ Apologiam verè gemmeam.*’ He proceeds, “*Go round about Sion and survey her.* One canon reduced to writing by God himself, two testaments, three creeds, four general councils, five centuries, and the series of Fathers in that period, the three centuries that is before Constantine and two after, determine the boundary of our faith. Those whom the old Catholic Church without the new patchwork of the Romish does not suffice, those whom the aforesaid (bounds) do not suffice, without drinking to the very dregs the abuses and errors, to say nothing of fables and frauds which afterward began to possess the Church, let them enjoy them.”

Bishop Andrewes proceeds: “Let them espouse themselves to God by a faith not written; Sion (it is certain) was not so espoused. *Let them adore they know not what* in their reliques, and so in their *hosts*. This comes from the mount of Samaria, not from Mount Sion. Let them pray, let them perform their rites in a language they know not, without understanding, without edification (if the Apostle had a right understanding

¹ Field’s *Book of the Church*, p. 543, 3rd ed. Oxford, 1635.

² *Opuscula*, p. 86.

of the matter). Not thus did Sion pray; these are not the songs of Sion. Let them call upon him in whom they do not believe; let them resort more assiduously and frequently to saints in whom they do not believe, than to Christ. It was not thus in Sion. Let them prostrate themselves and bow themselves before a painted or a graven likeness. Sion would have rent her garments at this. Let them halve the Eucharist; in the supper of Sion it was never thus taken, but only whole. Let them there adore the divinity concealed under the species and made from the bakehouse [*de pistrino factum*]. Sion would have without doubt shuddered and started back from this."

"What when they adore their Pope placed and sitting upon the altar? when they set up a man (to use the mildest terms) encompassed with infirmities, often illiterate, often unclean, very often and at this time a mere canonist,¹ when they set up such an one for a pillar of faith and religion, as one who is, to wit, infallible. Would Sion have endured this?"

On Sunday the 18th Casaubon, after attending the French Church with his family, was first with the King and afterwards with his "most beloved Grotius." Casaubon appears to have concealed from the King his partiality for Bertius and Arminius and their party; a partiality perceptible in his diary, in which in 1611² we find, "To-day I was much engaged in reading the treatises of Arminius, a subtle theologian, and, as I have heard, an excellent man." And again at page 896, "I saw the epistle written by King James to the States against Vorstius, Arminius, and Bertius, full of the strongest invective. Arminius he calls the enemy of God, and him and Bertius lost heretics. I commend the zeal of the illustrious Sovereign in the cause of religion, but we know that grave and most learned men by no means think thus of Bertius and Arminius."

On Monday the 19th he spent some hours with Overall

¹ Pope Paul V., Camillo Borghese, Cardinal of St. Chrysogonus, enthroned May 29, 1605, died January 28, 1621.

² p. 856.

and with Grotius. Grotius supped with him. On Tuesday he was again with Grotius and the French and Dutch Ambassadors.

On Monday the 26th April he dined with the genial and kind-hearted Morton, who had been promoted from the Deanery of Gloucester to that of Winchester in 1609, when Abbot, afterwards Archbishop, was raised to the see of Lichfield and Coventry. He notices in his diary the erudition displayed in Morton's works against both the Puritans and Papists. Morton shewed him the art of preparing potable gold, a liquor distilled from beaten gold, or elixir. The principal ingredients, says Casaubon, which they use are white salt, the most pungent vinegar, and some third substance. The elixir was drunk before dinner, diluted in wine. Casaubon tasted it, and found it not ungrateful to the palate.

On Tuesday the 27th Casaubon was again with the King. On the following Sunday he and his children with him were with the King, after he had taken the holy Communion with his family.

On Tuesday the 4th of May he went to the King and to Archbishop Abbot and other friends to take his farewell previously to leaving London for Oxford. On Thursday he went to Eton to the learned Provost, Sir Henry Savile, who on the Friday took him to Oxford in his carriage. On the same day he went over most of the Colleges and Halls, "admiring the piety and magnificence of our ancestors." On Saturday he completed his survey of the Colleges, and after dinner heard a disputation in the schools, at which Dr. Abbot presided, whom he describes as a man of the most eminent learning.

On Sunday the 9th he heard two learned discourses as far as his imperfect knowledge of our language could gather. He dined with Dr. William Goodwin, Dean of Christ Church. Dr. Goodwin or Godwyn had been made Prebendary of Bole in the church of York, by that excellent prelate Archbishop Piers, September 7, 1590, which stall he resigned on being promoted to the Chancellorship, October 25, 1605, by his learned and pious successor, Archbishop Hutton. He was

installed Dean of Christ Church September 13, 1611, and was by the eloquent Dr. King, Bishop of London, made Archdeacon of Middlesex September 23, 1616. After serving the office of Vice-Chancellor four times he died June 11, 1620, in the 65th year of his age, and was buried in the chapel immediately to the north of the choir of Christ Church. He had succeeded Bishop King in the Deanery.

Casaubon was Sir Henry Savile's guest at Merton College until Monday the 10th, when the Dean received him at the deanery, Saville leaving Oxford the same day.

On Tuesday Casaubon visited the Bodleian Library, and there perused and made some extracts from Choniate's¹ *Thesaurus Orthodoxiæ*.

On Wednesday he resumed his perusal of Choniate in the Bodleian, and was present at a Latin sermon and some disputations in the divinity school. He devoted some hours also to Hebrew with a very learned Jew whom he found there. "So," he writes, "I console myself for the absence of my wife, of whom I have yet received no intelligence. But do thou, O Lord, keep her and my whole house in the fear of thy name." Casaubon was a man of the most affectionate spirit. He had a most congenial partner in his wife, and his life appears to have been bound up in hers.

On Thursday he heard the discourse of a very learned man, but with regret that he could not perfectly understand it. Afterward he dined with the Vice-Dean and several other very eminent persons in the hall of Christ Church. This forenoon he gave to the reading of the Talmud. After dinner he completed his perusal of Choniate. He looked through Leo à Castro on Isaiah. This author, who flourished in the 16th century, undertook to set up the text of the Septuagint above the Hebrew. Casaubon also looked through the Commentary of St. Basil upon Isaiah, with which he was much pleased,

¹ *Nicetas*, called *Choniates* from *Chone* or *Colosse*, a town of Phrygia. He wrote an History or *Annals* from the death of *Alexis Comnenes* in 1118 to 1205. His *Thesaurus Fidei Orthodoxæ* was first published in 1580, and is given in the twelfth volume of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*, published at Cologne 1618. See Bellarmine *De Scriptorib. Eccles.*, and Moreri's *Dictionary*.

remarking that it extended only to the 16th chapter, and observing that it was not however to be compared with that by St. Chrysostom, also imperfect. He had completed the perusal of this latter in July 1611. In his diary he remarks that in this work Chrysostom has surpassed himself. The Friday was taken up with the study of Hebrew and with Basil on Isaiah.

On Saturday he was again in the divinity school, and says that nothing ever gave him such satisfaction upon the subject of faith and works as did Abbot, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. In his *Casauboniana* we have the following, Thomæ *distinctio vera : fides justificat causative, opera justificant ostensive*, "Faith justifies as a cause, works as giving evidence."¹ And as Cranmer defended the language of the Reformation upon justification from the Fathers, whom he had carefully and deeply studied, so does Casaubon derive from them the term *justification by faith only*, which he observes rests upon similar passages of the ancients, in Ambros. *Rom.* iii., Basil, *Sermon on Humility*, Chrysost. on *Rom.* iii. 26, Hilary on *Matt.* viii.

Sir Henry Savile's edition of Chrysostom in eight folios appeared this year. Casaubon vindicates St. Chrysostom on the doctrine of justification, and refers to his discourses on the Epistles where he gives his interpretation of our Lord's giving himself a ransom for us, 1 *Tim.* ii. 6. Estius refers to the commentaries of Hesselius for the doctrine of Augustine, Leo, Chrysostom, and other of the Fathers on the mediatorship of Christ. *Suiceri Thesaurus* and *Petavii Dogmata Ecclesiastica* will also assist the enquirer into this head of patristic theology. Wolf, in his notes to his *Casauboniana*, also refers for the doctrine of St. Chrysostom on justification, to Du Pin, and to Dr. Mayer's *Chrysostomus Lutheranus* 1680, which he maintained in a second and apologetic treatise in 1686 against John Francis Hack a Jesuit. For a general collection of patristic testimonies, Wolf refers to Menzer's *Exegesis Augustinæ Confessionis*, art. 4; Dr. John Gerhard's *Loci Communes*

¹ p. 91.² p. 92.

Theologici; and *Helvicius in Vindicatione Locorum Vet. Testamenti*, p. 181.

On Sunday the 16th Casaubon attended at the University Church both morning and afternoon, and dined in the hall of Magdalene College, where the day was observed with a sumptuous entertainment. The President of that noble College was Dr. William Langton, who had succeeded Dr. John Harding November 19th, 1610.¹

On Monday the 17th Casaubon was engaged upon the first volume of the *Councils* edited at Rome, and dined with Dr. Abbot at Balliol College, who gave a splendid banquet to his guests. After dinner Casaubon devoted some hours to the perusal of some of the works of Claude D'Espence. This celebrated author, who died in the 60th year of his age in 1571, incurred censure by maintaining that the primitive Church paid no worship to images. His commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul to Timothy and Titus, and his writings on the Eucharist, obtained for him no small celebrity in the Romish communion.

On Tuesday the 18th Casaubon gave a part of his MS. into Abbot's hands, and another portion to the Dean of Christ Church, that he might have the benefit of their judgment and revision.

On Wednesday he was unwell, and was attacked with dizziness in the morning on his way to the Bodleian Library. He however heard a Latin sermon and an act in the divinity school.

On Whitsunday the 23rd May he received the holy Communion at the Cathedral from the hands of the Dean, attended the two sermons preached before the University, and bade farewell to his friends.

Upon Whitsunday Bishop Andrewes, preaching at Whitehall, discoursed upon *Eph.* iv. 30. He familiarly illustrates the words from the six men in the 9th chapter of *Ezekiel*, sent

¹ Dr. Langton was one of an ancient family settled at the village of Langton in Lincolnshire. He died October 10, 1623, in the 54th year of his age, and was buried in the chapel of his College. His epitaph is given in Gutch's *Wood's Oxford*, 1786, p. 330.

to set a mark upon the foreheads of those who sighed and cried for all the abominations of Jerusalem, and from the angels in the Apocalypse who were not to execute their awful commission until the chosen number had been marked with the seal of the living God. And so of the Passover he observes, "*The Lamb slain*, there is redemption; the posts stroken with *hyssop dipped in the blood*, there is the *signature*."

Bishop Hall and the inimitable Dr. Richard Sibbes have also written upon this memorable passage, *Grieve not the Spirit*.

Andrewes quaintly speaks of some who are but *label-Christians*, "content with a label without any seal to it all their life long. And of those label-Christians we have meetly good store. As the Spirit of God they like him well enough to have their breath and life and moving from him, yea, arts and tongues too if he will; but as the Holy Spirit, not once to be acquainted with him."

The seal of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper he declares to be supplementary of the defect of the seal of Baptism, that where that can be set to but once and never repeated more, this other should supply the defect thereof, as whereby if we have not preserved the former figure entire and whole, we might be as it were new signed over again."

On Monday the 24th of May Casaubon left Oxford and arrived at Sir Henry Savile's, Eton. Upon Tuesday he left Eton for London. On Wednesday he dined with the French Ambassador. On Trinity-Sunday, the 30th, after attending service at 7 A.M., he waited on the King, who received him, as was his wont, very graciously. In the evening he supped with the Lady Killigrew and some other friends. On Sunday the 6th of June he waited on the King again, as he was accustomed on that day, and so on the 13th. On the 16th his *Exercitationes against Baronius* began to appear in print. On the 19th and on Sunday the 20th he was again with the King. On the 23rd the Jewish teacher left him whom he had brought with him from Oxford. On July 6th he was the whole day in the College, Westminster, with the Dean of Christ Church. On July 9th he spent some hours

with two eminent persons from the Netherlands, Relbe and Scholiers, who narrated the sufferings of their countrymen from Jesuit tyranny. On July 11th he was with the King at Theobald's. July the 13th his little daughter Mary met with a sad casualty. But amongst the many domestic cares that weighed upon his mind in the absence of his beloved partner at this time, he was refreshed with the sight of his infant son James. The reader will bear with me for recording, though occasionally, instances of Casaubon's domestic life and depth of affection. Those are traitors to learning and science who will not bend to the amenities of social life, and evince no sympathy with that humanity, which is ever less ennobled by knowledge than by love. On the 24th, by command of his royal master, he made choice of some volumes from the library of the late Prince Henry. On the 31st he paid his respects to Prince Charles.

On the 1st of August he with his daughter received the holy Communion. On the 2nd he resolved to return to his treatise on the holy Eucharist (which he had laid by for some time), with the hope of inserting it in this edition. On the 4th he laid aside again all thoughts of resuming that treatise for the present.¹

On the 1st of September he was cheered by the return of his wife. On the 5th they happily received the holy Communion together with their daughter Gentilis. On the 7th he was with Archbishop Abbot, and learnt from him the apostacy of his friend Charrier to the Church of Rome. Dr. Benjamin Charrier had been chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, and composed the epitaph on his monument in Croydon church. When Dr. William Barlow was raised to the see of Lincoln, Dr. Charrier or Carrier succeeded him in the seventh stall of Canterbury. On the 19th he waited on the King and had much and important conversation with him upon various subjects.

On September 19 Andrewes ordained at Downham Edmund Topcliffe, M.A., deacon, and John Martin, M.A., priest. Top-

¹ He resumed his purpose on the 12th December.

cliff and Martin, both of Queens' College, Cambridge, were both B.A. 1609, and M.A. 1612.

In the course of this year (1613) T. F., i. e. Thomas Fitzherbert, a Jesuit, attacked our prelate's Answer to Belarmine in a sophistical and scurrilous *Adjoinder to the Supplement of Father Parsons' Discussion*, quarto, to which he annexed his attack upon the Bishop, in which he refused him his episcopal title, entitling it *A Reply to Dr. Lancelot Andrewes' Absurdities* in his Answer, &c. This truly jesuitical writer was born at Swinnerton, between Stone and Eccleshall in Staffordshire, and was son of William, fourth son of Sir Anthony Fitzherbert, of Norbury near Ashbourn, the celebrated lawyer. His parents were zealous Papists. He was called home from Oxford when the Pope forbade those of his communion to attend the established worship. In 1572 he was imprisoned for recusancy. After his release he absconded, went to London, and there entertained Father Parsons and Father Campian, whom he assisted with all conveniences on their arrival in England 1580. He retired with his lady into France in 1582, and there pleaded for Mary Queen of Scots with the King of France. There his wife died. He went into Spain to serve the interests of his Romish countrymen at the court. He attended the Duke of Feria in his tours. At Rome he studied for the priesthood at the English College, and being ordained priest, was made agent for the English clergy, and so continued twelve years to 1609. He joined the Jesuits in 1614, the year after he had written against Bishop Andrewes, and was answered in 1617 with great learning and ability by the deeply erudite Dr. Collins, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, and Regius Professor of Divinity. In 1621 Fitzherbert wrote his *Obtumesce of T. F. to the Epphata of Dr. Collins*, who also took up his pen against Fitzherbert in his *Pseudo-Martyr* in defence of the Oath of Allegiance. *Lond. quarto, printed by John Donne*. He died in 1640,¹ Master of the English College at Rome.

On September 25 sentence of divorce was pronounced by

¹ Dodd's *Church History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 412, 413. Brussels, 1739.

more in accordance with his character as a Christian and his office as a bishop.

Twofold evidence exists to shew that at the first Andrewes was disinclined to the Nullity, and it was at the very time attributed to the endeavours of his royal master that he altered his judgment.¹ Archbishop Abbot observes, "My Lord of Ely for a great while was in dislike of the separation, (as I have credibly heard he opened himself to Sir Henry Savile) until such time as the King spake with him, and then his judgment was reformed. But truth it is that amongst us he said nothing."

At the last there were found for the divorce Andrewes, Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, Neile, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas Parry, Attorney-General, and Sir Daniel Donne, Master of the Requests. These met and pronounced the sentence of Nullity September 25. The remaining Commissioners not agreeing to the sentence absented themselves, namely, Archbishop Abbot, Dr. King, Bishop of London, Sir John Bennet, Dr. Francis James, and Dr. Thomas Edwards. Fuller in his *Worthies* notes that an intimate friendship subsisted between his father (for some time a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge,) and Bishop Overall (of the same College). Hence probably he learnt the anecdote which he has inserted in the tenth book of his *Church History*, and which is corroborated by Abbot's *Narrative touching the Divorce*: "Bishop Overall discoursing with Bishop King about the divorce, the latter expressed himself to this effect: 'I should never have been so earnest against the divorce, save that because persuaded in my conscience of falsehood in some of the depositions of the witnesses on the lady's behalf.'"²

The divorce was effected: the guilty parties were united in adulterous bonds with great solemnities. The murder of Sir Thomas Overbury by poison soon discovered that profligacy was not their only guilt. They were spared the utmost

¹ Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, p. 672. *Abbot's Narrative* i. 3. 47.

² *Church Hist.* b. x. pp. 67, 68. *Abbot's Narrative* ii. 1. 47.

severity of the law, but lived in mutual hatred and disgust, an exemplary punishment to each other. Thus ended the career of Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset. Pitiably it is to find the name of Andrewes in any way connected with that of individuals so unworthy of the ill-placed regard of his and their royal master. But it is not my object to erect an idol. It cannot be justified that so upright as Andrewes undoubtedly was in many respects, he should have given his sanction to the Nullity.

On October 16th Casaubon was again with Andrewes.

On November 5 he preached upon the divine right of kings, from the words of Solomon, or rather of God by him, *By Me kings reign*. Usurpers he excepts from the kings here spoken of, adducing the 4th verse of the 8th chapter of *Hosea*, *They have set up kings, but not by Me: they have made princes, and I knew not.*" He fails not to condemn in the most pointed language the pretended power of the Pope to loose this Scripture, *By Me kings reign*, and after his custom makes a personal address to the King. His style sometimes betrays him into mere verbal arguments, and he so handles his text as to leave out of sight that it is he who removeth as well as setteth up kings.¹ A commission was given for the setting aside of Jehoram, and even for his death.

Upon Christmas-day our prelate preached at Whitehall from our Lord's words, *Your father Abraham rejoiced to see my day, and he saw it, and was glad*; but a sermon upon the same words, and less broken, may be seen in his *Orphan Lectures*.

These lectures have not been reprinted in the Library of *Anglo-Catholic Theology*. In the concluding volume of that edition of Andrewes it is alleged that *there does not appear sufficient evidence to justify me in ascribing the sermons, at least in their present form, to Bishop Andrewes*. (p. lxxvii.) No reason is given by the editor for this remarkable assertion. I believe that this is the first time that these remains of Bishop Andrewes have been called in question. A careful perusal of the whole volume would have led the editor, if

¹ Dan. ii. 21.

indeed he was capable of sympathizing with his author, into the full conviction that the substance of the volume was attributable only to Andrewes; neither is there any reason to doubt that the sermons are given as accurately as a taker of notes could have given them.

The author of the Preface, T. P., supposed to have been Dr. Thomas Pierce, who at the Restoration was made President of Magdalene College, Oxford, fully admits the genuineness of these fragments and their excellence, although he would have it believed that the Bishop was not always of the same mind in theology, but changed, as we know did some of his contemporaries. He professes to reprove the printer for publishing that which he nevertheless recommends to the perusal of the reader.

There is however no ground for admitting that Bishop Andrewes ever changed his theological principles. Neither is there in these posthumous Lectures any contrariety to the teaching of those discourses which were put forth by Laud and Buckeridge. There is not less patristic learning, not less variety of imagination and illustration in this volume than in the greater folio. There are the same excellencies and the same defects, yet the latter are perhaps not so perceptible or so frequent in the posthumous fragments, as they are in his more finished compositions.

Dr. Pierce would undoubtedly have withheld his services altogether from the publishers of this volume, had it not been known to him as the work of Andrewes. He calls the lectures "these sacred fragments." "But having said thus much in veneration of the author, to whom the printer hath offered this well-meant injury, I have something to allege by way of apology for the printer, by whose devotion of care and cost these *sacred fragments* were thus collected. He knew the fame of the author was so transcendently high, and placed so far out of the reach of spite or envy, defamation or disgrace, that he supposed it a lesser crime thus to communicate these lessons as now they are, than to deprive posterity of their advantage. He looked not so steadily upon the name and credit of the author, as upon the interest and good of souls.

He thought the reader would esteem it, not only as an excusable but as a commendable transgression, which being no way injurious to more than one, will redound to the benefit of many thousands."

Andrewes, on March 20th, 1614, admitted both to deacon's and priest's orders on the same day the celebrated Joseph Mede, M.A., at Ely Chapel, Holborn. Dr. Worthington, the excellent Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, in the time of Cromwell, relates that Mede, by his Latin tract *De Sanctitate relativâ*, &c. so gained the esteem of our Bishop, that Mede shortly after having need of the King's favour concerning his election to a Fellowship, Andrewes stood his firm friend, and not only maintained his right then, but afterwards desired him for his household chaplain. Mede declined this honour that he might more fully enjoy his beloved retirement in Christ College, Cambridge. It was reserved to a late Master of that College, the late Bishop of Lincoln, Dr. Kaye, to erect a memorial in the College chapel, of Mede, More, and Cudworth.

Very excellent is his Easter-day sermon, April 24, 1614, from the second chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians, on the voluntary humiliation of Christ and his exaltation. But it may well be questioned whether he does not fall into error in regard of the words, "and hath *given him* a name," which he explains after the schoolmen, of the grace of union, or of Christ's human nature being united or assumed into the Godhead. Well does he observe that this very name of Jesus is one of the names of God, for beside him is no Saviour.¹ This whole passage is well illustrated in Dr. Waterland's *Lady Moyer's Lectures*.

Upon the following Sunday the Rev. Norwich Spackman preached before the King at Whitehall, from those words of our Lord, *But go ye and learn what that meaneth, I will have mercy and not sacrifice, for I am not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance*. The preacher, who was educated at Christ Church, Oxford, was chaplain to the Hon. Dr. James Montagu, the munificent Bishop of Bath and Wells; was for some years Vicar of Mitcham, and twenty-six years Rector of

¹ *Isa.* xliii. 11.

Merstham in Surrey, where he died July 1617, and was buried in the chancel.¹

Upon this Sunday, May 1st, Casaubon's son Meric received the holy Communion, for the first time after the order of the Church of England, at the hands of Bishop Andrewes, who had previously examined and confirmed him. Casaubon received with his son, and admired the adherence of Bishop Andrewes to the ancient pattern. Probably he means his mixing water with the wine, and breaking of the bread, according to his own Consecration Service.

On Thursday May 5th Andrewes was appointed to meet at eight A.M. in the Painted Chamber on a committee upon an Act for the preservation and increase of wood and timber.

On Sunday May 22nd Andrewes wrote as follows to the Hon. Sir John Ogle, Knight, Lord Governor of the Forces at Utrecht:

"MY LORD,—It happened that your letter with the book came unto my hands at such time as the Parliament or Convocation began; busy times, as you may easily conjecture. There needed no excuse concerning the sending thereof. I do esteem both of them (but especially your letter) as a singular courtesie, and a great honor done unto me, and therefore do remain, and will continue, much beholding unto you for the same. I have read over the book with such diligence as time would permit me. In the mean time it happened that Sir George Douglas, of himself and of his own accord making both acquaintance and the conference, began to discourse of the book and the binding and the contents thereof, further adding, that it was sent to be presented to his Majestie as soon as I had read it over, and so insinuating himself as if before he had known that such a book was delivered, but was remaining in my hands. Wherefore as soon as I thought myself able to give a sufficient reason unto his Majestie concerning my reading of it over, if in case it should be enquired, I presented the same unto his Majestie (yet not without the

¹ Nichols's *Royal Progresses of James I.*

knowledge and consent of Mr. Latham), in whose hands it is still, and hath been for the space of fourteen days. But I think that the businesses of this present Parliament are so troublesome that he hath had very little or no leisure for the reading thereof; for as yet he never spoke anything thereof unto me in all my service and attendance upon his Majestie, which if he had leisure, I make no doubt but he would have spoken of it. Neither do I think that as yet there will be any leisure for the reading of anything of that subject. Although otherwise of himself he is wonderfully inclined thereunto, yea, more than any Prince else in the world. And if, may be, at any time he shall declare himself hereafter, and speak his meaning concerning that book, I shall not fail (with the first occasion that shall present itself) to acquaint you therewith. And peradventure your meaning is that I should tell you my opinion thereof. Indeed Uitenbogard is well known for a very learned man, as are most that are in those parts, and has shewed himself no less herein; and Mr. Douglas, his translator, for his part (if I give any judgment) is not behind him with the same. But yet to the end I deal plainly with you, for I know that it is your desire that I should do so; I deny not but that there are divers passages in the book which I should not lightly approve, or can condescend thereunto, but yet with such a dissent as may be between Christians and brethren, which at this present I cannot fully express myself. Like as Mr. Latham lately for me and can sufficiently declare unto you, for now at this present it is in the heat of the business which until this present have gone forward but slowly wherein my presence and attendance is so required, besides other accidents, that I scarcely had leisure (being spoken unto by Mr. Latham before his departure) to write this letter. I hope hereafter to have better occasion. Until then and ever I will be ready to perform any acknowledgment that shall be in my power, and to shew with how great and hearty kindness I attempt this same, in that it hath pleased you after such a manner to write unto me, and so to begin the first foundation of our acquaintance, which I wish may never end so long as life shall last. Thus very heartily recommending you with

all yours unto the protection of the Most High, I take my leave.

“ From the Court at Whitehall this 22nd May, 1614.

“ Your Lordship’s

“ Very faithful

“ LANC. ELIE.”

Uitenbogardt (*Johannes Vytenbogardus*) was Professor of theology and preacher at Leyden. He died in his 49th year in 1609. The work alluded to in this letter was *De Officio Magistratûs circa Sacra*. This brief notice of him is taken from Henning Witte’s *Diarium Biographicum*, 1688.

On the 23rd Casaubon, at this time a sufferer from strangury, dined at Ely House with Andrewes.

Upon Monday the 30th of May Andrewes was appointed to meet at eight A.M. in the Painted Chamber with King, Bishop of London, Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, Bridges, Bishop of Oxford, and Montagu, Bishop of Bath and Wells, upon a Bill which had been read a second time on the 26th for punishing divers abuses committed on the Sabbath-day called Sunday.

On Whitsunday, June 12th, he preached before the King an excellent sermon at Greenwich, from *Thou art gone up on high, Psa. lxxviii.*, one of the best of his Whitsunday sermons, full of the vitality of Christian doctrine. Let the reader observe how weightily he describes our captivity under sin;¹ how touchingly he passes on to the gifts of this day.² Of that captivity he says, in a manner utterly foreign to those who are content to learn but one or two instead of the thousand lessons they might gather out of his works, “ *If any have felt it, he can understand me, and from the deep of his heart will cry, Turn our captivity, O Lord.*”

He alludes in this sermon to God’s wonderful deliverances of our nation in 1588, and afterwards from the Popish Plot:³ the fruits of this deliverance have outlived our national memorial of it.

At the breaking up of the Parliament the peers agreed among themselves to give their best piece of plate, or the value

¹ p. 666.

² p. 668.

³ *Ibid.*

of it, in a present of money as a speedy benevolence to supply the King's wants. The Archbishop of Canterbury began with a basin and ewer, and redeemed it with £140; Bilson, Bishop of Winchester, gave as much; Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, £120.

This year died that most unprincipled and hypocritical nobleman, Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton. He lived a concealed Papist, was extremely forward in conducting the trial of the Gunpowder conspirators, and prosecuted a man in the Star Chamber who had called him a Papist. Archbishop Abbot is said to have stayed the prosecution by producing a letter of the Earl's to Bellarmine, owning his secret adherence to Popery. In the old family mansion at Compton Wingates is a curious chapel in the roof, partitioned off for the celebration of Romish worship. Mr. Howitt, in his *Visit to Remarkable Places*, appears ignorant of its origin, as he has overlooked the history of this time-serving individual. It might have been erected by him. How remarkable a sign of the times is it that the work here alluded to, the work of one professing himself to be a member of the Society of Friends, should yet laud the ages of superstition, and commend even Romanism itself in some of its external seductions, seductions of an openly antichristian character! Such is the inconsistency of false liberality.

Casaubon had been informed on the 13th of December that he was in danger of strangury. From that time his health was in a state of perpetual fluctuation. The 23rd, 24th, and 25th of March this year he was confined to his bed. On the 27th he revived, but was again a great sufferer on the 30th. He was on the 29th of May obliged again to consult his friend and physician, De Maierne. Again on the 18th of May he was compelled to betake himself to his bed. At length from the 14th of June his complaint gradually prevailed, until on the 1st of July it terminated his earthly career. Bishop Andrewes has left us a brief notice of his last illness.

The ten days preceding his death he gave entirely to spiritual things, and after signing his will his soul was altogether engaged upon God and heaven. He felt within himself

the harbingers of death. He died on Friday July 1st, after he had received the Eucharist in the morning at the hands of Bishop Andrewes. He then desired the *Nunc Dimittis* to be recited, and took part himself, although his voice was failing and the effort was a trial to him. Although he suffered much the two last days, nothing escaped his lips but what was in harmony with his profession as a Christian. Finally he gave his blessing to his children and all his household. He then composed himself to rest, and scarcely spoke afterwards. He expired after five at noon. His remains were deposited in Westminster Abbey before the entrance to Henry VII.'s chapel, and were followed to their last resting-place by six Bishops, two Deans, and almost all the clergy of the metropolis. The sermon was preached by his faithful friend Dr. John Overall, who had on the 3rd of April been consecrated to the see of Lichfield.

Bishop Andrewes wrote the above narrative for the information of their mutual friend Daniel Heyn, whom he instructed to deny the false reports of Heribert Rosweyd the Jesuit, who gave out that he wavered in regard of his religion to the last. He had published, shortly before Casaubon's death, a book entitled *Lex Talionis Duodecim Tabularum—The Law of Requital of the Twelve Tables*. It was intended as a reply to his work against Baronius, and to destroy the influence of Casaubon's name by taxing him with insincerity, dwelling amongst other things upon the allegation that he had promised Cardinal Perron that he would join the Church of Rome at Whitsuntide 1610.¹

On August 5th, the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy, Bishop Andrewes was in attendance upon the King at Burleigh-on-the-Hill near Okeham. Here the King was entertained in his first journey into England. It was then the seat of Sir John (afterwards Lord) Harrington. His son succeeded to his title and estates in 1613, but died in 1614. It was afterwards purchased of the heirs by the favourite Villiers.² Our prelate in his anniversary sermon made the

¹ See Bishop Andrewes' *Works*, vol. xi. Oxf. 1864, pp. xlv—xlviii.

² Nichols's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 20.

following quaint but ingenious allusion to the first words of his text: "I have found David my servant; with my holy oil have I anointed him." "The colours of the crown are not water colours to fade by and by; they be laid in oil to last and hold out all weathers. So in *oil*, not in *water*.

"And in oil, not in wine; that is, no acrimony, nothing corrosive in it. It is gentle, smooth, and suppling, all to teach them a prime quality of their calling, to put in oil enough to cherish that virtue, that the streams of it may be seen, and the scent to be felt of all. For that will make David to be David, that is (as his name is) *truly beloved*.

"Oil, and holy oil; holy, not only to make their persons sacred, and so free from touch or violating (all agree of that), but even their calling also. For *holy unction, holy function*. Now this *holy* oil troubles the *Jesuit* shrewdly and all those that seek to unhallow the calling of kings. For if the holy oil be upon them, why should they be sequestered quite from holy things more than the other two that have but the same oil?"

He proceeds to say that *his* holy oil is more than material oil in the prophet's horn or in the priest's phial: "his drops immediately from the true olive, the Holy Ghost." But would he have said that all kings were *so* anointed? Certainly not. Yet is there great significance in the application of the emblem which we know is divinely appointed, and has continued to this day, and not without that very design and moral and spiritual mystery so well insisted on by our prelate.

On the 25th of September Bishop Andrewes ordained Richard Fletcher, M.A., and Humphrey Tovey, M.A. deacons, and Edmund Topcliffe, M.A. priest, at Downham, in the chapel of the palace there.

Richard Fletcher was of St. John's College, Cambridge, B.A. 1608, M.A. 1611; Tovey was Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1611, M.A. 1614, B.D. 1626, and died May 1st, 1640.

In his sermon on Saturday, 5th of November, on *My son, fear thou the Lord and the King, and meddle not with them*

that are given to change, he condemns both the policy of the Romanists who put into their martyrology such as attempt the life of kings, and the over-boldness of the Presbyterians who observed but little modesty in their intercourse with princes. Toward the end he thus satirizes the Jesuits: "Will ye hear some new divinity, how some *Fathers* here with us counselled their ghostly children; the *Fathers* of the *Society*, their sons of the *Society*, the wicked society of this day? You shall see the text turned round about clean contrary, '*My sons, fear God and the Pope*, (so is the new edition); and as for those that would fain *change* things here, do *meddle* with them, say Solomon what he list. *Lo, a greater than Solomon*; you know where. He (as yet it stands in the gloss to be seen) made this book of Proverbs authentical by citing it; and as he made it, can unmake it again at his pleasure. Nothing in it shall bind you.' Here is the counsel crossed.

"But then how shall we do with the latter verse? For that take no thought. Where he tells you (this Solomon) of destruction, it is nothing so. On with your Powder Plot notwithstanding. You shall be so far from this (he tells you) that if aught come to the plot or you otherwise than ye wish, it shall be no destruction: no, but a holy martyrdom. And *quis scit*? Who knows the blessed estate you shall come to by these means? But *martyrs* you shall be straight upon it in print. And who knows whether there may not be wrought a *straw miracle* to confirm as much, if need be?

"But to put you clean out of doubt for your meddling, you shall have of us the *Fathers* of the *Society* to meddle in it as well as you, to make up this *holy medly* with you; to *confess* you, to *absolve* you, to *swear* you, to *housel* you, to *say mass* for you, and to *keep your counsel* in all holy *equivocation*. You see what work was made; how the matter was used with this Scripture when time was; how the *Fathers of the Society* took this Father by the beard, and affronted him and his counsel in every part of it."

On November 26 Bishop Andrewes preferred Daniel Wigmore,¹ B.D. of Queens' College, Cambridge, to the first

¹ Probably from a family of this name in Herefordshire, temp. Hen. VI. 1433.

stall in his church at Ely. He had been ordained deacon and priest on the same day by Bishop Heton at Downham December 28, 1602, was made a minor canon of Ely (Dr. Tyndale being then Dean and also President of Queens' College) in 1605, Master of the Grammar School in 1609, and in 1611 Divinity Lecturer of the Cathedral, an office most probably conferred in those days only upon individuals well qualified by their theological erudition to discharge its duties. It is remarkable that he held his minor canonry together with his prebendal stall. The first stall he quitted for the second in March 1616, exchanging with the learned Dr. John Boys. In that same year he was doubly preferred by Bishop Andrewes, being made by him Archdeacon of Ely, and on the 3rd of December Rector of Northwold, between Thetford and Downham Market.¹ He was also for some time Rector of Snailwell near Newmarket, and in the troublous times retired to his estate at Little Shelford near Cambridge, where he died, and was buried in 1646. He had purchased the manor of Little Shelford of the son of Sir Toby Pallavicini.² Gilbert Wigmore, D.D. by royal mandate in 1661, was Rector of Little Shelford early in the following century, and one Daniel Wigmore appears as B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, in 1702.

Upon Sunday December 18 Andrewes, being then at his palace in Holborn, consecrated Walter Balcanqual, M.A., James Wedderburn, M.A., and Richard Fletcher, M.A., priests in Ely Chapel. Wedderburn was born at Dundee. He was one year, says Antony Wood, at Oxford, for the benefit of the University Library there. On August 26, 1615, Bishop Andrewes collated him to the Vicarage of Waterbeach, which he exchanged in 1616 for that of Harleston or Harston, between Cambridge and Royston. He was after this Vicar of Mildenhall, Suffolk,

¹ Bishop Andrewes' *Register*. See Baker's *MSS.*, University Library, Cambridge.

² Lysons' *Cambridgeshire*, p. 250. In the 11th of Charles I. Thomas Wigmore was sheriff of Herefordshire. Arms: Sable three greyhounds courant, argent.—Fuller's *Worthies*, p. 46.

and in 1626 Prebendary of Ely.¹ On May 26, 1631, also Prebendary of Whitchurch in the church of Wells, which stall he retained till his death. That at Ely he resigned. He was made Professor at the Scotch University of Aberdeen. He was chosen to the see of Dunblane March 28, 1635, but not consecrated until February 11, 1636. His abode in Scotland was of no long continuance. He appears to have been unfavourably received there, and is charged with innovating in the Semi-Pelagian direction. He therefore returned to England. He died probably at Canterbury September 23, 1639, and was buried in the Cathedral in St. Mary's, now called the Dean's Chapel, a very elegant addition to that Cathedral, built by Prior Goldstone who died in 1468. His epitaph is as follows: "Reverendissimus in Christo Pater, Jacobus Wedderburnus, Taoduni in Scotiâ natus; sacelli regii ibidem Decanus; denique Dunblanensis sedis per annos iv episcopus; vir antiquæ probitatis et fidei magnumque ob excellentem doctrinam patriæ suæ ornamentum H. S. E. Obiit An. Dom. MDCXXXIX. 23 die Sept. Ætatis LIV."²

Upon Sunday, Christmas-day, Bishop Andrewes preached before the King at Whitehall his truly Christian discourse upon the name *Immanuel*. Here he saith: "I shall not need to tell you that in *nobiscum* (with us) there is *mecum* (with me). Out of this generality of *with us* in gross may every one deduce his own particular *with me*, and *me*, and *me*. For all put together make but *nobiscum* (with us)." Then citing the first verse of the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs, according to the Vulgate, he adds, "The wise man out of Immanuel, (that is) *God with us*, doth deduce Ithiel, (that is) *God with me*, his own private interest. And St. Paul, when he had said to the Ephesians, of Christ, 'Who loved us and gave himself for us,'

¹ He was succeeded in it by Nehemiah Rogers, B.D., Rector of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, who was deprived of his preferments in 1643, and died before 1660.

² Wood's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 93. *Masters' History of Waterbeach*; also *History of Waterbeach* by the Rev. W. K. Clay, B.D., Jesus College, Cambridge, and Vicar of Waterbeach. And see his letter to Isaac Casaubon, *Ephemerides*, p. 1224. Thomas Stephens' *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 546. *Historical Description of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury*, 1783, p. 33. B. Willis, p. 386. Hardy's *Le Neve*, p. 203.

might with good right say to the Galatians, ‘Who loved me and gave himself for me.’” He proceeds to observe that we cannot estimate the force of these words *with us* aright, unless we consider what we should have been *without him*; also that he is a sign both from above and from beneath, from above as God, from beneath as man. He is *with us* not in nature only as man, but even as sinful man. Though not like us in sin, he is by unity of person with us even here. So St. Paul said, *he was made sin*.

“*With us* to eat butter and honey seemeth much, and it is so for God. What say ye, to *drink vinegar and gall*? This is much more I am sure; yet that he did. I cannot here say *with us*, but *for us*; even drank of the cup with the dregs of the wrath of God, which passed not from him that it might pass from us, and we not drink it.

“This, this is the great *with us*; for of this follow all the rest. *With us* once thus, and then *with us* in his oblation on the altar of the Temple; *with us* in his sacrifice on the altar of the cross; with us in all the virtues and merits of his life; with us in his satisfaction and satis-passion both of his death; with us in his resurrection to raise us up from the earth; with us in his ascension to exalt us to heaven; with us even then when he seemed to be taken from us, that day by his Spirit as this day by his flesh.”

Thus full of devout affection, the true spirit of holy eloquence, was this good bishop and reverend father of the English Church: if that name be at all applicable to mortal pastors, then rarely better bestowed than upon him.

CHAPTER XVI.

Bishop Andrewes with the King at Cambridge 1615—His Easter Sermon—Bishop Wren—Andrewes' Sermon on our Lord's Baptism—Dr. John Bois, Prebendary of Ely—Bishop Andrewes' Sermon on the 5th of November—Dr. Balcanqual—Bishop Andrewes' Sermon on Micah v.

THE first transaction in which we find our prelate engaged in 1615 was an ordination on the 25th of February (probably at Ely Chapel, Holborn,) when he ordained William Beale, M.A., deacon, and Christopher Wren, M.A., afterward Dean of Windsor, and Thomas Macarness, M.A. of King's College, priests. William Beale was B.A. not of Pembroke but of Jesus College, Cambridge, 1610, M.A. 1613, B.D. 1620, and D.D. 1627. He has been said, but probably without authority, to have been Archdeacon of Caermarthen, and to have been collated to that preferment 3rd January, 1614, but he was not ordained at that time. The name is given in Le Neve as *Beale* or *Beeley*. He was brother to Jerome Beale, Fellow of Pembroke Hall 9th October, 1598, and Master in 1618. He was born in Worcestershire, perhaps at Beoley in that county, whence we find his name spelt both *Beale* and *Beeley*.

As his brother had been removed from Christ College to Pembroke Hall, so had he from Trinity to Jesus College. He was a native of Oxfordshire (according to Sherman), and was admitted a Fellow of Jesus College in 1611. As a tutor he was celebrated for the many pupils of illustrious rank whom he had brought up. He was made Master of Jesus

College July 14, 1632, by Dr. Francis White, Bishop of Ely, in the place of his unworthy successor, Dr. Roger Andrewes, who for his misrule was the aversion of his College, and whom nevertheless we find loaded with preferments by his brother the Bishop; a point which as it cannot be commended, so neither ought it to be concealed.

In 1633 Dr. Beale was removed hence to the Mastership of St. John's College. He was made Rector of Cottingham near Rockingham in Northamptonshire, and on October 31st, 1637, of Paulerspury near Towcester, on the presentation of the King, being in high favour with Laud, and accounted an Anti-Predestinarian. He was deprived of his Mastership March 13, 1644, and nominated to the Deanery of Ely 1645, but never put in possession. Having taken part in gathering and conveying the plate belonging to the University to the King, he was, with Dr. Sterne, Master of Jesus College, and Dr. Martin, Master of Queens' College, carried prisoner to London. After having been in prison some time, but under three years, the period assigned in Carter's *History of the University of Cambridge*, he fled to Madrid in company with Lord Cottingham, the King's Ambassador. He is there said to have lived in his family. He died at Madrid October 1st, 1651, and being denied Christian burial, was privately buried in the Ambassador's garden.

Thomas Macarness was B.A. 1610, M.A. 1614, of King's College, Cambridge.

The King in very disadvantageous weather visited Cambridge with the Prince of Wales, afterward King Charles I. "The King made his entry there," wrote Mr. Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton then at Turin, "the 7th of this present [in March] with as much solemnity and concourse of gallants and great men as the hard weather and extreme foul ways would permit. The Prince came along with him, but not the Queen, by reason, as it is said, that she was not invited, which error is rather imputed to their Chancellor than to the scholars, that understood not these courses." The Chancellor was Thomas Howard, Earl of Suffolk, Lord Treasurer. He had been elected 8th July, 1614, on the death of Henry

Howard, Earl of Northampton, and held that office till his own death, May 28th, 1626. He was Thomas Lord Howard of Walden before he was advanced to the title of Earl of Suffolk by James the First in 1603. He was the son of Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, (who was beheaded on Tower Hill in 1573), by his second wife Margaret, daughter and sole heir of Thomas Lord Audley of Walden, K.G. and Chancellor of England. He was restored in blood by Act of Parliament in 1584, and in 1588, being in that memorable engagement of the Spanish Armada, was by the Lord High Admiral knighted at sea for his good services therein, and made by Queen Elizabeth Lord Howard of Walden. In the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden he built the very noble and once extensive mansion called Audley End. James made him first his Chamberlain, and afterwards Lord High Treasurer. He built Audley End, designing it for a palace for his sovereign; and when it was completed with all the taste and elegance of that magnificent period, the King was invited to see it, and as he passed to Newmarket he took up a night's lodging there; when, after having viewed it with great astonishment, he was asked by the Earl how he approved of it. He answered, "Very well, but troth, man, it is *too much* for a King, but it may *do* for a Lord High Treasurer;" and so left it upon the Earl's hands, who is reported to have had then an estate of £50,000 per annum. However Charles II. purchased it, and so it became and continued a royal palace until the reign of William III., who, finding that there was great truth in the remark of King James, regranted it to the family of its founder. Henry Earl of Suffolk hereupon pulled down the greater part of it. The Earl died at Suffolk House (which occupied the site of the present Suffolk Street) in Westminster, May 28, 1626.

To return to the royal visit. The Lord Treasurer is said to have expended a thousand pounds a day on this occasion. His family appear to have constituted no small part of the spectacle, there being few or no noble ladies present but such as were of his own kindred; as Alethæa the Countess of Arundel, youngest daughter and coheir of Gilbert Talbot,

seventh Earl of Shrewsbury, married to Thomas Howard Earl of Arundel;¹ her sister the Lady Elizabeth Grey, the Earl of Shrewsbury's second daughter, married to Sir Henry Grey, Lord of Ruthin, son of Charles Grey, Earl of Kent;² the Countess of Suffolk (the Earl's second wife), Catherine, eldest daughter and coheir of Sir Henry Knyvett of Chorlton in Wilts, Knt.;³ with her daughters, namely, Frances her second daughter, not long after too well known by her divorce from the Earl of Essex and subsequent marriage with Robert Carr, Earl of Somerset; and Catherine, Countess of Salisbury, the third daughter of the Countess of Suffolk;⁴ together with the Lady Walden, Elizabeth, daughter and coheir to George, Lord Hume, Earl of Dunbar;⁵ and lastly, Elizabeth, daughter and sole heir of William Basset, Esq., after whose death she was married to William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle.⁶

Fuller relates that the King's entertainment at Cambridge cost the Earl of Suffolk five thousand pounds and upwards;⁷ and Chamberlain that the Earl spent twenty-six tun of wine in five days. He lodged and kept his table at St. John's College, but his lady and her retinue at Magdalene College, of which her grandfather Audley, Lord Chancellor, was a kind of second or co-founder. To him the College owes its present name, having been previously called Buckingham Hall (1519) from Edward Stafford, third Duke of Buckingham. The King and Prince Charles lay at Trinity College, where the plays were represented. The hall was so well ordered for room, that above two thousand persons were accommodated.

On the first day, Tuesday the 7th of March, the King attended a Divinity Act which was kept by Dr. Davenant, Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity and President of Queens' College. He disputed on three questions. *Nulla est temporalis Papæ potestas super Reges in ordine ad bonum spirituale*. The affirmative had been maintained by Bellarmine (lib. v. *De Rom. Pont.* cap. 6), who professed to mode-

¹ Brooke's *Catalogue of Nobility*, p. 10.

² *Ibid.* p. 120.

³ *Ibid.* p. 213.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 213.

⁵ *Ibid.* p. 144.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 143.

⁷ *Worthies. Essex*, p. 329.

rate the doctrine taught up to his time respecting the power of the Pope, by changing his dominion over all things into an *indirect* instead of a *direct* power. Augustinus Triumphus, of the order of Eremites of St. Augustine, of the country of Ancona, and who was present at the Second Council of Lyons in 1274 (called the Fourteenth General Council, when a forced union of the Greek and Latin Churches took place under Pope Gregory X. and the Emperor Michael Palæologus, and which lasted but a few years owing to the imperiousness of Pope Martin IV.), had taught without reserve the direct dominion of the Roman Pontiff over the whole world in things both political and ecclesiastical. In this he had been followed by Alvarus Pelagius, a Spaniard of the Friars Minorites, Penitentiary to the Pope and Bishop of Corunna, early in the next century, and many others. Bellarmine indeed only threw a veil over the monstrosity of the papal claims by asserting an indirect in the place of a direct dominion. Others however continued to affirm the Pope's dominion in the more undisguised form, as Augustinus Steuchus of Eugubium or Gubbio (at the foot of the Apennines above Perugia), who died in 1550, and a host besides, whose names are given in Dr. John Gerhard's *Confessio Catholica*.¹ Bellarmine, whilst he learnedly refuted the older opinion, as Dr. Field shews at length in the 44th chapter of his 5th book *Of the Church*, gave back to the Pope with his left hand all that he appeared to take from him with his right; grounding his power to depose princes and to dispose of their kingdoms on his right *in ordine ad bonum spirituale*, "that is, in a kind of reference to the procuring and setting forward of the spiritual good." This claim the learned Dr. Field exposes and refutes in the 45th and 46th chapters of his 5th book.²

In this Act the eminently learned and pious Davenant, afterward Bishop of Salisbury, was answerer, and the munificent and very able Regius Divinity Professor and Master of Peterhouse, Dr. John Richardson, one of the opposers. In behalf of the excommunicating of kings, Dr. Richardson

¹ l. ii. art. 3, cap. 9, p. 659. Jenæ, 1662.

² pp. 609—632, 3rd ed. Oxf. 1635.

vigorously pressed the practice of St. Ambrose, who excommunicated the Emperor Theodosius. The King with some warmth replied, *Profecto fuit hoc ab Ambrosio insolentissime factum*; upon which Dr. Richardson answered, "Responsum vere regium et Alexandro dignum; hoc non est argumenta dissolvere sed dissecare," (a truly royal answer and worthy of Alexander, "this is not to untie but to cut arguments"), and sitting down desisted from any further dispute.

The second thesis was, *Infallibilis fidei determinatio non est annexa cathedræ Papali*. Dr. Field states the general opinion in the Romish Church at this time to have been, that the Pope whether he might err personally or not, yet could not "define for falsehood," i. e. could not err as Pope. Bellarmine maintained, but as Field proved, falsely, that all "Catholics" consented that the Pope with a General Council could not err.¹

The third thesis was, *Cæca obedientia est illicita*. This was against that doctrine of implicit and unquestioning obedience which is the foundation of the Jesuit system, and which makes it therefore an essentially dangerous, irreligious, and immoral institution, namely, that the mind, will, and conscience of the members of that Society should be one and the same with the mind, will, and conscience of their superior. So Ignatius Loyola, in the epistle *De Virtute Obedientiæ* at the end of the Rules of the Society: "Obedience comprehends not only the execution, that one should do what he is commanded, and the will, that he should do it willingly, but also the judgment, that whatsoever the superior thinks and enjoins, the same should appear true and right to his inferior, in so far as I have said the will can bend the understanding by its own power."²

The first night's entertainment was a comedy made and acted by St. John's men. It is but slightly alluded to by Chamberlain in that letter to Dudley Carleton from which so much of our information respecting the royal visit is drawn.

A Law Act was moderated by Dr. Henry Mutlow, first Gresham Professor of Civil Law. He had been a Fellow of King's College, was Proctor in 1589 and 1593, a Burgess of

¹ See Field's *Book of the Church*, b. v. chap. 42.

² § ix.

Parliament, many years Public Orator; he died 1634, aged eighty years, and was buried at St. Mary's.

The second night, March 8, the celebrated comedy of *Ignoramus* was acted to the great entertainment of the King, who was the more pleased as the whole was a satire upon the professors of the common law, for which his imperial bias would gladly have substituted the civil law as more in unison with his favourite theory of absolute monarchy.

The author was the Rev. George Ruggle, whose family name was derived from Rugely in Staffordshire. He had been educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was B.A. 1594, and M.A. 1597. He was thence transferred to a fellowship and tutorship at Clare Hall 1598, a time when that foundation was favoured with a constellation of genius and learning, as we have noticed elsewhere. He was born at Lavenham in Suffolk. He was Taxor of the University in 1604, went to Oxford when the King visited that University in 1605, and was there incorporated M.A. He resigned his fellowship in 1620, and died about a year after. His *Ignoramus* was not published until some years after his death, first in 1630, then in eight editions to one at Dublin inclusive in 1736, and lastly, with ample notes and a valuable life of Ruggle by Sir J. S. Hawkins, in 1787. A translation by Robert Codrington, M.A. of Magdalene College, Oxford, appeared in 1662, and a mutilated one in 1678, under the title of *The English Lawyer, a Comedy acted at the Royal Theatre; written by Edward Ravenscroft, Gent.*, in 1678. The play was acted by (amongst others) several members of the University in holy orders, which was not overlooked at Oxford, where a more discreet course had been observed in 1605. Amongst them were Towers, afterwards Bishop of Peterborough, Bargrave, Dean of Canterbury, Love, Dean of Ely, and Mason of Pembroke Hall, Dean of Sarum. Spencer Compton, then a youth only thirteen years of age, only son of Lord Compton, and of Queens' College, Cambridge, attracted especial observation. He personated three several characters in this comedy. Mr. John Holles, of Christ College, eldest son of Sir John Holles, whom he succeeded as second Earl of Clare in 1637,

was another of the actors. He was a man of honour and courage, and remarkable for his moderation in the troubles of the ensuing reign. He died January 2, 1665, and was succeeded by his son Gilbert. Love, afterwards Dean of Ely, was also with Bargrave of Clare Hall.

In the Physic Act the King's Physician, Sir Edward Radcliffe, distinguished himself. He was brother of Dr. Jeremiah Radcliffe, one of the Senior Fellows of Trinity College, and also one of the translators of the Bible. He some time lived at Orwell, where his brother was Rector, and erected a monument to his memory. He was grandson of Ralph, a celebrated schoolmaster at Hitchin.¹ He died September 1631, aged 78. The family still reside at the Priory near Hitchin.

On the third night, March 9th, a comedy, *Albumazar*, was acted before the King. Its author was Mr. Tomkis, scholar of Trinity College 1594, and B.A. 1598. The comedy was published in quarto in 1615, and again in 1634. It is reprinted in the ninth volume of Dodsley's *Collection*. Tomkis was in part indebted, as was also Ruggle, to John Baptist Porta, an Italian dramatist of the preceding century.

The last evening *Melanthe*, a Latin pastoral composed by Mr. afterwards Dr. Brook,² was acted.

Chamberlain, who did not exercise the good feeling of the witty Corbet,³ who being asked to criticise the performances of the University, answered that he had left his malice and judgment at home, and came thither only to commend, admits that the Philosophy Act was excellently kept.

¹ See Wood's *Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, vol. i. p. 215; and *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 287.

² This Dr. Samuel Brook was of a Yorkshire family. His father was an eminent merchant, and twice Lord Mayor of York. He was an early and faithful friend of John Donne, Dean of St. Paul's, his fellow-student at Trinity College, Cambridge. He was appointed Chaplain to Prince Henry, and on the recommendation of that Prince, Divinity Professor in Gresham College September 26, 1612, D.D. 1615, Rector of St. Margaret's, Lothbury, June 13, 1618, Master of Trinity College, Cambridge, September 5, 1629, Archdeacon of Coventry May 13, 1631. He is said to have been nominated not by Bishop Morton but by the King. See more respecting him in Dr. Bliss's valuable notes to Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. pp. 401, 402.

³ Afterwards Bishop of Oxford (1628) and Norwich (1632).

After it was concluded Bishop Andrewes sent the moderator, the answerer, the varier or prevaricator, and one of the repliers, who were all of his College, twenty angels each. Wren was answerer or respondent; Preston, tutor of Queens' College, the celebrated Puritan, was first opponent; Dr. Reade of Pembroke Hall was moderator.

Alexander Reade, B.A., was chosen to a Fellowship at Pembroke Hall November 5th, 1605, whilst Harsnet was Master; Humanity Lecturer (the first of Mr. Farr's foundation) 1616. Mr. Farr was Henry Farr, Fellow 3rd November 1570, whilst Dr. John Young, afterward Bishop of Rochester, was Master; he was M.A. 1574, and Junior Proctor 1586. Reade held the same office in 1617, had a testimonial for orders in 1618, was made D.D. and President, *i. e.* next to the Master or Vice-Master, in 1624, and Perpetual Curate or Minister of Yately, a small preferment in the gift of the Master of St. Cross' Hospital, on the northern border of Hampshire, east of Bramshill Park. He died about 1628.

“ Their moderator was no fool;
He far from Cambridge kept a school.”

For this last information we are indebted to “A grave poem, as it was presented in Latin by certain divines before his Majesty in Cambridge, by way of interlude, styled *Liber novus de adventu Regis ad Cantabrigiam*. Faithfully done into English with some liberal advantage; made rather to be sung than read. To the tune of *Bonny Nell*.” It is inserted in Corbet's poems, and has been reprinted by Sir J. S. Hawkins in his edition of *Ignoramus*, and by Nichols in his *Royal Progresses*.

The question was whether dogs could make syllogisms, suggested by a passage from Chrysippus in Sir W. Raleigh's *Sceptic*, in which the position is affirmed. Wren, whose abilities had early recommended him to the kind patronage of Andrewes, pleaded a kind of divine right for the King's hounds. Fuller in his *Worthies* has in his own way perpetuated this Act. After identifying him from his arms with the worshipful family of the Wrens in Northumberland, he

adds, 'He was bred Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, where he kept the extraordinary Philosophy Act before King James. I say, kept it with no less praise to himself than pleasure to the King, where, if men should forget, even dogs would remember his seasonable distinction, what the King's hounds could perform above others by virtue of their *prerogative*.'¹

On Easter-day, April 9, Bishop Andrewes preached before the King at Whitehall a sermon of the most unparalleled ingenuity upon those words of our Lord, *Destroy this Temple, and within three days I will raise it up again*. His prose continually reminds us throughout of Herbert's verse, the same fertility of invention, the same facility of application. He notes how the sign our Lord gave the Pharisees was far greater than that which was in their thoughts. The Temple men could raise again, but not *this* temple the body.

He takes occasion to condemn the avaricious sacrilege of his times, that will leave nothing standing of the house of God, not even the roof if it be of lead. He briefly touches on the typical character of the Temple and its furniture, adducing St. Ambrose, saying, "that is truly a temple wherein is the purification of our sins."

Toward the end he observes that we make our bodies anything rather than temples, or if temples, temples of Ceres, Bacchus, Venus. "But if this be the fruit of our life, and we have no other but this, to fill and farce our bodies, to make them shrines of pride, and to maintain them in this excess, to make a *money-change*² of all besides, *Commonwealth, Church*, and all, I know not well what to say to it. I doubt at their rising they will rather make blocks for hell-fire than be made pillars in the temple of God, in the holy places made without hands."

In the course of this year Bishop Andrewes added Matthew Wren (afterward Bishop of Ely) to the number of his chaplains. He had been Fellow of Pembroke College from 1605, and on January 20, 1610, had been preferred by the same

¹ *Worthies of England*. Lond. p. 208.

² As the Jews did of the *Temple*.

patron to the Vicarage of Harston, and on March 26, 1614, to that of Barton. These he resigned, Harston in November 1615, and Barton in the year following, being instituted on the gift of Bishop Andrewes to the Rectory of Teversham this same year, in which he was also made his chaplain, on May 15. His learning was such as to rank him amongst the first scholars of the University; and by his application to whatsoever affairs concerned the interest of the Colleges to which he successively belonged, Pembroke and St. Peter's College, he has been deservedly regarded by those societies as one of their principal benefactors. Such merits could not fail to attach Andrewes to him, who was himself unrivalled as a promoter of learning and of learned men. Thus Wren was brought into the royal presence, and all courtly favours from that time flowed in upon him, if not in rapid yet in sure succession. In 1621 he was made Chaplain to Prince Charles, and accompanied him in that imprudent and unsuccessful journey to Spain. On his return he was in May 1624 made Rector of Bingham in the county of Nottingham. The town itself, still of no great size, owed what little importance it possessed to a noble collegiate church, now no longer collegiate, but highly interesting for its architectural features. This preferment was of considerable value. Not long before, on the preceding 10th November 1623, he was installed in the first stall of Winchester through Andrewes, then Bishop of that see. On July 26, 1625, he was elected Master of Peterhouse, and in 1628 was made Dean of Windsor and Registrar of the Order of the Garter. Some time after he was made Clerk of the Closet, and attended the King to Scotland. In 1634 he was promoted to a prebend in the abbey-church of Westminster, in the room of Dr. John Wilson, and the same year was consecrated to the see of Hereford on the death of the learned Dr. Augustine Lindsell. In the following year he was translated to Norwich on the decease of the poetical Bishop Corbett. On the death of Bishop White he was removed to Ely. Whilst Master of Peterhouse he collected contributions and built the college chapel, which was dedicated March 17, 1632. With the same liberality, on his restoration to his see after an

unjust imprisonment of eighteen years in the Tower, he built a new chapel to Pembroke College, elegantly designed by the famous Sir Christopher Wren, and gave to the College the manor of Hardwick near Cambridge, to keep it in repair. The chapel of Pembroke College cost him above £5000. The first stone was laid on May 13, 1663, by Dr. Mark Frank,¹ who had in the preceding year succeeded to the Mastership in the place of Dr. Benjamin Laney, Bishop of Peterborough. Bishop Wren himself consecrated it upon St. Matthew's-day, September 21, 1665. He died at Ely House, Holborn, April 24, 1667.

As a prelate and theologian Wren possessed neither the prudence nor the sound and solid piety of his great patron Andrewes. He professed to adhere to him as a ritualist, but in regard of that great practical point, the observance of the Lord's-day, he departed from the doctrine of Bishop Andrewes. That prelate maintained the divine institution of the day and the sanctification of the whole of it. Not so Bishop Wren, who although not guilty in so many instances as were objected to him, yet acknowledged that he had excommunicated some of his clergy for not publishing the King's declaration of the *Book of Sports*.²

He was very rigid in confining his clergy to the form of the bidding prayer, which form itself was continually varied and accommodated to the occasion in the time of Bishop Andrewes, as may be seen in the Bidding Prayers inserted in his *Posthumous Works*. Bishop Wren was not therefore justified in the use which he made of his name in his defence.³ George Herbert used his own form,⁴ and the 55th canon itself permits each minister and preacher to frame his own prayer upon the model of the canon, unrestrained as to the very form itself.

¹ Dr. Mark Frank was Archdeacon of St. Alban's, Treasurer and Prebendary of St. Paul's. He died in 1664, and was buried in the old cathedral. He wrote much and successfully in the style of his predecessor in the Mastership, Bishop Andrewes. His two volumes of *Sermons* are amongst the most valuable works in the *Anglo-Catholic Library*.

² Rushworth's *Hist. Collect.* Pt. 2, vol. i. p. 461. Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 64.

³ See *Parentalia*, p. 90.

⁴ *Remains*, p. 99, ed. Pickering.

Wren was also over-zealous for the custom of bowing to the altar, for which in his defence he alleged without any ground Jewel's *Defence of his Apology*. There in page 203 (ed. Lond. 1565) Jewel has not one word of bowing to the communion-table, but only, "kneeling, bowing, standing up, and other like are commendable gestures and tokens of devotion, so long as the people understandeth what they mean." He more pertinently appealed to Bishop Morton on the *Institution of the Sacrament*,¹ who however is entirely silent upon the mystical meaning of bowing as it is now understood by some, and as it was perhaps in the mind of Laud himself. "The use of bowing toward the Lord's table hath in it *no other* nature or meaning than Daniel his kneeling with his face towards Jerusalem and the Temple. For as this was a testification of his joint society in that religious worship which had been exercised in the Temple and altar thereof at Jerusalem, so ours is a symbol of our union in profession with them who do faithfully communicate at the table of the Lord." He again has recourse to the name of Andrewes in behalf of bowing to the holy table. But Andrewes at least, as Dr. Fuller has left on record, did not impose upon any in any of the dioceses which he governed, unauthorized ceremonies. No wonder that Wren incurred the displeasure of those who felt that from his hands they had suffered unjustly, and who saw clearly that overmuch zeal for such external points was incompatible with purity of doctrine and with the maintenance of the reformed faith. It was indeed a sort of Pharisaism that punctiliously bowed at the altar, and the next moment looked on with satisfaction at the congregation released from church to dance around the maypole. This was to set up human institutions (the Book of Sports) practically and imperiously above divine, 'the day which the Lord hath made.'

On April 16th the Council wrote to the Bishop to request him to supervise the priests to be sent to Wisbeach Castle, and to appoint learned divines to converse with those who might desire it. Letters were sent to the neighbouring

¹ B. vii. c. 9, § 2, p. 551. Lond. 1635.

justices cautioning them against any attempt at escape or rescue. Orders were sent at the same time for the better government of the said priests to Matthias Taylor, Keeper of the Castle.

Amongst these seem to have been Alexander Faircloth, Richard Cooper, George Muskett, and John Ainsworth.

On May 24th the Bishop wrote to the Keeper the answers of the Council to divers points of the requests made by the priests. Their breviaries were to be restored to them, and they permitted to see or write to friends who wished to relieve them without the names being known. He wrote further that he could not allow his own house to be used for the prisoners, as it had been during the vacancy of the see.¹

The Romish historian Dod highly eulogizes George Muskett *alias* Fisher, which latter he regards as his true name. He says that he had a brother at Attlebridge in Norfolk near Repham in the hundred of Taverham. He was educated at the English College at Rome, and was ordained priest there. He resided mostly in London, and was very zealous in proselytizing to his communion. He and the Jesuit Fisher were engaged for two days, April 21 and 22, 1621, in controversy with Drs. Goad and Featly. He was in prison in 1635, being then 53 years old. He was condemned to die, being convicted of saying mass, but remained twenty years a prisoner under sentence. But all this time, says Dod, he found means to exercise his functions with the same success as if he had enjoyed his liberty. He remained a prisoner until 1641, having been reprieved by the Queen's intercession. He was chosen to succeed Dr. Kellison as President of the English College at Douay. Again the watchful zeal of Henrietta, directed by those about her, found an opportunity of forwarding the plans of Rome and the interests of the Romish Church. The Queen prevailed to have his imprisonment exchanged for exile. He arrived at Douay November 14th, 1641. He died of consumption December 24th, 1645. In his presidentship he was succeeded by Dr. William Hyde.

¹ *Catalogue of State Papers*, vol. lxxx. p. 287.

Muskett was called at Rome, *Flos cleri Anglicani*—*The flower of the English clergy*.

On May 28th¹ Andrewes preached before the King at Greenwich upon our Lord's baptism. Here the peculiar gift of his prolific genius appeared to great advantage, in illustrating from analogy the design of our Lord's baptism as our federal head; the character of his baptism as the sanctification and pattern of ours; and the dovelike spirit of true Christianity and of the true Church in contradistinction to the vulturelike nature of the Church of Rome. "The Holy Ghost is a dove, and he makes Christ's spouse the Church a dove, a term so oft iterate in the Canticles and so much stood on by S. Augustine and the Fathers, that they make no question, *no dove no Church*. St. Peter," he adds, "was Bar-Jona, the son of a dove, and without such a dovelike spirit there is no remission of sins, no Holy Ghost in the Church."²

Upon July 9th our prelate assisted at the consecration of Dr. Richard Milbourne to the see of St. David's. The other prelates were Archbishop Abbot, Dr. John King, Bishop of London, Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Dr. John Overall, who had in April 1614 been raised to the see of Lichfield and Coventry. Dr. Richard Milbourne was of a Pembrokehire family but a native of London. He was educated at Winchester School and at Queens' College, Cambridge, was successively Rector of Sevenoaks, Chaplain to Prince Henry, Precentor of St. David's, and Dean of Rochester. This last preferment he resigned in the following year, and was succeeded by Dr. Robert Scott.³ In 1621 Dr. Milbourne was translated from St. David's to Carlisle, and Laud was consecrated to the former see. He died in 1624,

¹ By a mistake the 29th in the folio edition.

² pp. 681, 682. And see Joh. Simonis *Onomasticon N.T.* 1762, p. 84.

³ Dr. Robert Scott was a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Sub-Almoner to the King, Master of Clare Hall 1612, Dean of Rochester July 12, 1616, served the office of Vice-Chancellor in 1619, and died December 23, 1620. In his Deanry he was succeeded by Goodman, afterwards Bishop of Gloucester, and in the Mastership of Clare Hall by Dr. Thomas Paske, Archdeacon of London, Prebendary of the fifth stall at Canterbury 1626, Rector of Great Hadham, Herts, Prebendary of York 1628. He died in 1661.

when Dr. Richard Senhouse was raised to his see of Carlisle. Dr. Senhouse was also of the University of Cambridge, of Trinity and then of St. John's College, and Chaplain first to the Earl of Bedford and afterward of Prince Charles.

On Saturday August 5th our prelate being in attendance upon the King, preached before him in Salisbury Cathedral, from the four first verses of the 21st *Psalms*. This sermon, preached before a concourse of people and of considerable length, must have lost much of its effect from the unhappy custom, for which nevertheless our prelate himself contended, of interspersing every ten lines with Latin.

On the 25th of this month Bishop Andrewes preferred the learned John Boys to the second stall in his cathedral of Ely. "At the vacancy of the prebend he was sent for to London," writes his biographer Anthony Walker, "by Lancelot Andrewes, then Lord Bishop of Ely, who bestowed it upon him unasked for. When he had given him, as we commonly say, joy of it (which was his first salutation at his coming to him), he told him 'that he did bestow it freely on him without any one moving him thereto; though,' said he, 'some pickthanks will be saying they stood your friends herein.' Which prediction proved very true."¹

Under the patronage and probably at the request of Bishop Andrewes, Boys began his comparison of the Vulgate with the modern versions of the New Testament by Beza and others, to point out where the moderns had needlessly varied from the Vulgate. This work he completed to the end of the Acts of the Apostles, but upon the death of Bishop Andrewes desisted from his undertaking, having then entered but a little way into the Epistle to the Romans.² These notes, to the end of the Acts, appeared in 1656, entitled, *Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque Recentioribus Collatio in Quatuor Evangeliiis et Apostolorum Actis. In qua annon sæpius absque justâ satis causâ hi ab illo discesserint disquiritur, &c.*

Thus closely connected as is the name of Boys with that of Andrewes, it may not be out of place to add a brief notice

¹ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, b. viii. p. 50, vol. ii. 1735.

² *Ibid.* p. 53.

of him, taken from the memoirs from which has been drawn the anecdote relating to his promotion at Ely.

His grandfather John Boys was an inhabitant of Halifax in Yorkshire, where also his father William was born. His father was sent to Cambridge and lodged in Michael House (afterwards swallowed up in Trinity College), but went to lectures to St. John's College to Mr. John Seaton, afterward D.D. and Prebendary of Winchester, and author of a compendium of logic for the use of junior scholars. Mr. William Boys entered into holy orders, but becoming a convert to the doctrine of the Reformers, withdrew himself from the University and took a farm at Nettlestead, between Hadleigh and Needham Market, and married a gentlewoman named Mirable Pooley, of an ancient and respectable family. Her son, the learned translator, records of her that she had read the Bible over twelve times, and the *Book of Martyrs* twice, besides other books not a few.¹ When Queen Elizabeth came to the throne he took upon him to serve the cure of Elmset, between Nettlestead and Hadleigh; and on the death of the incumbent was presented by the Lord Keeper to the Rectory, and not long after to the Rectory of West Stow by his brother Mr. Pooley, a small parish between Bury St. Edmund's and Mildenhall. He died in his sixty-eighth year, and his widow survived him about ten years, dying about her seventy-eighth year.

His son John was born January 3, 1560, at Nettlestead. His father taught him to write Hebrew when he was but six years old, and took great pains himself in his education, sending him also daily to school at Hadleigh, two miles from his house at Elmset. There commenced his acquaintance with the learned Dr. John Overall, Dean of St. Paul's and afterwards Bishop of Norwich. He was admitted of St. John's College under the tuition of Mr. Henry Coppinger on the 1st of March, 1675.² He was of the ancient family of

¹ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, b. viii. p. 39, vol. ii. 1735.

² He was the sixth son of Henry Coppinger, Esq., by Agnes, daughter of Sir Thomas Jermyn. He was on December 4, 1591, collated by the pious and primitive Archbishop Piers to the prebendal stall of Apethorpe in the Church of

the Coppingers of Buxhall, between Stow Market and Lavenham. To St. John's College he was sent to be under Dr. Still,¹ who on the 21st of July in the preceding year had been raised to the Mastership, being also Rector of Hadleigh. In 1576 Dr. Still was made Archdeacon of Sudbury, and in 1577 advanced to the Mastership of Trinity College, Cambridge. His good management of the revenues of the latter foundation is memorialized by Dr. Fuller in his *Holy and Profane State*; and Walker, himself a Fellow of St. John's, says of him at that College, "This is he who procured the alteration of the College statutes, before which few Masters continued seven years; which gave occasion to the then common merry saying, viz. 'that the College was a good horse, but that he would kick till *Still* went to court and got new girths.'"

There were then in St. John's three Greek lectures read. In the first grammar was taught, as is commonly now in schools. In the second an easy author was explained in a grammatical way. The third was of a more advanced kind. A year was usually spent in attending upon the first course of lectures, and two upon the second. Within six weeks, however, Boys being a fair Greek scholar at the time of his admission was remitted to the third and higher lecture. Andrew Downes (in 1585 Regius Greek Professor) then lectured at St. John's five times a week with great diligence, but took such delight in this young scholar as to read over to him privately twelve of the more difficult Greek authors, both in prose and verse. Boys was in his first year elected to a scholarship.

York. This stall he resigned to Ambrose Coppinger, whom Dr. Toby Mathews collated June 2, 1619. The Earl of Oxford being patron of Lavenham presented Coppinger to it, and after resolving to keep back from him all tithe of his park (almost half the land of the parish), on Coppinger's offering rather to resign than be a party to such sacrilege, retracted his ill-made resolution. But the Earl's successor being a minor, his agent iniquitously put this exemplary person to the cost of £1600 before he could recover the rights of the Church. He was for forty-five years the very laborious and charitable incumbent of Lavenham, where he died on St. Thomas's-day, 1662, in his seventy-second year.—See Fuller's *Church Hist.* b. x. c. 6.

¹ Dr. Still was B.A. of Christ College 1561, M.A. 1565.

In 1577 his tutor Henry Coppinger was advanced by the Queen to the Mastership of Magdalene College, whereupon he left his Fellowship and went to Magdalene and took his pupil Boys along with him. This stretch of her prerogative however was not suffered to pass without animadversion, for the appointment belonged to the Earl of Suffolk. Coppinger therefore resigned, and lost both his Mastership and Fellowship. Boys was readmitted to his scholarship, and in due time chosen a Fellow, having the small-pox upon him at the time of his election. Whilst a Fellow he continued his studies in the summer in the University Library from four in the morning till eight at night. He resided upon his Fellowship, and delayed receiving holy orders the full time that the College statutes permitted him. On Friday, June 21, 1583 (having been eight years a member of St. John's College) he was ordained deacon, and on the following day, by dispensation, priest by Dr. Edmund Freake, Bishop of Norwich. Such was the esteem in which Boys was held by Dr. Whitaker (who, on the elevation of Dr. Richard Howland to the see of Peterborough, was made Master of St. John's on St. Matthew's-day, February 25, 1586,) that every Friday evening he came to Boys' chamber to hear his pupils declaim. This may be observed as an instance also of the forgiving and kind spirit of that famous controversialist, for Boys had voted against his election. However as he acknowledged to Walker his sorrow afterward for the part he then took, so he probably evinced to Whitaker, after his better knowledge of him, the deference and regard that were his due. Dr. Whitaker died December 4, 1595. Robert (afterwards Sir Robert) Naunton, Fellow of Trinity College and University Orator, was appointed to deliver the oration at Great St. Mary's, and Boys in his own College. He has testified in his notes, to the commendation of Whitaker, that under his governance learning, if at any time, flourished and increased, but that after his death the College was augmented in its buildings but declined in letters. Mr. Boys was afterwards made Philosophy Lecturer, and in the course of one year commented upon the greater part of Plato's *Timæus*. These lectures were held in the

schools, the Vice-Chancellor and a great concourse of auditors flocking to him. He was for ten years chief Greek Lecturer in his College, and besides the College lecture read a Greek lecture at four of the clock in the morning in his own chamber, which was frequented by many of the Fellows. At the death of his father, his mother by request commanding him that it might be continued to her for a place of abode, he asked Mr. Pooley for the living of West Stow, which he promptly gave him, but resigned upon Mr. Pooley's taking his mother under his own roof.

About 1596 the Earl of Salisbury made Boys one of his chaplains, who the same year thus became possessed of the rectory of Boxworth in the county of Cambridge. "When he was about thirty-six years old Mr. Holt, Rector of Boxworth, dying, left the advowson of that living in part of a portion to one of his daughters, requesting of some of his friends that, if it might be by them procured, Mr. Boys of St. John's might become his successor by the marriage of his daughter. Whereof when he was advertised he went over to see her, and soon after, they taking a liking to each other, he was presented to the parsonage, and instituted by Archbishop Whitgift, it being then the great vacation of the see¹ of Ely." He was instituted October 13, 1596. "The College at his departure gave him £100, though I must confess," adds Walker, "that was then custom more than courtesy."

From Boxworth he came constantly into the University to hear the lectures of the Greek and Hebrew Professors, Downes and Lively (the former of St. John's, the latter of Trinity College), as also of the Regius Divinity Professor, his friend Dr. Overall. Meanwhile he fell into debt and was obliged to part with his library, a rare collection of classical authors. He was, moreover, unhappy for a while in his domestic relations, but a reunion of affection ensued, and those affections were but the more confirmed. About twelve of the neighbouring clergy met every Friday at each other's house to dinner, amongst whom Boys was one. Then they

¹ A vacation of about nineteen years from the death of Bishop Cox in 1581 to the appointment of Heton in 1599.

gave an account of their studies, and discussed and resolved such questions as might be propounded.

He was employed in tuition and kept some young scholars in his house, as well for the instruction of his own children and those of the gentry who were entrusted to him, as of the poorer children of his parish.

When the present translation of the Bible was commenced, he, with Dr. Duport, Master of Jesus College, Dr. William Branthwayt, Master of Gonville and Caius College, Ward, afterward Master of Sidney College, Dr. Jeremiah Radcliffe, one of the Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Professor Downes, Mr. afterward Dr. Ward, Fellow of Queens' College, Prebendary of Chichester, and also by the same patron, his old scholar, Bishop Andrewes, Rector of Bishop's Waltham, was appointed to undertake the Apocrypha. But having finished his portion, he also relieved another of another College, whither he went and lodged during the week until that second portion was finished. The several companies of translators were engaged upon the work four years, after which two of each company were selected to review the whole work, and to put it to the press. Of his company Boys himself and his friend Downes were appointed to this second labour. These (six in all) went daily to Stationers' Hall, and in three quarters of a year finished their task. Whilst thus engaged the Company of Stationers paid them 30*l.* per week, Boys alone, it is said, took notes of their proceedings, and these he kept till his dying day.

Coming to the knowledge of that lay-bishop, Sir Henry Savile, as Walker pleasantly calls him, he read over his edition of St. Chrysostom the greater part of that voluminous Father in the MSS., besides the reviewing of such of Henry's and his friend Downes's MSS. as he perused, and but for the death of Sir Henry he would have been rewarded for this labour with a Fellowship at Balliol. He was indeed nominated to a Fellowship in the proposed Theological College at Chelsea, but the College and with it the Fellowship soon came to nothing. During Andrewes's service the bishops as a translation, as we have seen in Henry's case, never

however still at Boxworth till 1628 when he removed to Ely, not sparing himself even in his old age, but preaching not only in his own turn, but frequently for his friends, sometimes only at an hour's warning. He was often called upon to preach funeral sermons. Twice a year he went from Ely to his living at Boxworth to administer the holy Communion, and preach to his parishioners. At Ely he went twice, sometimes thrice, a day to prayers in the Cathedral to his very death, for he survived the suppression of the Liturgy by the Rebels only five days. In his extreme old age he would study eight hours a day. He read walking, and in his youth often walked from college to his mother's house at West Stow to dinner, which was above twenty miles. This he did doubtless between about four and twelve at noon. Such were the primitive habits of our literary giants. Not only to Sir Henry Savile but also to that industrious patristic antiquary, Augustine Lindsell, Bishop of Hereford, he rendered very considerable assistance. He was very temperate, very charitable, very devout. To the poor of Boxworth he sent annually forty shillings at Christmas, besides the relief he gave them at his going to them. Some poor person he feasted for some years on the Lord's-day at his own table. He visited the prisoners, and often sent or carried them money. He seldom began anything without invoking the blessing and help of God. He used very many rather than very long prayers. He never carried any book into the pulpit with him but his Bible, and though a prodigy of learning, sought nothing so much as to be understood by the least instructed of his congregation. His wife departed this life May 16, 1642, and after a most painful illness which he endured with great resignation, entreating of his children and all who were about him that if at any time he expressed anything which savoured of impatience they would tell him of it, he died upon Sunday, January 14, 1643, being eighty-three years and eleven days old. He was buried on February 6th, Mr. Thurston of St. John's College preaching his funeral sermon.¹

Return we now from this most worthy person, well worthy

¹ Peck's *Desiderata Curiosa*, vol. ii. b. 8, pp. 37—58.

of so great and renowned a patron to the patron himself, whom we find on the 5th of November discoursing at Whitehall very admirably upon the divine mercy: *The Lord is good to all, and his mercies are over all his works.* Here indeed he proceeds so far as to say that the very angels have some need of mercy. "The very seraphim have somewhat to cover. As for the cherubim they will set mercy a seat upon the top of their wings." He accommodates a passage of St. Chrysostom from his Homilies on the Epistle to the Romans: "Great is the deep of my sins, but greater the abyss of the mercy of God;" and adds, "Great is the whirlpool of my wicked works, but greater is the Bethesda, the wide and deep gulph of the mercy of God that hath no bottom. And indeed it were not truly said, It is above all his works (all his, and much more then above all ours,) if any of all our works were above it. No more then there is a Lamb that taketh away the sins of the world if there were any sin of the world he takes not away."

On November 29th Bishop Andrewes preferred Walter Balcanqual, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, to the Vicarage of Harston (in the place of Wren). Balcanqual was M.A. of Pembroke College 1609, elected to a Fellowship there September 8, 1611, B.D. 1616, and in that year was preferred to Waterbeach near Cambridge. In 1617 he was made Master of the Savoy, and in 1618 was sent as the representative of the Scotch Church to the Synod of Dort, being at that time one of the King's Chaplains. The Mastership of the Savoy he resigned in 1618, in favour of the rapacious and unstable Mark Antony de Dominis. In 1621 that remarkable person left this kingdom, and Balcanqual was reinstated in the Mastership of the Savoy. In 1624 he was made Dean of Rochester, and in 1639 of Durham. He escaped from the siege of York and took refuge at Chirk Castle in Denbighshire, but sinking under the fatigue died there on Christmas-day 1645. He was buried in the church, and Sir Thomas Middleton of Chirk Castle erected a monument to his memory. Bishop Pearson wrote his epitaph.

On December 3rd Bishop Andrewes, King, Bishop of

London, and Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, assisted Archbishop Abbot at the consecration of the incomparably learned and indefatigably laborious Dr. Robert Abbot, Master of Balliol College, and Regius Professor of Divinity in the University of Oxford, to the see of Salisbury, on the decease of Dr. Henry Cotton of Magdalene College in that University.

Robert Abbot was the eldest brother of the Archbishop, and was born at Guildford in 1560. They were both educated at the Free School there, founded by Edward VI. He was sent to Balliol College, Oxford, 1575, and upon an oration made by him the 17th of November, the day of Queen Elizabeth's accession, was chosen a scholar of that famous foundation. His brother George became a student there in 1578. Robert took his degree of M.A. in 1582. At Oxford he first distinguished himself by his eloquence as one of the lecturers at Carfax Church in the High Street. He officiated also for a time at Abingdon. He was, upon the first sermon he preached at Worcester, admitted to a lectureship in that city, and was soon after, in 1588, appointed Rector of All Saints, between Bridge Street and the Cathedral. John Stanhope, Esq., hearing him preach at St. Paul's Cross, appointed him Rector of the rich benefice of Bingham in Nottinghamshire. He was made D.D. in 1597, and on the accession of James I. one of his Majesty's Chaplains. On the death of Dr. Edward Lilly, late of Magdalene College but Master of Balliol, he was elected to succeed in the Mastership March 5, 1610, in which year the King, who greatly esteemed him, appointed him one of the Fellows of his new Controversial College at Chelsea. On the 2nd of November, 1610, he was collated, and on the 27th admitted, to the prebendal stall of Normanton in the church of Southwell. This was one of the three original prebends of that church.

Abbot first published *A Mirror of Popish Subtleties, written against a Cavilling Papist*, in the behalf of one Paul Spence, dedicated to Whitgift, 1594. 2. *The Exaltation of the Kingdom and Priesthood of Christ, being a Commentary upon the 110th Psalm*, dedicated to Gervase Babington, Bishop of Worcester. Lond. 1601. 3. *Antichristi Demonstratio*, dedi-

cated to the King, printed at London in 1602 and 1608. The second edition was, by the King's command, accompanied with his own comment upon the 7th, 8th, 9th, and 10th verses of the 20th chapter of the *Revelation*. 4. *A Defence of the Reformed Catholic of Master William Perkins, lately deceased, against the Bastard Counter Catholic of Dr. Bishop, Seminary Priest*, dedicated to King James, 1st part, quarto, Lond. 1606, the 2nd part 1607, the 3rd part 1609. 5. *The True Ancient Roman Catholic*, dedicated to Prince Henry, Lond. 1611; but previously to this a single sermon at St. Mary's, entitled *The Old Way*, quarto, Lond. 1610, translated into Latin by Thomas Drax. It was preached on July 8th, Act Sunday, and dedicated to Archbishop Bancroft.

On the death of Dr. Thomas Holland, also of Balliol College, Abbot was preferred by the King to be Regius Professor of Divinity March 25, 1612. In the following year appeared his able work, already referred to in these pages, *Antilogia adversus Apologiam Andreæ Eudæmon Johannis Jesuitæ pro Henrico Garnetto proditore*, dedicated to the King. L'Heureux's Apology for Garnet, under the assumed name of Andreas Eudæmon Johannes, had appeared at Cologne in 1610. His noblest work, his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans*, lies still in MS. in the Bodleian Library. He preached a sermon (also in MS.) at St. Mary's, on the notes to the Geneva Bible, and clearing Calvin from Arianism. This was against Dr. Howson, of whom Sir Thomas Bodley makes no very honourable mention in his *Letters*. Howson, however, who was more of the courtier than of the divine, by command of the King "turned his edge," says Dr. Featly, "from Geneva to Rome, and in the next sermon he preached at St. Mary's fell fierce and foul upon the Pope himself, threatening to loose him from his chair though he were fastened thereunto with a tenpenny nail."¹ Howson had been educated at Christ Church, and had been appointed Prebendary of Hereford July 15, 1587, and of Exeter May 29, 1592, and Canon of the second stall at Christ Church May 15, 1601. He was also Rector of

¹ Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, p. 546.

Brightwell and one of the Vicars of Bampton. He was consecrated to the see of Oxford May 9, 1619, and translated to Durham in 1628. He died in his seventy-fifth year, February 6th, 1632, and was succeeded by that illustrious prelate Dr. Thomas Morton.

Preaching on the afternoon of Easter-day, 1615, at St. Peter's-in-the-East before the University, Dr. Abbot attacked Laud, Howson, and their partisans, saying that there were men who, under pretence of truth and preaching against the Puritans, struck at the heart, and root of that faith and religion now established amongst us, which was the very practice of (the Jesuit) Parsons' and Campian's counsel, when they came hither to seduce young students, who, afraid to be expelled if they should openly profess their conversion, were directed to speak freely against the Puritans as what would suffice; so these do not expect to be counted Papists, because they speak only against Puritans; but because they are indeed Papists they speak nothing against them, or if they do, they beat about the bush, and that softly too, for fear of disquieting the birds that are in it."

At length his all but incredible diligence in the University was rewarded by his elevation to the see of Sarum. He was accompanied to the borders of the diocese of Oxford to North Hinksey by the heads of houses and many others, all lamenting his departure. At Salisbury he was as heartily welcomed, and on the Sunday following preached in the cathedral from *Psalm xxvi. 8: Lord, I have loved the habitation of thy house, and the place where thine honour dwelleth.* And soon did he shew the sincerity of this profession; for finding that the cathedral had been greatly neglected, he used his authority and influence with the chapter, which led to an expenditure of £500, a great sum in those days, upon the building.

It appears that his elevation to the episcopate was opposed by a party at court favourable to the Church of Rome; for the King said to him, soon after his consecration, *Abbot, I have had very much to do to make thee a Bishop, but I know no reason for it, unless it were because thou hast written against one,* an allusion to his defence of Perkins' *Reformed Catholic*,

against Bishop the Seminary Priest. Abbot visited his whole diocese in person, and preached every Lord's-day whilst he enjoyed his health, either in the city or in the churches in its vicinity. He was engaged in his last illness upon a Latin reply to Richard Thompson, commonly called Dutch Thompson (noticed in this volume), on falling away from grace and justification. Thrice a-week this Prelate sent provisions to the prison at Salisbury, and at Christmas feasted all the poor of the city. He suffered very greatly from that most painful complaint the stone, which brought him to his end. The judges being then on their circuit visited him during this illness. His last words were, *Jesu, come quickly; finish in me the work that thou hast begun.* Then he added in Latin, *Into thy hands, O Lord, I commit my spirit, for thou hast redeemed me, O God of truth. Save thy servant who hopeth and trusteth only in thee. Let thy mercy, O Lord, be upon me. O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded.* He died between 7 and 8 in the evening of March 2, 1618.

He was buried in his cathedral on the following Thursday in the choir over against the Bishop's throne.

Bishop Abbot was twice married, the second time, after he became a bishop, to Mrs. Bridget Cheynell. He left one son and two daughters. Of these, one married Sir Nathaniel Brent, Warden of Merton College, Oxford, whose daughter Margaret married Dr. Edward Corbet, Rector of Haseley in Oxfordshire, who presented some of this Prelate's MSS., including his *Commentary on the Romans*, to the Bodleian Library.

Abbot was succeeded in his Professorship by a divine who ably upheld the same theology which he had maintained, Dr. John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College. Dr. Prideaux was B.A. of that College January 31, 1600. He succeeded Dr. Holland as Rector of Exeter College April 4, 1612, and Abbot as Regius Professor of Divinity December 8, 1615. He was installed Canon of the fifth stall at Christ Church March 16, 1617, was consecrated Bishop of Worcester December 19, 1641, and on August 3, 1642, resigned the Rectorship of his College. He died July 20, 1650, in his

CHAPTER XVII.

Cosin—Drusius—Whitsunday 1616—The King at Burleigh-on-the Hill—Andrewes a Privy Councillor—Thomas Earl of Arundel—Amner—Beale—The King's Progress to Scotland—Andrewes at Durham 1617.

JOHN COSIN, at the Restoration Bishop of Durham, one of the most diligent ecclesiastical antiquaries of his age, was in 1616 invited both by Bishop Andrewes and by Overall, Dean of St. Paul's, to become his librarian. He attached himself to the latter. The Deanry of St. Paul's offered facilities of literary intercourse with the learned both of our own nation and of the Continent, perhaps above any other ecclesiastical residence.

On February 12 died the learned John Drusius, one of those eminent foreigners who are said both by Bishop Buckridge and by Isaacson to have enjoyed the patronage and munificent friendship of Andrewes. He came over to England from Flanders in 1567, was admitted of the University of Cambridge August 3, 1569, and on his return from France 1572, was entered at Merton College, Oxford, and read lectures on Hebrew, Chaldee, and Syriac at Merton and Magdalene Colleges, and afterward in the Public Schools; but in 1576 he left Oxford for a Professorship at Leyden, and thence removed to the University of Franeker, in Friesland. At Franeker Sixtus Amama succeeded to some share of his reputation.

Andrewes was called upon as usual to preach before the

King at Whitehall on Easter-day, March 31. His sermon on this occasion is not so remarkable as many that preceded it. But whatsoever is his subject it is sure to be amply illustrated in his hands.

Upon Whitsunday, May 19,¹ he preached before the King at Greenwich, upon our Lord's words to his Apostles, *Receive the Holy Ghost*. In the introduction he says, "Now what is here to do, what business is in hand, we cannot but know, if ever we have been at the giving of holy orders. For by these words are they given, *Receive the Holy Ghost, whose sins ye remit, &c.*, were to them, and are to us even to this day, by these and by no other words. Which words, had not the Church of Rome retained in their ordinations, it might well have been doubted (for all their *Accipe potestatem, &c.*, *Receive thou authority to sacrifice for the living and for the dead*,) whether they had any priests at all or no. But, as God would, they retained them, and so saved themselves. For these are the very operative words for the conferring this power, for the performing of this act." He next refutes the Romish tenet that holy orders are a sacrament, denying that it confers grace, the grace being but in office or function. Again, Christ alone instituted sacraments, but this ceremony he instituted with breathing upon the parties, which ceremony hath since been changed to laying on of hands. But such a change is inadmissible in a sacrament.

Very full of meaning is his unfolding the symbol of wind and of breath as betokening in Scripture the Holy Ghost. "For as for this let it not trouble you, that it is but breath, and breath but air, and so, one would think, too feeble; as indeed what feebler thing is there in man than it? The more feeble, the more fit to manifest his strength by. For, as weak in appearance as it is, by it were great things brought to pass. By this puff of breath was the world blown round about. About came the philosophers, the orators, the emperors. Away went the mist of error; down went the idols and their temples before it."²

With equal beauty does he apply in the patristic manner

¹ By a mistake 'the 20th' in the folio edition.

² p. 690.

to the Apostles the words of the 8th *Psalm*, *Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou ordained praise.*

In this sermon, as elsewhere, he removes the gross notion of the real presence, insisted on even now by not a few. Christ's body is received, he says, even as the Holy Ghost was, that is, not the substance but the virtue of it. Both are "truly received *in the same sense.*" So too Jeremy Taylor on the *Real Presence*. He also notes how this passage condemns those who are sent only by themselves, who take that to them which none ever gave them.

The Spirit of Christ, he observes here as elsewhere, is not an artificial but a constant principle and power working upon the *will*: "Of ourselves to move: not wrought to it by any gin, or vice, or screw made by art. Else we shall move but while we are wound up for a certain time till the plummets be at the ground, and then our motion will cease straight. All which¹ (but these last especially) are against the *automata*, the *spectra*, the *puppets of religion*, hypocrites. With some spring within their eyes are made to roll, and their lips to wag, and their breast to give a sob. All is but *Hero's pneumatica*, a vizor, not a very face; an outward show of godliness, but no inward power of it at all."

The grace of apostleship he interprets to be the office itself, for it is a grace to be a conduit of grace any way. The anointing was no inward holiness, "but the right of ruling only. So here it is no internal quality infused, but the grace only of their spiritual and sacred function. Good it were and much to be wished, that they were holy and learned all; but if they be not, their office holds good though." These again as conduits may, by transmitting the water, make the garden to bear both herbs and flowers, though themselves never bear any. Those who built the ark were yet drowned themselves.

In the month of August our prelate was in attendance upon the King at Burleigh-on-the-Hill, and on Monday the 5th, the anniversary of the Gowrie Conspiracy, preached before him from the 2nd chapter of *Esther*. Ahasuerus Bishop Andrewes takes to be the same with Artaxerxes

¹ Alluding to the six preceding distinctions.

Longimanus. He notes in this discourse how contrary the Romish doctrine of the seal of confession is to the 1st verse of the 5th chapter of *Leviticus*, and altogether unchristianizes the Romanists.

But though this may by some be condemned in him as inconsistent with some passages in his works, and as against certain favourite opinions respecting the essential nature of the Apostolical succession, it is no more than the Holy Ghost doth, when by St. Paul he asks, "What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?"¹ So Bishop Andrewes, speaking of Bellarmine and King James, "The King *in die hoc* (*in this day*) neither heathen, I am sure, nor that can have the least touch of idolatry fastened on him. He that shamed not to say '*No Christian*,' and hath been fain since to eat his word; he durst not say *an idolater*, that would soon have rebounded back upon himself. And no idolater is a Christian, nor Christian an idolater, I am sure."²

This is one of many instances in which the truth will force itself a way out of the pulpit, however it may be racked or fettered in the Schools. Even Laud (according to Stillingfleet in his preface to his work on *The Idolatry of the Romish Communion*) held the Romanist to be an idolater. Idolatry excluded from the Jewish Church, and it is incumbent for those who maintain that the practice of it is compatible with Christianity to shew their warrant out of the Holy Scriptures.

On the following day the King knighted at Burleigh Sir Francis Bodenham.³

On September 2nd Bishop Andrewes ordained Edward Catherall, M.A., deacon, and William Beale, M.A., and Humphrey Tovey, M.A., priests, in the chapel of Downham Palace. Catherall was B.A. of Jesus College 1614.⁴ One William Tovey, B.D., occurs as Prebendary of the first stall

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 16.

² p. 569, 5th ed. Lond. 1661.

³ A family of this name, called from the village of Bodenham between Leominster and Hereford, gave sheriffs to the county from the 3rd of Henry the Fourth to the 36th of Elizabeth inclusive. Arms: Azure, a fess between three chess-rooks, or.

⁴ Univ. Reg. Cambridge.

pull down the *spirit* to earth, but that the *spirit* should exalt the flesh to heaven."¹

He reminds his courtly audience how all are ready to seek *on earth* the things above, as the sons of Zebedee sought a place on earth at Christ's right hand, "not so much as good-wife Zebedee's two sons (that smelt of the fisher-boat), but means was made for them to *sit* there."

In the following we meet with his own peculiar force and ingenuity: "And if *Nature* would have us no *moles*, *Grace* would have us *eagles* to mount where *the body is*. And the Apostle goeth about to breed in us a holy ambition, telling us we are *ad altiora geniti*, born for higher matters than any here: therefore not to be so base-minded as to admire them, but to seek after things above. For, contrary to the philosopher's sentence, *Quæ supra nos nihil ad nos*, Things above they concern us not; he reverses that; yes (and we so to hold), *Ea maxime ad nos*, They chiefly concern us." The things, he says, we chiefly seek, are with Christ above; rest and glory. Most felicitously does he observe that it is only in heaven that these are found in union. Here rest is inglorious, and glory is restless. There they dwell together, and that for ever and ever.

The 5th and 6th April Casaubon was with the King. On Wednesday the 7th he dined with Overall at the Deanery, St. Paul's, with his wife and Grotius. Much conversation passed between them. On Thursday the 8th Grotius called upon Andrewes at Ely House. There were present Dr. Steward, about this time Fellow of All Souls' College, having been a Commoner of Magdalene Hall, Oxford, in 1608, Dr. Richardson, Master of Peterhouse, the Regius Divinity Professor at Cambridge, and another divine. Archbishop Abbot, who mentions this meeting in a letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, adds that Grotius surprised them all by his freedom and loquacity.²

On Friday the 9th Casaubon was at court, and complains

¹ p. 461.

² Abbot to Sir R. Winwood, June 1, 1613. Winwood's *Memorials*, vol. iii. p. 459.

that he lost part part of the city. He was at the Royal Palace at Hampton Court together with his wife and part of his family.

On the 12th we had Cassaubon writing to Henry VIII and making mention of the addition of which the King and Bishop Andrews had the authority of writing. He entreats that Henry will not be in London in the month of July, August, and September during which Cassaubon was from the metropolis. Our master and mistress had earnest desire to see Henry.

In Wolfe's *Confessiones* we have the following pre-nisence of his conversation with Andrews and others. The Bishop of Ely and Dean of St. Paul's were the first he (the learned Dr. Whitaker) in the beginning of the Fathers and the ancient Church in their opinion and judgment that doctrine which was based upon their understanding and agreement. But when upon his marriage into the Puritan family of the Puritans he wholly cultivated their opinions, he at a sudden began to confine his attention to Calvin: and I have often heard the Dean of St. Paul's affirm that with serious disputes arose at Cambridge between the Puritans some defending the new, others the old doctrine. He more than once went to Whitaker and asked him the reason why he preferred the opinions of Calvin above to the consent of the ancient Church, he at length had proceeded so far as to say expressly that he was prepared to defend all the opinions of Calvin, and that it was his purpose to take an opportunity of so doing."¹

Whitaker, according to Gataker in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus*, was twice married. Both his wives were women "of good birth and note." One was of the Thoresby family, descended from an uncle of Ralph Thoresby, the antiquary of Leeds.² We have seen that Overall took a middle course between the teaching of Whitaker on the one hand and the Semi-Pelagians on the other. The reader will find a reference to this topic in the 5th chapter of this volume.

¹ *Ep.* p. 529.

² *J. C. Wolfii Casauboniana*, pp. 28, 29. Hamel. 1710.

³ Churton's *Life of Nowell*, p. 441.

Earl of that surname. He, "not able to digest the wrongs and hard measure offered unto him, by the cunning sleights of some envious persons, fell into the toil and net pitched for him, and being brought into extreme peril of his life, yielded up his vital breath in the Tower. But his son Thomas, a most honourable young man (in whom a forward spirit and fervent love of virtue and glory most beseeeming his nobility, and the same tempered with true courtesy, shineth very apparently), recovered his father's dignities, being restored by King James and Parliament authority."¹ Thus Holland in his edition of Camden. Thomas was restored to his titles in 1603.

It has been remarked, probably with justice, that the great and repeated reluctance which Elizabeth evinced, previously to the final condemnation of his father the Duke of Norfolk in 1572, may relieve her memory of the charge of hypocrisy so recklessly urged against her by the advocates of her rival the Queen of Scots.

On the 1st of March, 1617, Andrewes ordained John Amner, Bachelor of Music, Deacon at Ely Chapel, the chapel of the noble palace of the Bishops of Ely, Holborn. Amner was organist of Ely Cathedral and master of the choristers. He had been admitted to the degree of Bachelor of Music at Oxford in May 1613.² He composed and published sacred hymns of three, four, five, and six parts, for voices and viols. Lond. 1615, quarto. He set the 6th Psalm, old version, as an anthem. The words are given as the 141st anthem in Clifford's *Collection*, published soon after the Restoration.

On the 16th of March Andrewes collated his friend Jerome Beale to the third stall in Ely Cathedral, vacant by the death of Dr. Robert Tinley, Prebendary and Archdeacon of Ely. To the Archdeaconry Andrewes preferred his friend Daniel Wigmore, who held that dignity to his death in 1646, and to whom he had given the second stall in his cathedral in 1615. Wigmore was also Rector of Northwold in Norfolk and Snailwell in Cambridgeshire. He was probably of a Somersetshire family. He purchased the manor of Little Shelford of Sir

¹ p. 310, Holland's Camden's *Britannia*, 1610.

² Wood's *Fasti Ath. Oxon.* ed. Bliss, vol. i. p. 351.

Toby Pallavicini, and dying in 1646, was buried at Little Shelford. One of his family, Dr. Gilbert Wigmore, was Rector of Little Shelford after the Restoration, and living to a great age was Rector there in 1709.

Beale was born at Gloucester, and educated first at Christ College, Cambridge, and on October 9, 1579, was elected to a Fellowship at Pembroke College, being then B.A. Andrewes on September 25, 1616, preferred him to the Vicarage of Barton near Cambridge, and on July 13, 1615, to the Rectory of Willingham. He was also Rector of Nuthurst near Horsham in Sussex, probably by the favour of the same patron. When Dr. Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Bristol and Master of Pembroke College, was translated to the see of Ely, Beale was elected to succeed him in the Mastership, February 21, 1619. He was amongst the most eminent scholars in his University, in great favour with the King, who made him his chaplain and sub-almoner, and appears as a constant correspondent of Isaac Vossius.¹ Like Andrewes he was a great student of patristical learning. Doublet makes honourable mention of Beale and Balcanqual as amongst the most devoted friends of Vossius.² In the collection of epistles to Vossius is one from Pembroke Hall by Beale, April 2, 1628, highly commending Vossius's *History of Pelagianism*. For this Vossius received the unbounded thanks of Laud,³ and due acknowledgments, but with some animadversions from the pious and learned Dr. Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College.⁴ In a letter of Andrew Colvin's to Vossius, Wren, Beale, and Creighton are memorialized as the most learned individuals belonging at that time (1629) to the University of Cambridge.⁵ Creighton succeeded George Herbert as Public Orator, and was in his old age raised to the see of Bath and Wells.⁶ Dr. Beale died in 1630, being succeeded in his

¹ Vossii *Epist.* 72, 76, 96, 106, 224.

² *Ep. ad Voss.* Aug. 16, 1622, pp. 30, 31, and again from Venice April 18, 1625. *Cl. Virorum ad Voss. Epist.* 58, p. 35.

³ In a letter from Hampton Court, September 25, 1627. *Ep.* 82, p. 49.

⁴ *Ep.* 73, pp. 43, 44.

⁵ *Ep.* 105, p. 67.

⁶ "The worthy Bishop of Wells."—Walton's *Life of George Herbert*, p. 40, ed. Pickering, 1836.

Mastership by Dr. Benjamin Laney, successively Bishop of Peterborough, Lincoln, and Ely.

In this same month¹ (March 1617) Andrewes with Dr. Valentine Carey, Dean of St. Paul's and Master of Christ College, Cambridge, and Laud, now Dean of Gloucester and Chaplain to the King, attended his Majesty upon his visit to Scotland. On Sunday March 30,² the King being at Lincoln attended divine service at the cathedral, being met at the great west entrance by Andrewes, his old servant Montagu, Bishop of Winchester, and his most humble of servants and entirely devoted of courtiers, Dr. Neile, Bishop of Lincoln, who preached before him. After the sermon the King (we read) healed fifty persons of the King's evil. He dined at the Bishop's palace, formerly one of the most elegant specimens of both late and early Gothic in this kingdom.³ After dinner the King went in his carroche in private to St. Catherine's. On Tuesday April 1 Chancellor Eland preached before the King in his chamber of presence.⁴

From Lincoln the King went to Newark, and thence to Worksop, Doncaster, Pontefract, and York, where on April 11 he attended service at the Minster. On the 12th he rode with his train to Bishopthorpe, and dined

¹ Nichols's *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 232. Now also Andrewes was made a Commissioner for the furtherance of the Spanish match, with the Lord Keeper, Lord Treasurer, Lord Privy Seal, Duke of Lenox, and Sir Thomas Lake. Abbot, Sir Thomas Edmondes, and Sir Ralph Winwood were excepted from the commission as being unfavourable to the match.

² On Saturday April 5th our prelate's name was put in a commission for the releasing and banishing from the kingdom William Danvers, Roger Walter, Nicholas Johnson, and John Armstrong, who had refused to take the oath of allegiance.—Rymer's *Fœdera*.

³ It was destroyed in the Civil Wars. A view of the remains was published in Grose's *Antiquities*, four views in the *Antiquarian Cabinet*, one of the Gateway in the *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1826, and others in Pugin's *Specimens of Gothic Architecture*.

⁴ George Eland, B.D., Rector of Irtlingborough, Northamptonshire, and of Tempsford, Bedfordshire, was by his great patron Dr. Chaderton, Bishop of Lincoln, collated to the Archdeaconry of Bedford February 4, 1599, and on January 22, 1605, was installed Chancellor of the Cathedral. He died about 1631, and was succeeded in his Archdeaconry by the celebrated Dr. Hackst, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.

with the aged but most sprightly and cheerful Toby Mathew, Archbishop.¹

On Sunday the 13th Dr. Mathew preached a learned sermon before him, after which there were brought to him seventy persons to be cured of the King's evil. This day the King and all his court dined with the Lord Mayor, and after dinner knighted Sir Robert Ayscough the Lord Mayor, and Sir Richard Hutton the Recorder. This same year Sir Richard was made a judge of the Common Pleas.²

On Monday the 14th the King rode to Sheriff Hutton Park, and there knighted Sir Richard Harper of Derbyshire, Sir John Hippisley, and Sir William Bellassis of Durham.³

On Tuesday April 15 Dr. Phineas Hodson, of the University of Cambridge, who had in September 1611 been made by Toby Mathew Chancellor of York, preached before the King at the Manor House.⁴ Probably it was through the Archbishop that Dr. Hodson was either now or before Chaplain to the King.

On Wednesday April 16 the King was entertained at Aske Hall in the parish of Easby, the seat of Talbot Bowes, Esq.⁵ On the skirts of the high country and looking down the fertile vale of Gilling, with swelling lawns in front, and a long sweep of rising woods beyond, Richmondshire has not perhaps a single residence which surpasses Aske in point of situation.

¹ Dr. T. Mathew was born at Bristol in 1545, in 1572 he was made President of St. John's College, Oxford, and in 1576 Dean of Christ Church. After the see of Durham had remained vacant nearly two years he was consecrated to it. Queen Elizabeth had his learning in great esteem, and expressed great admiration of his preaching. On the death of Dr. Matthew Hutton, January 16, 1605, King James raised him to the archbishopric. He was to the last a frequent and constant preacher, and was famous, like Bishop Andrewes and so many other noble persons in that age, for his great hospitality. Sir John Harrington, in his *Brief View of the Church of England*, delivers some familiar anecdotes respecting him, but in a manner sufficiently indicative of the reverence and affection with which he regarded him.

² Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 273.

³ Hence the Lord Bellassis of Worlaby in Lincolnshire.

⁴ To his beloved wife there is a monument and most panegyric inscription in the minster. He died in 1646.

⁵ Arms: Ermine, three long bows bent in pale, gules.

On the 17th the King was received at the palace Bishop Auckland by Dr. William James, successor to Toby Mathew in the see of Durham. There he spent Good Friday, and on Saturday the 19th entered Durham. The 20th being Easter-day Bishop Andrewes preached in the cathedral on the sign of the prophet Jonas, with his usual ingenuity laying open the whole scope and force of the words. First he exposed the hypocrisy and impenitent hardheartedness of the Pharisees, worshippers of their own imaginations, literally an adulterous generation, contradicting themselves with a malicious mind in asking yet another after so many signs. But "the worse the men, the more importune ever, and the harder to satisfy."¹ Yet Christ in his goodness gives them a sign, and the greatest of all signs. Other prophets had raised the dead, none had raised themselves. Christ would compare himself to the prophet Jonah, that prophet who was a sinner and a fugitive. He came in the similitude of sinful flesh, and accordingly would make sinful flesh his similitude. Jonah was sent to the Gentiles, and sent the first in order of time of all the sixteen, the four great, the twelve less. So Jonah was every way a sign of salvation to us sinners of the Gentiles. Jonah and none but he had the honour to be a kind of expiatory sacrifice, when by his being cast out the ship was saved. And he alone gave a type of the resurrection. He came forth the third day by special grace, not by the course of nature. Incomparable is our prelate's comparison of Jonah in the whale to the security of the state of death. "There he was, but took no hurt there. 1. As safe, nay more safe there than in the best ship of Tharsis: no flaw of weather, no foul sea could trouble him there. 2. As safe, and as safely carried to land: the ship could have done no more. So that upon the matter he did but change his vehiculum [carriage], shifted but from one vessel to another; went on his way still. 3. On he went, as well, nay better than the ship would have carried him; went into the ship, the ship carried him wrong, out of his way clean to Tharsisward; went into the whale, and the whale carried him

¹ p. 508, *Sermons*, 4th ed. 1641.

right, landed him on the next shore to Ninive, whither in truth he was bound, and where his errand lay. 4. And all the while at good ease as in a cell or study, for there he indited a psalm, expressing in it his certain hope of getting forth again. So as in effect where he seemed to be in most danger, he was in greatest safety. Thus can God work. And the evening and the morning were Jonah's second day."

We may add, how great a proof is here of the faithfulness of God's protection and the omnipotence of his providence. What darkness should bring us into the deep of despair who are commanded to trust in such a God, whose miracles in the world of spirits never cease, and whose tender pity is as great toward the meanest and poorest of his children now as once toward the prophet Jonah? This is a sign as well for the comfort of his children as for the conviction of his enemies.

But how triumphantly did our prelate pursue the comparison: Jonah but given up for dead, Christ really so, taken down from his cross, laid in, sealed up in his grave, a stone rolled on him, a watch set over him. The whale, not Jonah, delivered the prophet, but Christ by his own power broke the bars of death and loosed the sorrows of hell, of which it is impossible he should be holden. Jonas rose but to the same state, mortal still. Christ rose never to die more. Jonas was but cast out upon the dry land, but Christ was received into glory. And in sign of it the place whereon Jonas was cast was dry land or cliffs, where nothing grows. The place wherein Christ rose was a well-watered garden, wherein the ground was in all her glory, fresh and green and full of flowers at the instant of his rising this time of the year.

And yet behold a greater than all these. For Jonas when he came forth, came forth and there was all, left the whale as he found it. Christ slew the whale that devoured him; he was the death of death.

Our good bishop fails not towards the conclusion to teach that lesson of faith in God's providence touched upon above, and to speak of the great deliverance of all from the power of Satan the spiritual Leviathan.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The King's progress to Scotland—Whitsunday 1617—Carey and Laud—Grotius "De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra"—Felton, Bishop of Bristol.

THE King's visit to Scotland was professedly to discharge some points of his kingly office in reforming abuses both in the church and commonwealth. But in attempting these changes he outran the zeal and prudence of the Scottish Bishops, who themselves with great moderation interposed, and prevented consequences that the Sovereign himself was too disinclined to provide for, ever as ready to exalt his prerogative as he was unable to maintain his claims. Hence his visit was ineffectual, and served only to increase mutual prejudice and aversion.

On June the 8th, being Whitsunday, Bishop Andrewes preached before him in Holyrood chapel, saying many admirable things upon our Lord's first sermon upon his commission; dwelling much upon the guilt of assuming the ministry without being sent, since Christ himself went not before he was sent; highly commending the ancient Fathers as those who were endued with a greater measure of the Spirit than men in later ages (which, had he confined it to the apostolic age, might peradventure have been true), and excellently unfolding the design of our Saviour's commission to bind up the broken-hearted, to deliver us from captivity, and to bring with him the true year of jubilee. "On this day of 'vation the sun never goes down." Our Lord's commission,

he observed, was only to them that are of a broken spirit. Elias healed none but the poor widow of Sarepta; Eliseus, only Naaman after his spirit came down; Christ, none but such as were of a contrite spirit.

"The right hammer," he remarks, "to break the heart is the sight of our sins. And I will say this for it, that I never in my life saw any man brought so low with any worldly calamity as I have with this sight. And these I speak of were not of the common sort, but men of spirit and valour, that durst have looked death in the face. Yet when God opened their eyes to see this sight their hearts were broken, yea, even ground to powder with it, contrite indeed."

Toward the end of this sermon he notes that the "jubilee ever began with no other sound but even of a cornet made of the horns of a ram. Of which horns they gave no other reason but that it was so in reference to the horns of that ram that in the thicket was caught by the horns and sacrificed in Isaac's stead, even as Christ was in ours, to shew that our jubilee has relation to that special sacrifice so plainly prefiguring that of Christ's."

On June 21 Mr. Chamberlain thus wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton: "Our churchmen and ceremonies are not so well allowed of, the rather by an accident that fell out at the burial of one of the guard who died there, and was buried after the English fashion; and the Dean of St. Paul's [Valentine Carey] preaching, desired all the assembly to recommend with him the soul of their deceased brother to Almighty God, which was so ill taken that he was driven to retract it openly and to confess he did it in a kind of civility rather than according to the perfect rule of divinity. Another exception was taken to Dr. Laud's putting on a surplice when the corpse was to be laid in the ground.¹ So that it seems they are very averse from our customs, insomuch that one of the bishops, Dean of the chapel² there to the King, refused to receive the Communion with him kneeling."

¹ Before 1692 the body was laid in the ground previously to the lesson in the Burial Service.

² Cooper, Bishop of Galloway. "Cooper was an amiable man. At one period

On the King's return Dr Morton, then Bishop of Chester, preached before him at Hoghton in the hundred of Blackburn, Lancashire, August 17. About 10 or 11 in the evening there was a mask of noblemen, knights, gentlemen, and courtiers before the King in the middle round in the garden of Hoghton tower.¹ Very frequent instances occur of the Sovereign's profanation of the Lord's-day in his progresses, even in this his tour of ecclesiastical reformation.

On August 26 Mr. Thomas Dod (uncle to the pious Non-conformist, usually called Dod the decalogist,) preached before the King, who was so pleased with him that he made him one of his chaplains in ordinary.²

Upon July 9 (N.S.) we find Grotius writing to Isaac Vossius, commending to him his book *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum circa Sacra*, and requesting him to shew it to those of whom he thinks highly, especially to Bishop Andrewes.³ The same year he wrote to Overall, referring to his judgment his book against the Socinians, and touching at some length upon his book *De Imperio Summarum Potestatum*, expressing at the same time his fears that it will not be altogether satisfactory to Andrewes and others in England. In this work he sets the authority of the chief magistrate in religion sufficiently high, and enters with his usual learning upon various topics relating to the discipline and government of the Church in the earlier ages. He establishes the power of princes in matters of religion. They have authority to restrain and punish evil of every kind, authority over every soul, over both clergy and laity; *he is the minister of God to*

he had warmly entered into the prevailing views against episcopacy, and had, not very decently, compared bishops to coals or candles, that not only light but have a filthy smell in all men's noses. He soon altered his opinion, however, and became a Bishop; but he uniformly shewed much moderation, and guided by sincere attachment to the best interests of religion."—Dr. Cook's *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 269.

¹ On a hill four miles and a-half west of Blackburn. It is now left to decay, the south wing only being inhabited, and by poor people. Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 300.

² He was also Archdeacon of Richmond 1607, Dean of Ripon, Prebendary of Chester, and Rector of Astbury and Malpas.

³ Grotii *Epistolæ*, ep. 100. Amsterdam, 1687.

thee for good, good of every kind without limitation. He is appointed that we may live a quiet and peaceable life, not only in all honesty but in all godliness. For the true happiness of a state is that it love God and be loved of him; that it acknowledge him for its king, itself for his people, as St. Austin excellently says,¹ who also adds, that those kings are happy who make their power subservient to his majesty, to the entire promotion and advancement of his worship. So the Emperors Theodosius and Honorius in their epistle to Marcellinus, 'For we seek no other end by the toils of war, we purpose nought else by the counsels of peace, than that the people of our empire may with full affection observe the true worship of God.' So Theodosius in his epistle to Cyril, 'It is the office of the emperor to provide that his subjects live not only peaceably but piously.' And therefore Isidore of Pelusium saith that the same is the end both of the priesthood and of the kingly power, namely, the salvation of their subjects. Aristotle, reasoning only by the light of nature, comes to a similar conclusion. But to proceed to the Scriptures, kings are commanded, as kings, in their office, to observe the whole law of God, to serve the Lord, to salute his Christ. As St. Augustine saith, 'Kings then fulfil the divine command when they enjoin good and forbid evil, not only in its relation to human society but also to true religion.'² And Isidore of Seville, 'Let the princes of this world know that they must render an account to God for the Church which is entrusted by Christ to their protection. For whether the peace and order of the Church be strengthened by faithful princes, or whether it be brought to nought, he demands of them an account who hath committed the Church to their power.'³ With regard to the practice of the Church, the ecclesiastical historian Socrates has summed it up in those words of his, 'From the time that the emperors became Christian all ecclesiastical affairs depended upon their authority.'⁴ Constantine is called on an old inscription the patron of

¹ *De Civ. Dei*, lib. v. c. 16.

² *Contra Crescon.* lib. iii. c. 51, and *Ep. ad Bonifac.*

³ *Sent.* iii.-c. 51.

⁴ *Lib. v. Pref.*

religion and of the faith. The Emperor Basil, calling the Church the ship universal, saith that the guidance of it is by God entrusted to him. And so in the epistle to Lucius, ascribed to Eleutherius, Bishop of Rome, the king is called ecclesiastically the Vicar of God. To this doctrine agreed the reformed Confessions of Belgium, of Switzerland, of Basle; to this the Church of England, to this the writings of Musculus, Bucer, Jewel, Whitaker, Rainolds, and more lately of King James, of Andrewes, Bishop of Ely, of Burhill, Tooker, Casaubon, and Paræus. The same was asserted in the voluminous works of Melchior Goldastus.

Again, the very nature of religion, which inclines men to peace, obedience, the true love of their country, and of justice and equity, commends it to princes as a fit object of their care and protection. The very enemies of Christianity have testified to its great moral efficacy, and to the purity of its precepts. Add to this, that doctrine and worship themselves have no small influence upon the manners and happiness of mankind. This is obvious in the doctrine, for instance, of the spirituality of the divine nature. From the all-seeing presence of God it follows at once that we should do nothing offensive to him. From the fulness of his knowledge and prescience flows this consolation, that nothing can happen to the good but for their good. Nor said Plato without cause that it was not to be endured that any should teach that God was the author of evil actions. Had Silius Italicus, instead of

Heu primæ scelerum causæ mortalibus ægris
Naturam nescire Deum,

written *Dei*, he had written truly enough.

Amongst inferior reasons for the ecclesiastical supremacy of the civil power may be placed the great influence of the priesthood, and the danger of the more ambitious part of them. Curtius himself bears witness that the multitude will sooner follow their priests than their generals. Add to this, that all changes in religion, if not by general consent and manifestly for the better, are always dangerous to the state. For these two last reasons even those confess that the actions of

the priesthood should be subjected to the supreme power, who deny such subjection where inconsistent with the due exercise of their spiritual function. So John Paris, Francis Victoria, and Roger Widdrington.¹

In the second chapter he gives the history of the union and disjunction of the spiritual and civil power, and shews that they are not naturally opposed, but were for a long time joined in the same person, as in the patriarchal age, but severed both under the Mosaic and Christian dispensations. This however he would so restrict as that it should not be understood that every business of a secular kind is inconsistent with the exercise of the spiritual function. On the other hand, the Christian Emperors took to themselves ecclesiastical titles, not assuming them officially but in a wider sense, to signify their general overseership and care of the Church.

In the third chapter he considers the power of the civil magistrate to oblige, and to what actions it extends; also of the lawfulness and unlawfulness of resistance. Passive obedience is due where the chief magistrate is neither bound by law nor created by it; so the Roman Emperors were obeyed by the early Christians; so David did not lift up his hand against Saul, who, though a tyrant, was a king by a positive and unconditional ordinance. But where the chief magistrate is rather *primus* than *summus*, the first not the absolute head, the nobles may, upon just cause, take up arms against him.²

He then condemns the doctrine that the chief magistrate may make laws in opposition to the Word of God, a necessary error of those who would mould all institutions anew upon the principle that wealth alone is to legislate, wealth alone to be had in honour, wealth to draw all things to itself.

So the civil magistrate cannot lawfully forbid preaching and the administration of the sacraments, or alter the divinely instituted form or substance of the sacraments, or the law of marriage, or innovate, that is, make new articles of faith, or essentially new kinds of worship, or new sacraments. But his power does extend to the circumstantialia of religion, as to the age that shall qualify for the episcopate, the laws relating

¹ *Grotius*, p. 23, 2nd ed. Paris, 1648.

² p. 53.

to residence and non-residence; also that the priest shall utter the canon of baptism and of the holy Communion with an audible voice, &c. He may also take away whatsoever ministers occasion to the violation of God's commandments. So Hezekah removed the high places and ground to powder the brazen serpent. So Josiah abolished idolatry and the idolatrous priesthood. So the Christian Emperors shut up the Pagan shrines and temples. He may also punish profaneness, as Nebuchadnezzar ordered those to be punished who should speak against the God of the Hebrews.¹ So too Grotius decides against the Puritans that the laws of the civil magistrate can bind in all things not contrary to Scripture, and make that binding which before was not so. This he ratifies by the Augustan and Bohemian Confessions.² These positions he defends against objectors, and further explains in the three following chapters, after which he proceeds to treat of the history, origin, and limits of the power of Councils.

In his ninth chapter he gives his opinion upon absolution and the power of the keys, and denies that the acts concerning them are properly acts of jurisdiction. He follows Peter Lombard,³ who defines the power of absolution to be the power of shewing to men that they are, or declaring that they are, bound or loosed, as the priest pronounced who were leprous and who free from the leprosy.⁴ He adduces Cyprian, Ambrose, and Augustine.⁵ The same appears to be the doctrine of Jewel in the early part of his *Apology*. On the history of absolution let me refer my reader to the 24th chapter in Field's Appendix to the third book *Of the Church*, and to the ninth book of Forbes' *Instructiones Historico-Theologicae*.

In his tenth chapter he treats of the election of pastors, and here he regards the Apostles themselves as presbyters.

In the eleventh chapter he discusses at large the name and office of the bishop, pleading for its apostolic origin, but denying it to be of *divine* right, since many appointments were equally apostolical for which no such high distinction is

¹ p. 60.² p. 63.³ B. iv. d. 18.⁴ p. 227.⁵ Ep. 55 *Ambros. de Spiritu Sto.* lib. iii. c. 19. *Aug. adv. Petilian*, l. iii. c. 54.

claimed. He shews that episcopacy cannot be repugnant to Scripture, from the 12th chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, *God appointed in the Church first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers*. So it is plain that distinction and disparity of ranks is not antichristian. And here he affirms that he truly follows Zanchius, Chemnitz, Hemmingius, Calvin, Melancthon, Bucer, and Beza. Jerome he treats more fairly than does Saravia, who with much special pleading endeavours to disprove that Father entirely in his celebrated Epistle to Evagrius. He says truly enough, that when the Fathers speak of *custom* they do not exclude *apostolical institution*. So Augustine, 'Whatsoever the whole Church observes, and that though not set up by Councils, has been always retained, is most rightly believed to have been delivered by no other than apostolical authority.'¹ Epiphanius himself attests that some places were suffered to remain without bishops, but adds that in such places none could be found worthy of the episcopate. Even in the case of ordination the concurrence and cooperation of presbyters were required.² "Meanwhile," observes Grotius, "I see not how it can be refuted that where there are no bishops, ordination may be validly conferred by a presbyter, as William of Auxerre, the school divine, has long since admitted."³ He proceeds to vindicate the foreign churches who did not perpetuate episcopacy, and treats also fully of lay elders, proving, as in the case of bishops, that they are not of divine right, but that they are not contrary to the Holy Scriptures. This work was translated in 1651.

In a letter from John Chamberlain to Sir Dudley Carleton, dated October 31, Chamberlain states that on the receipt of Sir Dudley Carleton's letter of the 19th, he went to Bishop Andrewes, who received him with great kindness, and expostulated with him for the very long interval which he had suffered to elapse without seeing him. He delivered him Sir Dudley's proposition, "and withal upon long conference something you had written touching the Arminians countenancing themselves with some of his letters. Whereupon he

¹ p. 355.² p. 358.³ p. 359.

fell into a long speech of a writing that the Archbishop Whitgift had got from him in some parts of that argument, and that he knows not what became of it, for he never gave a copy of it, but only one to *Mr. Hooker*, who promised to return it, but never did. But he expressed not all the while which opinion he inclined to, but still insisted if they had any writing of his they should shew it; concluding that I should assure you that they have no letter of his, and with that vehemency that he would give me leave to send you his head in a platter if they could shew any letter of his. He told me further that Grotius when he was here dined once with him, and supped another time; but other communication than passed at table he had none with him, though he understands since that he gave out and fathered many things upon him that were neither so nor so. Surely he hath a wonderful memory, for he not only calls to mind any matter that passed at any time, but the very time, place, persons, and all other circumstances, which seemed strange to me in a discourse of almost two hours."¹

On the 5th of November Andrewes preached before the King at Whitehall Chapel on *Luke* i. 74, 75. He in this sermon reminded his hearers of our memorable national deliverance in 1588. His wit remarkably discovers itself throughout this discourse as a holy ingenuity, full of practical point. He speaks much of reverence in worship. But let it be remembered to the credit of Laud, that he first broke off the custom of breaking off the prayers for the sermon upon the King's coming into the chapel.

On the 30th of November Bishop Andrewes collated his brother Roger to the fourth stall in Ely Cathedral, which he held till his death in 1635. He was then succeeded in his stall by John Harris, M.A., Rector of Passenham on the borders of Northamptonshire, near Stony Stratford.

The Dean of Ely at this time was Dr. Henry, son of Dr. Julius Cæsar, brother of Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls, and son of Julius, physician to Queens Mary and Elizabeth, a most munificent benefactor to Jesus College,

¹ Birch's *James I.*, vol. ii. p. 47.

Cambridge, although himself of the University of Oxford. The other prebendaries were Dr. John Boys, one of the translators of the Bible, Rector of Boxworth, who had been preferred by Andrewes himself; Daniel Wigmore, Archdeacon of Ely, another of the Bishop's friends; Jerome Beale, also in the enjoyment of the same honour; the learned and pious Andrew Willet, whose works have fallen into undeserved neglect. He was as a Biblical scholar not inferior to any of his contemporaries; his life in Fuller's *Abel Redivivus* was written by his son-in-law Dr. Peter Smith of King's College, Cambridge. John Hills, B.D., Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, Archdeacon of Lincoln, his patron being Bishop Barlow, Rector of Fulbourn All Saints, the place of his nativity. He was buried at Horsheath near Newmarket September 1626. He had been raised to the Mastership of Catharine Hall from a Fellowship at Jesus College. Dr. John Duport, Master of Jesus College, Precentor of St. Paul's, Vicar of Fulham, Middlesex, and Rector of Bosworth and Medbourn in his native county of Leicester; and lastly, Dr. James Taylor, Rector of Westmill, Hertfordshire, where he was buried. He died March 19, 1624.

Our prelate on the 5th of December joined in a letter to the King respecting the retrenchment of his expenses.¹

Upon December 14th Andrewes, with Dr. King, Bishop of London, Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, Marc Antony de Dominis, late Archbishop of Spalatro, and Overall, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, assisted Abbot at the consecration of Dr. George Montagu to the see of Lincoln, and of Andrewes' most worthy, learned, and upright friend Dr. Nicholas Felton,² Master of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, to the see of Bristol. There he succeeded Dr. John Thornborough, who had but a contentious and disturbed rule in that see. He was now, on the death of that eminent prelate Dr. Parry, translated to Worcester.

Dr. George Montagu was born at Cawood in Yorkshire, north-west of Selby, and educated at Queens' College, Cam-

¹ Bacon's *Letters*, No. 194. *Works*, vol. iii. p. 357. Lond. 1778.

² See Stevenson's *Supplement to Bentham's Ely*, p. 109, notes.

bridge, was Lecturer in Gresham College, Master of the Savoy, Rector of Great Cressingham, Norfolk, January 25, 1603, on the presentation of Lord Keeper Egerton, and November 22, 1609, Rector of Cheam on the presentation of the King. He succeeded Neile as Dean of Westminster December 10, 1610. He resigned this Deanry upon his consecration to the see of Lincoln, and was succeeded in it by Dr. Thomas Fuller's uncle, Dr. Robert Townson, who was born in Cambridge and educated also at Queens' College in that University. He was translated to London July 20, 1621, on the death of Bishop King, and to Durham early in 1628 on the promotion of Neile to Winchester, and a few months afterward to York. He was succeeded at Durham by Howson. He was elected to York June 26th, was enthroned October 24th, and dying (probably 6th of November) that same year, was buried in Cawood Church. Hugh Holland wrote an epitaph upon him. His tomb is in the chancel with his bust in his lawn sleeves. He was succeeded at York by Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich.

Of Dr. Felton the reader may find several notices in my *Memorials of Dr. Thomas Fuller*.¹ He was the son of a merchant of Yarmouth. He was B.A. of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, 1580, and was elected to a Fellowship, M.A. 1581, B.D. 1591, Rector of St. Antholin's and St. Mary-le-Bow, London, and of Great Easton near Dunmow in Essex, and of Blagden or Blagdon near Bristol, Somersetshire, Prebendary of St. Paul's, London, 4th March, 1616. On the translation of Andrewes to Winchester Felton was removed from the see of Bristol to that of Ely, being elected March 2nd, 1619, and confirmed March 11th. He died October 5th, 1626, and was buried under the Communion-table in the chancel of St. Antholin's, London, without any memorial. At Ely he was succeeded by Dr. John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester. He was a prelate of eminent piety and integrity, and of no less learning, for which he was appointed one of the translators of the Bible. "He had," says Fuller in his *Church History*,² "a sound head and a sanctified heart, was beloved

¹ At pp. 11, 12, 114, 179.

² B. ix. p. 134.

of God and all good men, very hospitable to all and charitable to the poor." Andrewes assisted in procuring for him the Mastership of Pembroke Hall, which he held from 1616 to 1619.

In the course of this year appeared *Epphata to F. T.* (Thomas Fitzherbert, mentioned under 1613); or, the Defence of the Right Reverend Father in God the Lord Bishop of Elie, Lord High Almoner and Privy Councillor to the King's most excellent Majestie. Concerning his Answer to Cardinal Bellarmine's Apologie: against the slanderous cavils of a nameless Adjoinder; entitling his book in every page of it, A Discoverie of many foule absurdities, falsities, lies, &c., wherein these things chiefly are discussed (besides many other incident):

1. The Pope's false Primacie claiming by Peter.
2. Invocation of Saints, with Worship of Creatures and Faith in them.
3. The Supremacie of Kings both in Temporal and Ecclesiastical Matters and Causes, over all States and Persons, &c., within their Realms and Dominions.

By Dr. Collins, Chapleine to His Majestie. *Apoc. xviii. 7. Give her torture* (an allusion to the title of the Bishop's book, *Tortura Torti*). Printed by Cantrell Legge, Printer to the University of Cambridge, 1617. This work was, for abundance of learning, force of argument, and felicity of illustration and application, not unworthy the great reputation of its author, who was accounted one of the most learned theologians and scholars of his age, and who at school had given early promise of the ability which distinguished him at the University. He was a constant guest at Buckden at the table of the munificent and hospitable Williams, with Dr. Samuel Ward and Dr. Brownrigg, afterwards Bishop of Exeter. He was born at Eton, where he was also educated; was from a Fellowship raised to the Provostship of King's College 1615, succeeded Dr. Richardson, Master of Trinity College, as Regius Professor of Divinity 1617, and was, on the death of Dr. Duport, Master of Jesus College, Cambridge, collated by Bishop Andrewes to the seventh stall at Ely February 9th,

1618. He was deprived in 1644, and died, aged 75, September 16th, 1651, and was buried in King's College chapel. He fully exposes the weakness, incompetence, and sophistry of Fitzherbert. This elaborate work is one of many proofs how valuable is the study of the Fathers to those who have sufficient learning to profit from them, and how dangerous it is merely to dabble in them, as Fitzherbert appears to have done. But in truth we need never look into the writings of those who adhere to Rome for right views of the Fathers. Their learned men are fully aware that the Fathers often and in many things make against them. Hence we find the theory of development anticipated by Bishop Fisher.

As some in our own time have done, so Fitzherbert caught at Andrewes' words, that Christ is to be adored in and with the sacrament. "The Bishop grants that Christ is to be worshipped, and that he is to be worshipped in the sacrament, which he *infallibly* accompanieth, and *effectually* assisteth: ergo, with you he is a *Pontifician*, and *maintaineth your cause*, and *betrayeth his own*. No such thing, gentle sir. To make him yours, more goes to it than so. Especially these two, corporal presence, and transubstantiation or conversion. These are the two main *badges* or rather *buttresses* of your *Cyclops*, neither of which is to be found in the Bishop's writing, and God knows is far off from his belief." "Though again, when we say that Christ is in the sacrament (because we would not be mistaken), we say not that he is there after a corporal manner: nay, that your own *Captain* and *Cardinal* disclaimeth, *corporaliter esse Christum in Sacramento*; but we say not so much as that his flesh is there, or his body there at all, not only after a bodily or fleshly manner. *Christus*, saith St. Leo, quadragesimo post resurrectionem die, coram discipulis elevatus in cœlum, corporalis præsentiæ modum fecit, &c. Christ made a period of his bodily presence, being lifted up into heaven before the face of his disciples the fortieth day after his resurrection. And St. Austin, out of those words, *Matt. xxvi., Non semper habebitis me vobiscum*, with other like in *St. John xii.*, resolves it plainly that *secundum carnem non semper*, according to the flesh he is not always with

us. (*Tract. 109 in Joh.*) It were not hard to produce divers more to the same purpose. Yea, *si esset in terrâ, non esset sacerdos.* (*Heb. viii.*) *If Christ were on the earth, he could be no priest, &c.* So as you destroy his priesthood, while you stand for such *presence*, to commend your *sacrifice*. I say, therefore, neither bodily nor in body at all." The contrary to this is insisted upon by the late Archdeacon Wilberforce in his work upon the Eucharist; and accordingly whilst he affixes a literal, Dr. Collins gives a more just and reasonable interpretation to Cyril's *Catecheses*, where the author of that uncertain book touches upon the Eucharist. For Rivet did not without reason call the authorship of the *Catecheses* in question.¹ In a note Dr. Collins ridicules those who make Christ's body to be a figure of itself in the Sacrament.²

Collins was, besides his other preferments, Rector of Braintree, Essex, February 15, 1611, and of Fen Ditton in 1643. He was ejected thence by the Earl of Manchester. He had declined the see of Bristol. He was the son of Master Baldwin Collins, whom the Queen for his piety used to call Father Collins.

Dr. Collins quotes that most admirable passage from St. Augustine, in which he limits adoration to him who is the source of our felicity, thus shutting out at once every kind of worship besides, whether addressed to men or angels: "*Solus ille colendus est, quo solo fruens, beatus fit cultor ejus, et quo solo non fruens, omnis mens misera est, etsi quâlibet re aliâ perfruatur.*" (*Contra Faustum Manichæum*, lib. xx. c. 5.) "He alone is to be adored by the enjoyment of whom alone the worshipper is made happy, and without the enjoyment of whom alone the mind is miserable, whatsoever else it may enjoy."

Dr. Collins defends the imputation of our Saviour's righteousness to us (p. 376), and quotes St. Jerome; and,

¹ They are also questioned in *An Answer to the Eighteenth Chapter of Cardinal Perron's Reply*. "We will not question the author, as well we might." —p. 15, Andrewes' *Works*, vol. xi. Oxford, 1854.

² p. 412.

³ *Opera*, tom. vi. p. 449. Lugd. 1662. In Dr. Collins, p. 371.

on the other hand, for the imputation of the sin of Adam, St. Gregory Nazianzen, *Oratio in Baptism.*, that Adam's eating the forbidden fruit was so ours, that of itself it was enough to condemn us.

He speaks of regeneration as including the whole life of a Christian; we are regenerating here all the time of our life. (p. 377.) He applies the 7th chapter of the Epistle to the Romans to the regenerate, as did St. Augustine, and as Bishop Andrewes also did in his *Book of Devotions*, p. 379.

Dr. Collins defends Calvin, who says that Christ bade his disciples *receive*, not *adore* the sacrament. Calvin would have us refrain from worshipping the sacrament of the Eucharist for safety's sake: "Quia non tutum. Nam ut Christum illic rite apprehendant piæ animæ, in cœlum erigantur necesse est." (*Instit.* lib. iv. c. 17, § 36.) "It is not safe; for that the faithful may duly apprehend Christ in that sacrament, it is requisite that their minds should be lifted up to heaven."

Dr. Collins observes that St. Augustine and St. Ambrose interpreted *the footstool of God—the earth is my footstool*, *Isa.* lxvi. 1, of our Lord's human nature. So Augustine on *Psa.* xcvi. (*Psa.* xcix.), where he is careful not to be misunderstood, as though he intended the presence of Christ bodily in the Eucharist, as the sequel clearly demonstrates.

CHAPTER XIX.

Andrewes and Grotius, 1618—Condemnation of Trasko—Peter du Moulin—Dr. Preston—Andrewes translated to Winchester—Christmas 1619—The King at Farnham 1620—Consecration of St. Mary's Chapel near Southampton—Tilenus.

WE find Chamberlain again with Andrewes in February. He wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on the 14th: "I made an errand to Ely House to have shewn the Bishop the Pope's determination 'twixt the Franciscans and Jacobins, if he had not seen it; as likewise what you wrote concerning Grotius to make him more wary hereafter, though, for aught I ever heard, he hath used caution enough that way; but he was at Lambeth." He found him at home a few days after, and he informed Chamberlain "that he had had letters lately, and that before Christmas one came to him for an answer; but being presently to preach at court, and not finding himself well at ease, he made his excuse. But I perceived by this that he holds him for a very learned and able man: yet I doubt not but this little conference will serve him for a caveat hereafter. I lent him the Pope's determination 'twixt the Franciscans and Jacobins, and the censure of the Sorbonists upon the Archbishop of Spalatro's books, which I met with all by chance, none of which he had, or had seen."¹

Our prelate preaching before the King at Whitehall on April 5, Easter-day, 1618, prefaced his sermon with a suitable application of his text, 1 Cor. xi. 16: *But if any man seem*

¹ Birch's *James I.*, vol. ii. pp. 63—66.

*to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God, to the question of the authority of the Church in things ceremonial.*¹ This passage is similarly applied by the learned Dr. John Forbes in his *Theologia Moralis*, who quotes Calvin upon it.² Andrewes proceeds to the conditions to be regarded in the putting forth of Church authority, that all customs be agreeable to the general custom of the Church: especially is a custom to be commended if it be ancient and from the Apostles.

The third part of this sermon is a learned dissertation upon the various computations of the time of Easter in the first four centuries, and a reference to many patristic testimonies of the observance of the festival. That the Apostles themselves instituted this festival he maintains on the ground of St. Augustine's often quoted and but too often misapplied assertion: *For such things as come to us not by writing, but by practise (and yet such as are observed quite through the world), we are given to understand they were commended to us, and were instituted either by the Apostles themselves, or by General Councils, whose authority hath ever been accounted of as wholesome in the Church.* "Now," adds Andrewes, "what be those things so generally observed *toto orbe terrarum*? These: that the *passion, the resurrection, the ascension of Christ, and the coming of the Holy Ghost from heaven, anniversariâ solemnitate celebrantur, are yearly in solemn manner celebrated.* And, saith he" [St. Augustine], "*if there be any beside these: for these are most clear.*"

When we call to mind that the Apostles would, by the Passover and the Day of Pentecost, be annually led back to the still more wonderful events which endeared those seasons to their hearts, we may well conjecture that from the very earliest they annually commemorated at those seasons the sufferings and the resurrection of Christ, and the descent of the Holy Ghost.

His Whitsunday sermon, May 24th, preached before the King at Greenwich from *Acts* ii. 7, is not one of the most felicitous of his discourses. He observes the tendency of the

¹ p. 518.

² Lib. i. c. 4, § 7.

age to turn religion into an *auricular profession*; but whilst the whole is upon the effusion of the Spirit, it is not a pouring forth worthy of the occasion. But one comparison there is in it, which would have sufficed for a sermon of itself; when he remarks that as copious as was the effusion of Christ's blood, so copious was the effusion of the Spirit, "*He as liberal of his grace, as Christ of his blood.*"¹

Andrewes appears to have been nominated to the see of Winchester on the very day of the decease of Bishop Montague at Greenwich, 20th July, 1618. The *cong  d' lire* for his election is dated 29th July, 1618.

But a short time before he was, on June 23rd, put in commission for banishing Jesuits, Seminary Priests, &c.²

This year, 1618, the King appointed Drs. Carleton, Hall, Davenant, and Ward to represent the English Church at the Synod of Dort.³ George Carleton was born at Norham in Northumberland, and was educated by the famous Bernard Gilpin, the apostle of the North, (whose zeal was emulated by the indefatigable Edmund Bunney, of an eminent family from the village of Bunney in Nottinghamshire, B.D., and Fellow of Merton College, Oxford, and Prebendary of St. Paul's, of York and Carlisle, and Rector of Bolton Percy⁴). He first went to St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, and thence to Merton College, of which he was chosen a Fellow. He was made D.D. 1613. He held the stall of St. Dubritius in the church of Llandaff, previously to his being appointed to the bishopric. He was consecrated to that see a few months before he went to Dort, namely, July 12, 1618, at Lambeth. Abbot was assisted on this occasion by Dr. John King, Bishop of London, Dr. John Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, Dr. John Overall, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Dr. George Montaigne, Bishop of Lincoln. Dr. Joseph Hall of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, was at this time Dean of Worcester and Arch-deacon of Nottingham. The latter dignity he received on the promotion of Dr. King, Dean of Christ Church, to the see of

¹ p. 713.

² Rymer's *F dera*, vol. xvii.

³ Between Rotterdam and Antwerp.

⁴ Buried in the south aisle of the choir of York Minster.

London in 1611, and his Deanry to the promotion of that other equally noble and illustrious divine Dr. Arthur Lake to the see of Bath and Wells in 1616. Dr. Samuel Ward was at this time Master of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, Rector of Much Munden, between Ware and Buntingford, Archdeacon of Taunton, and Prebendary of Ampleforth in the church of York. In 1622 he succeeded Bishop Davenant at Cambridge as Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity. Dr. John Davenant, uncle to the celebrated Dr. Thomas Fuller, was of a wealthy London family, had been for a short time Vicar of Oakington near Cambridge,¹ received his education at Queens' College, Cambridge, and was appointed President of Queens' College 1614, on the death of Dr. Humphrey Tindall, Dean of Ely, having been Lady Margaret's Divinity Professor from 1609. He was in 1622 made Bishop of Salisbury, and Carleton was in 1619 translated from Llandaff to Chichester. Ward, Davenant, Hall, and Carleton had an interview with King James at Newmarket previously to their departure for Dort. Andrewes was probably with the King at the same time, when his commissary came to Newmarket to lay a complaint against the celebrated preacher Dr. Preston, at this time a Fellow of Queens' College. Ward and Davenant were again summoned to the royal presence at Royston on the 8th of October, "where," says Fuller in his *Church History*,² "his Majesty vouchsafed his familiar discourse unto them for two hours together, commanding them to sit down by him, and at last dismissed them with his solemn prayer that God would bless their endeavours, which made them cheerfully to depart his presence."

On October 16th Andrewes admitted Edmund (or Edward³) White, M.A., to be his domestic chaplain.⁴ He had been admitted as a sizar at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1605, was B.A. 1609, M.A. 1612.

On November 5th our prelate preached before the King at

¹ From April to December 1612.

² Book x. p. 78, fol. ed.

³ Both names occur in the *University Register*.

⁴ Baker's *MSS. Univ. Lib. Camb.* October 28th was made unhappily memorable by the execution of the illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh.

Whitehall from *Esther* ix. 31 : *To confirm these days of Purim, according to their seasons, &c.* Comparing the plot to that of Haman, he observed, "Haman was to the Jews a stranger in nation, for he was an Agagite: a stranger in religion, for he was an heathen man. Ours were no strangers in nation, the same nation that we. No Turks or infidels, but professing the same Christ that we; and better than we, say they, for right Catholics they; and not Christians, but (which is more than Christians) *Jesuits* some of them."¹

On the 10th of December Walter Balcanqual, B.D., Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, was also sent over as in the name of the Church of Scotland. On the 8th of March, 1625, he was installed Dean of Rochester on the promotion of Dr. Goodman to the see of Gloucester, but about three weeks before the death of King James. On the 13th of May, 1639, he was installed Dean of Durham. The same cause was forwarded at home by Archbishop Abbot, who joined with Sir Henry Savile in publishing Bradwardine's *Causa Dei*.

Dr. Hall returning home on account of ill health, Dr. Thomas Goade was sent over to supply his place. In the late Mr. Carwithen's *History of the Church of England*, Goade is thus depreciated: "Goade, a chaplain of Abbot, of whom nothing more can be said than that he was ready to join in any measure which might be adopted against the Remonstrants."² Goade was the learned son of a learned father, who when Provost of King's College discerned the talent of Dr. Collins, and pointed him out as his successor. This came to pass five years after his death, two Provosts succeeding in the interim, Dr. Fogge Newton, Rector of Kingston near Cambridge, where he lies buried, and Dr. William Smyth, one of King James's Chaplains, who from his Fellowship at King's College was chosen Master of Clare Hall in 1598, and thence raised to the Provostship of King's College in 1612, on the death of Dr. Newton. Goade was in the time of Bishop King made Precentor of St. Paul's February 16, 1618, Prebendary of the tenth stall at Winchester August 25, 1621, Proctor of his University in 1629, and Professor of Civil Law.

¹ p. 1001.

² vol. ii. p. 248.

in 1635. If he was ejected he was probably restored. His successor in the Professorship was not appointed until 1666.

At the Synod of Dort met not only the Divines of Holland with those sent from England but also from the Palatinate, from Hesse, from Switzerland, from Erfurt in Nassau, from Bremen, Embden, and Geneva. The French Protestant Divines were not suffered to attend, the King being displeased with the Dutch for their correspondence with his intercession in behalf of Bannevelt, and other political reasons.¹ It was found that not a few advocates of Socinianism concealed their errors under colour of anti-Predestinationism; and thus the Lutheran historian Weismann confesses was the principal cause of the great hostility of the Predestination Divines to the Remonstrants.²

The canons of the Synod of Dort have recently been republished in Niemeyer's *Collectio Confessionum in Ecclesiis Reformatis publicarum*. Leipz. 1849.

In the course of this year Andrews delivered his speech in the Star Chamber against that unstable and financial person John Trask. His speech was a confirmation of Trask's two judicial points, namely, that we should abstain from all the forbidden meats enumerated in *Leviticus*, and that we should observe the Jewish Sabbath or Saturday. Some few there are still in our own country and in America who appear to have inherited his perverseness in the latter particular. In 1629 he put forth a recantation, entitled *A Treatise of Liberty from Judaism, or an Acknowledgment of true Christian Liberty, initiated and published by John Trask: of late stumbled, now happily running again in the Race of Christianity*. Bishop Andrews himself, we have before seen, acknowledged the moral nature and obligation of the Lord's-day; and so in the recantation of Trask we read, 'A new spiritual service we are to yield. And that a Sabbath-day we do still acknowledge, it is by virtue of the commandment itself, as far as it is moral.'

Andrews began his speech thus: 'It is a good work

¹ C. E. Weismann *Hist. Eccl.* tom. ii. p. 1179.

² p. 1178.

to make a Jew a Christian ; but to make Christian men Jews hath ever been holden a foul act, and severely to be punished." Respecting the distinction of meats he cites our Saviour's words, *that there is nothing that goeth into the mouth that defileth a man*. And he adds, "This is our ground: *Sermo Christi omnes cibos mundans*, saith Gregory Thaumaturgus more than 1300 years since."¹

He proceeds to observe that the distinction of clean and unclean was only appointed for the Jews. He passes over the distinction of clean and unclean in *Genesis* viii. 20, probably because it was made with a view to the law of sacrifice. He alleges not only the ceremonial nature of the prohibition which proved that it was not a part of the moral and eternal law, but of the law of ordinances, which was in its own nature temporary, but the vision related in the tenth chapter of the *Acts*. He observes that this distinction was not insisted on in the fifteenth chapter. He observes from St. Augustine that the prohibition of eating the blood was, in like manner, but for a time.²

In his remarks on the Sabbath he, in alleging St. Athanasius, attributes to him the Creed called after his name. Dr. Waterland refers the composition of this Creed to Hilary, Archbishop of Arles, about A.D. 430 ; Alt, in his *Christliche Cultus*,³ ascribes it to Vigilius of Thapsus (on the coast of the province of Byzacium or Byzacena below Carthage), about A.D. 460.

In November commenced his correspondence with Peter du Moulin, who on the death of Bilson betook himself to the patronage of Andrewes, it being well known that the King had destined him to the vacant see. Du Moulin (although, in a work intended to answer the Jesuit Arnold, he had owned the very rise and prevalence of episcopacy, and had highly complimented the English prelacy,) had given offence by

¹ Ἄλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σωτὴρ ὁ πάντα καθαρῖζον τὰ βρώματα, (φησὶ) Οὐ τὸ εἰσπορευόμενον κοινῷ τὸν ἄνθρωπον, κ.τ.λ. S. Greg. *Thaum.* *Epist.* *Canon.* *Can.* i. apud Beveredg. *Pan. Can.* tom. ii. p. 243.

² *Contra Faust.* lib. xxxii. c. 13. *Op.* tom. viii. p. 700.

³ p. 380. Berlin, 1843.

affirming that in the New Testament the names bishop and presbyter were interchanged: that the order of bishop and presbyter was but one and the same: and that episcopacy was not of divine right, meaning thereby that it was not of indispensable obligation. The first of these three Andrewes said had been maintained that Mr. Hooker had not guarded against the ill consequences that some might draw from it. For the second and third he answered accordingly, however that episcopacy was not of divine right as it is essential to the Church of Christ: it is the substance of any Christian government. The third was the same ground with the second, and he answered in substance that there was the question of all the members of the Church.

At this time the controversy was continued in a manner that was not only very curious but also very instructive. The first of the three propositions was that the names bishop and presbyter were interchanged in the New Testament. The second was that the order of bishop and presbyter was but one and the same. The third was that episcopacy was not of divine right, meaning thereby that it was not of indispensable obligation. The first of these three Andrewes said had been maintained that Mr. Hooker had not guarded against the ill consequences that some might draw from it. For the second and third he answered accordingly, however that episcopacy was not of divine right as it is essential to the Church of Christ: it is the substance of any Christian government. The third was the same ground with the second, and he answered in substance that there was the question of all the members of the Church.

case Dr. Newcombe would not have brought a complaint before him. According to Clark, Dr. Newcombe seeing the crowd, commanded that only evening prayer should be read, and no sermon preached. The incumbent entreated that for that time Preston might be suffered to preach, as did the Earl of Lincoln and others present. But the Commissary refused his permission, and went home with his family. However Preston preached from 2 *Peter* iii. 17, 18. There was so much time spent in debates and messages before the Commissary left the church, that the prayers were omitted, that so the scholars might depart in time for their College services. This furnishing the Commissary with farther ground of complaint, he went the next day to the court at Newmarket where the Bishop also was. Upon complaint made to the King, a letter was directed to the Vice-Chancellor (Dr. Scott, who however was not then Vice-Chancellor,) and to the other heads to call Preston before them. He appealed to Andrewes, and offered himself to undergo an examination by Andrewes if he was in any way suspected of disaffection to the established order. On Andrewes objecting to him his dislike of the Liturgy, he replied that it was a slander of his enemies, for he thought set forms of prayer lawful, and refused not on all occasions to be present at prayers in College, and to read them in his turn. The Bishop answered that he was glad, and would inform the King, and do him all the good he could, and bade him wait awhile, and return to him. But time passed on, and nothing further was done. Dr. Young, "an honest Scotchman," Dean of Winchester, told Preston plainly that the Bishop was his greatest adversary, and desirous of his expulsion, but to save the odium, as desirous that this should be left to the University. Preston then waited upon Andrewes, calling upon him at once to say what he would do, and whether he would stir in his behalf or no. The Bishop upon this bade him come again, and said that he would deal with the King in his behalf. The Bishop is said to have gone to the King, and to have advised that the harsher course should be dropped, and Preston enjoined to deliver his opinion at St. Botolph's the next Sunday on set forms of prayer. He the next Sunday

preached accordingly, commending as well private extemporaneous prayer as public set forms of devotion. And there this affair ended. We are not bound to believe that Andrewes dissembled, as Clark represents him to have done.¹

Dr. Young, Dean of Winchester, was brother of the learned Patrick Young, who leaving Scotland was made a Chaplain of New College, and otherwise preferred. He was an excellent classical scholar, and translated the King's works into Latin. His brother the Dean did not attain such celebrity, but besides his Deanry he was appointed to the prebendal stall of Riccall in the church of York April 30, 1613, in the place of Dr. Henry Banks, who was appointed to the Precentorship. He died some time after, 1642.

"On November 26th, upon report made to the Lords of the Council by Sir Clement Edmunds, it was ordered by their lordships that the Earl of Arundel, Dr. Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, the Lord Carew, Mr. Treasurer, and Mr. Comptroller of his Majesty's Household, Mr. Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Master of the Rolls, and Mr. Edward Coke, or any four of them, should take consideration of the state of the business, &c. [*i. e.* of the drainage of the fens], and prepare some opinion to be delivered to the board, of what present course might be fit to be taken therein. The Earl of Arundel made a journey to the fens, and treaty with Sir William Ayloff, Knight, and Antony Thomas, Esq., and others. They undertook to drain all the fens in Cambridgeshire, the Isle of Ely, Norfolk, Suffolk, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, and Huntingdonshire."²

"The work nevertheless," says Lysons, "meeting with much opposition in the country, was carried on with little effect." Of the subsequent vicissitudes of the drainage system Lysons gives a concise account in his *History of Cambridgeshire*, to whom I remit the reader.

On Friday, Christmas-day 1613, our prelate preached an incomparable discourse from the gospel for the day, before the King and Court at Whitehall. Well does he observe of the

¹ *Life of Dr. Preston*, pp. 86, 88. *Lives of Thirty-two English Divines*, 1677.

² *Dugdale's History of Endowments*, p. 401. Lond. 1662.

meanness of our Saviour's birth and of the glory that yet attended it, the angels themselves making melody upon it: "It is a course, (this) the Holy Ghost began it (here) at his birth, and after observed it all along, *Sociare ima summis, et insolita solitis temperare*; to couple *low* and *high* together, and to temper things *mean* and *usual*, with others as *strange* every way."¹

Affectingly in his own simple way does he note how the sign by which the Lord was to be found suited the time, his coming in humility, and the persons: "The poorest of the earth may repair to him, being no other place but this; and by this *sign* to find him."

Yet was this sign not without glory. "It was much, from a babe floating in the flags of Nilus, in a basket of bulrushes, (Moses) to gather himself a people, even the nation and kingdom of the Jews, and to deliver his law. It was infinitely much more, from this babe (here) lying in the cratch, to work the bringing in of the Gentiles, and the turning about of the whole world, and to publish his gospel, the power of God to salvation."²

Then does he open to us our sign of Christ's presence, *humility*: "As St. Augustine saith well, *Signum vobis si signum in vobis*, A sign for you if a sign in you."³ How would men's minds turn from the externals to the internals of religion, if they bore in their hearts the teaching of our prelate, that to be but babes in Christ they must to *faith* join *humility*.⁴

Those who would pour contempt upon patristic reading and upon the name of Bishop Andrewes, and have men go no farther than to some modern commentator, or some idolized name of the last or present century, would never come upon so pregnant a passage, such a storehouse of illustration, as the few following sentences.

"But then if it be *signum vobis*" [a sign to you] "to some, it is for some others *signum contra vos*" [a sign against you]: "and that is, the proud. For the Word of God hath two edges: and if it go one way, that for *humility*, it cuts as

¹ p. 109.² p. 111.³ p. 113.⁴ p. 113.

deep the contrary, against *pride*. And withal, under one leads us to the cause straight, and shews us the malignity of the disease of pride, for the cure whereof this so profound humility was requisite in Christ. There was one, when time was, took the disease of *Ero similis Altissimo*" [I will be like the Most High], "and he breathed upon our first parents with his *Eritis sicut Dii*" [ye shall be as gods], "and infected them with it. To make themselves equal with God is plain robbery (saith the Apostle, *Phil.* ii.) For that robbery of theirs was the Son of God robbed (as I may say), and quite *spoiled* of his *glory*. For their puffing up, ἐκένωσεν, he was made empty; for their lifting up, ἐταπείνωσεν, was he brought thus low; for their comparing with God, came he to be compared to the beasts that perish; lay in their manger, we see."

This one sermon might suggest many others to the contemplative preacher.

On February 9th, 1619, Bishop Andrewes received the royal assent to his translation to Winchester.¹

In March he was attending the King, then lying ill at Royston, and was appointed to preach the Easter-day sermon there before him on the 28th;² but if preached, it was not printed with the rest of his *Festival Sermons*.

On May 13th he was present at the funeral of Queen Anne,³ and on the Sunday following, being Whitsunday, preached before the Court at Greenwich in the royal chapel there. From his text, *Of a truth I perceive that God is no respecter of persons*, he acutely exposed the sophistry of the pretended Papal infallibility. St. Peter himself owned that hitherto he had been in error respecting the divine purpose to open the Church to the Gentiles.

¹ Andrewes was confirmed in his new see 25th of February, and obtained the temporalities March 19th. He had been previously made Dean of the King's Chapel.

² Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 533. The King's hunting-seat at Royston in the old Armingford Street or Ermine Street, leading from Basingbourn to the High Street, and Prince Charles's seat, now Mr. Butler's house, at the corner of the street, are still standing.

³ Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 538.

God is no acceptor of persons. This St. Peter knew, yet he falsely reasoned that God was an acceptor of one nation above another. So inconsistent is human nature!

God accepts those who fear him; who fear him not with a mere servile but holy fear, a fear opposed to presumption, a fear proceeding from a true faith, and working righteousness not occasionally, but constantly as the very occupation of life. The works of Cornelius were alms, prayer, and fasting. And as to his faith, "if you will reach it further," says our prelate, "to faith in Christ; living in garrison among the Jews, he could not choose but have heard somewhat of him, to move him to throw himself down before him; and he took him up."¹

God accepts, that is, graciously, not upon a claim of merit. The word *accepted* here used is but a capacity that he *may* be, lays no necessity that he *must* be accepted.² And "if this fearer, this worker be accepted and not in himself, in whom then? Who is it? The Apostle tells us directly, *He hath made us accepted in his beloved Son.*"³

On the 1st of September Peter du Moulin sent to our prelate his work against the Arminians, undertaken at the request of the Dutch Church. He speaks very modestly of this treatise as not coming up to his own wishes, and also of the difficulty of the subject as being a most thorny one, and one in which it is impossible to satisfy men's judgments. But he adds, "I shall readily think nothing of the judgments of others, if I satisfy yours. For you alone are equal to all, inasmuch as with me you are above all. But if I seem to you to have undertaken a work beyond my powers, you will nevertheless look with kindness on the attempt, and will take into consideration the great difficulty of writing accurately upon the most difficult subjects, and upon which men with an ill-directed ingenuity have cast additional obscurity, in a life full of occupation and time at the mercy of a thousand various calls. But if I may not look for thus much, you will accept this volume as a token of my regard and entire devotedness to you, which is such that I had rather be corrected and taught by you than praised by others. May God long preserve you,

¹ p. 732.² p. 733.³ p. 734.

most reverend prelate, and long make use of your influence to the good of his Church.

“Farewell.

“Paris, Cal. Sept. 1619.”

Du Moulin's work was translated into English in 1635 with the following title, *The Anatomie of Arminianism: or the Opening of the Controversies of these times (formerly handled in the Low Countries) concerning the Doctrine of Providence, of Predestination, of the Death of Christ, of Nature and Grace, &c.* By Peter du Moulin, Minister of the Church at Paris. London: printed for Nathaniel Newbery, at the sign of the Star in Pope's Head Alley. Anno Dom. 1635. The translation is dedicated by Nathaniel Newbery to Sir Henry Mildmay, Knight, Master of his Majesty's Jewels, and Sir Henry Rowe, Knight. The work was prefaced by the author with an epistle to the Lords the States-General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries. In this epistle King James is commended for his sanction of the Synod of Dort. Du Moulin expresses his regret that he could not be present at that assembly, adding that he did what he could, by sending to the Synod his opinion upon the subjects there treated of. The answers he thus gave, he drew out at full length in this treatise. From it he appears to have been opposed to the supra-Lapsarian theory, against which he writes very unreservedly in the sixth chapter, *Of the Sin of Adam*.

Of the efficacy of the death of Christ he says: “When we say that Christ died for all, we take it thus, to wit, that the death of Christ is sufficient to save whosoever do believe; yea, and that it is sufficient to save all men, if all men in the whole world did believe in him: and that the cause why all men are not saved, is not in the insufficiency of the death of Christ, but in the wickedness and incredulity of man.”¹

On the difficulties which those who maintain what is called *particular redemption* have thrown in the way of those whom they should encourage to believe in the Gospel, Dr. Chalmers has delivered himself with an effectiveness peculiarly his own,

¹ Chap. xxvii. p. 198.

in the eleventh chapter of his *Institutes of Theology*, entitled, *On the warrant which each man has to appropriate the calls of the Gospel to himself, and what that is which marks his doing so.*¹ Let the reader also peruse the third chapter of the third part, entitled, *On the Universality of the Gospel*. He will then perceive that the doctrine of divine predestination is not necessarily at variance with that of universal redemption. The opposite opinion has arisen from the injudicious and unhallowed attempts of some to harmonize their own misgivings of the truth with their imperfect conceptions of it.

Calvin was altogether too practical to lose himself in the artificial reasonings of such as have made it impossible for themselves to testify to all men with St. Paul, repentance towards God, and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ. (*Acts* xx. 21.) With Calvin, faith was the receiving of Christ as he is offered to us in the Scriptures, that is as at once our redemption and sanctification.²

Neither do we find the tenet of particular redemption countenanced in the Synod of Dort, but the very contrary: “*Cæterum promissio evangelii est, ut quisquis credit in Christum crucifixum, non pereat, sed habeat vitam æternam. Quæ promissio omnibus populis et hominibus, ad quos Deus pro suo beneplacito mittit evangelium, promiscue et indiscriminatum annuntiari et proponi debet cum resipiscentiæ et fidei mandato.*” ‘But the promise of the Gospel is, that whosoever believes in Christ crucified shall not perish but shall have eternal life. And this promise is to be proclaimed and set forth to all nations and individuals without exception and without any difference, with the command to repent and believe, to whom God, according to his own good pleasure, sends the Gospel.’

Upon Saturday, Christmas-day, December 25th, our prelate delivered one of his most copious and eloquent discourses. How many sermons might be produced from this

¹ pp. 249—257, *Posthumous Works*, vol. viii. 1849.

² *Institutes*, lib. iii. c. 2, § 8, p. 255. Lond. 1576.

³ *Canones Synodi Dordrechtanae*, c. ii. art. 5. Niemeyer's *Collectio Confess.* p. 705. Lips. 1840.

one. What a multitude of holy lessons does it contain, what heavenly peace pervades it. How fit an exposition of the angels' hymn, *Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men*. Most happily too, whilst its excellencies are incomparable, its defects are few.

On the 5th of February, 1620, our prelate was on the Committee of Privileges of the Lords. On the 14th he was one of the Conference with the Commons for the uniting of both Houses in a petition to the King for the better execution of the laws then in force against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and Popish recusants.

On Saturday, February 17th, he was on a committee to consider a Bill that had been read a second time for the confirmation of the King's letters-patent to Sir Philip Carey, Knight, and others, of the manor of Minster in the Isle of Thanet. On the 21st he was to meet on the naturalization of Sir Francis Stewart, Knight, Walter Stewart, James Maxwell, and William Carr, Esquires. James Maxwell was afterwards Groom of the Bedchamber to Charles I., and was with the King when he was surprised by Colonel Joyce at Holdenby in Northamptonshire.

On Thursday the 22nd he was appointed to meet in a committee for clearing the passage by water from London to beyond Oxford, at two P.M. in the council-chamber, Whitehall.

On the 1st of March he was to meet, by eight A.M. in the committee-chamber, to enable Edmund Clough, Esq., and other bargainers in trust to convey the manor of Temple Newsome, &c. to Esme Stuart, Lord Aubigny, and Earl of March, and the Lady Catharine his wife, or such as they shall name and appoint.

On Monday the 5th of March he was appointed to meet at eight A.M. in the Painted Chamber on an Act for the confirmation of the Hospital of King James founded in Charter House at the humble petition and only costs, &c., of Thomas Sutton, Esq.

On the 9th he was to meet upon a projected academy for the training of the younger nobility and gentry.

On the 12th, respecting abuses on the Lord's-day; and on

a committee of grievances complained of by the House of Commons, as also of complaints respecting the patents of gold and silver thread.

On March 26th he attended the King to St. Paul's, one of the most venerable Norman structures in England, and of unusual dimensions. This was with a view to promote the repairs of that vast edifice, upon which the munificence of the whole church and nation was liberally expended so long as it remained. We may be allowed to regret that it was not restored and preserved, as peradventure it might have been, after the great fire.

Not less to be commended is his Easter-day sermon, preached at Whitehall in the following year April 16, being taken from the account of our Lord's resurrection by the Evangelist St. John.

His discourse upon the 4th of June, Whitsunday, is among the best of that series.¹ It is full of patristic learning such as may be gathered from the commentaries of Lorinus. Both learnedly and piously has the same place—*This is he that came by water and blood*—been treated of in the second of Bishop Heber's *Sermons in India*.²

On April 27th Andrewes was on a commission for selling some of the crown jewels, and on the 29th on the High Commission.

On the 6th of August, 1620, he admitted Christopher Wren, the younger brother of Matthew, and father of the famous architect, one of his domestic chaplains. Wren preached before him in Windsor chapel. He then received his appointment, and with his brother accompanied the Bishop to Farnham, where the King and his Court were feasted three days at a cost of above £3,000.³

Buckeridge observes of this entertainment, in his funeral

¹ The King received the holy Sacrament at the hands of Bishop Andrewes and Dr. George Mountain, Bishop of Lincoln, who this day preached his first sermon before the King. The Court was very thin.—Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 609.

² Entitled *Office of Christ*, p. 47. Lond. Murray, 1829.

³ Wren's *Parentalia*, p. 142.

sermon for our prelate, that it was as bountiful and great an entertainment as ever King James received at a subject's hands. Christopher, afterwards Dean of Windsor and Wolverhampton in 1635, was born in 1589. He was of St. John's College, Oxford, B.D. 1620, but D.D. 1630 of the University of Cambridge. Andrewes made him Rector of Knoyle Magna or East Knoyle near Hindon in the south-west part of Wiltshire. In 1628 he was appointed chaplain in ordinary to Charles I.; in 1635 Dean of Windsor and Wolverhampton; and in 1638 Rector of Haseley in Oxfordshire. His Deanry was plundered in 1642. He died at Blechindon near Oxford, 29th of May, 1658, at the parsonage of Mr. William Holder (who had married his daughter), and was buried in the chancel. He was a good mathematician, and gave proofs of that ingenuity which shone so eminently in his only son the architect.

On Sunday September 17th Andrewes consecrated the new chapel in St. Mary's parish, called St. Mary's Extra, near Southampton, for the benefit of the village of Weston and the hamlets Itchen, Wolston, Ridgway, and part of Bittern Manor.

This form, which is every way more impressive than those now in use, was followed by Laud at the consecration of St. Catharine Cree, Leadenhall-street (a remarkable specimen of the mixed architecture of his age) in 1630.¹ This consecration gave occasion to many aspersions upon Laud both before and at his trial, and these have, with the usual veracity of blind party-spirit, been continued by Rapin and others, as though they had never been refuted. Happy had it been for Laud, if he had followed the judgment of Bishop Andrewes as well in points of doctrine as of ceremony.

Bishop Andrewes, attended by his two chaplains Matthew and Christopher Wren, proceeded to the chapel, and at eight in the morning, being in their proper habits, came out of the chapel; and the Bishop addressed Captain Richard Smith, who gave into the hands of William Cole, the Bishop's

¹ Wharton's *History of the Troubles and Trial of Laud*, p. 340.

registrar, the instrument praying for the consecration and constant appropriation of the chapel to the service of God.

After this the two chaplains read alternately the 24th *Psalms*, and after the Doxology had been said, the Bishop advancing nearer the porch, said, *I was glad when they said unto me, We will go into the house of the Lord. Our feet shall stand in thy gates, O Jerusalem.*

Then all entering the chapel, the Bishop read, with some few accommodations to this service, the dedication prayer of King David, the 29th chapter of the *First Book of Chronicles*, from the 10th to the 18th verse inclusive. Then followed the prayer, 'Most glorious God.' This prayer is in part taken from one in common use at that time, and recorded to have been offered up also at the consecration of a chapel at Edmonton by Bishop King in 1615,¹ and of another chapel in Clay Hall in the parish of Barking, Essex, September 15, 1616, by Dr. Thomas Morton, Bishop of Chester (afterward of Durham). It is remarkable that in the *Parentalia* Bishop Wren is said to have prepared an office for consecrating a church at Dore in Herefordshire,² in 1634.

After the longer prayer commemorating the precedents of such acts of consecration, followed a prayer and benediction in the name of the Holy Trinity. Then the Bishop laying his hand upon the font consecrated it with a short prayer, as also the pulpit, reading-desk, communion-table, site of joining of hands in matrimony, and the whole pavement with reference to such bodies as should be interred beneath. Then a general prayer of dedication for the whole church was said by the Bishop before the communion-table. Then the morning service commenced. For the psalms were read the 84th, 122nd, and 132nd. The first lesson was the 28th chapter of *Genesis*, in which is read the dedication of Bethel by Jacob. For the second was read the 2nd chapter of *St. John* from the 13th verse to the end, in which is read the purifying of the Temple. After the three Collects the Bishop said a fourth, full of that humility and earnest devotion for which he was ever so

¹ Jer. Collier's *History of the Church of England*, ii. p. 709.

² *Parentalia*, p. 50.

conspicuous. Then the other chaplain read the Litany, and the Bishop concluded with a prayer, as for himself and from himself apart from the congregation, that God would be pleased to hear whatsoever prayers should in that place be made according to his will. After the benediction the 132nd *Psalm* was sung, and Mr. Robinson, B.D., brother-in-law to the founder, preached the sermon from the 16th verse of the 28th chapter of *Genesis*.

After the sermon a poor woman returned thanks to Almighty God for safe deliverance. The psalm used previously to the last review was the 121st. The Communion service was then commenced by the two chaplains, standing one on either side the holy table. Before the Epistle for the day a special Collect was read: 'Most blessed Saviour, who by thy bodily presence at the feast of dedication didst honour and approve such devout and religious services as we have now in hand, be thou present also at this time with us, and consecrate us into an holy temple unto thyself, that thou dwelling in our hearts by faith, we may be cleansed from all carnal affections, and devoutly given to serve thee in all good works. Amen.'

The Epistle was 1 Cor. iii. from ver. 16 to the end; the Gospel from the 10th chapter of St. John, from ver. 22 to the end. Then after the Nicene Creed the Bishop, casting himself down before the holy table, prayed the dedication prayer of Solomon, 2 Chron. vi. from ver. 18 to ver. 41, praying also at the end that God would favourably hear this congregation as he did Solomon. Then sitting in his chair, with his head covered, Thomas Riley his Chancellor standing on his right hand, and Dr. Barlow,¹ Archbishop of Winchester, on his left, he read in Latin the Act of Consecration, Dedication, and Appropriation. The chapel was named Jesus Chapel, as a chapel-of-ease to St. Mary's parish near Southampton. The officiating minister was to be endowed with at least 20 marks

¹ Dr. Hamlyn Carter's *Cambridge*, it according to La Nave, Ralph Barlow, was of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. M.A. 1574, B.D. 1579, Archbishop of Winchester October 1, 1584. Prebendary of the choir seat in that church January 22, 1585. Archbishop of Truro 1589.

per annum. The patronage was to be in the family of the founder. Then a short prayer was added by the Bishop, that God would bless this day's action unto his people. After this those who did not communicate were dismissed.

At the Offertory was collected £4 12s. 2d., which the Bishop ordered to be appropriated to the purchasing of a chalice for the use of the chapel. Before the consecration prayer of the Communion service the Bishop washed his hands, and mixed water with the wine, according to the custom of the Church from the age of St. Cyprian. After he had received the holy Communion, he delivered it first to the founder, then to his chaplains, and delivered the bread to all the rest, one of the chaplains delivering the wine. The Bishop read the first of the two prayers that precede the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and concluded with a prayer for the founder and for all who should hereafter enjoy the benefit of this his munificent and pious act.

After the Bishop and a numerous company had dined at the founder's house at Peer Tree (now called Pear Tree), the congregation reassembled in the chapel, and one of the chaplains read the Lord's Prayer, and for the psalms was read alternately the 90th *Psalm*. The act of consignation of the churchyard was then read, and after confirmed by the founder and his neighbours. The time being short the second lesson was omitted, and only the 23rd chapter of *Genesis* read, being the account of the burial of Sarah. The act of consignation and remainder of the consecration service was read in the churchyard; which being completed they returned to the chapel, and sang the first part of the 16th *Psalm*, and Matthew Wren preached the sermon from *The zeal of thine house hath even eaten me*. After sermon, was sung the rest of *Psalm xvi.*, and the service, beginning at the Apostles' Creed, proceeded in the ordinary course.

The Rev. James Bliss, M.A., of Oriel College, Oxford, the able editor of Bishop Andrewes' *Minor Works* (Oxford, 1854), and Vicar of Ogbourne St. Andrew near Marlborough, observes of Andrewes' *Form for the Consecration of a Church or Chapel*, that it was first published in 32mo in 1659, with a preface

CHAPTER XX.

Bishop Andrewes preaches at the opening of Parliament 1621—His Sermon upon Fasting—Upon St. John xx. 17—Whitsunday—Archbishop Abbot's calamity—Andrewes befriends Abbot—Entertains Junius and Doublet at Farnham—Dr. Thomas Goad.

ON the assembling of the Parliament, 1621, our prelate preached before them in the Abbey of Westminster from the first psalm in the evening service (*Psalm lxxxii.*), *God standeth in the congregation of princes; in the midst will he judge the gods.* Upon the words *God standeth*, he contrasts with God's unchangeable the mortal nature of princes, these earthly gods; and says, in allusion to that most solemn sanctuary of death in which they were then met, "This could not be told us in a fitter place: the place where we stand is compassed about with a congregation of these fallen gods, these same *Dii caduci* (fragile gods), with monuments of the mortality of many a great *Elohim* (God) in their times. And let me tell you this, that in the Hebrew tongue the grave is called a synagogue as well as the church. All shall be gathered, even the gods, even the whole synagogue of them, into this synagogue at last." Very plain and earnest is the whole sermon, treating of the presence of God, and of the duty of being well affected toward his presence if we would stand in the judgment.

On February 14, Ash-Wednesday, Bishop Andrewes preached at Whitehall upon the duty of fasting, overthrowing the cavils of those who would expunge *when* from the text

(Matt. vi. 16), by leaving it so at liberty as that it should never be performed.

About the 15th or 16th of March Andrewes and Mountaigne, Bishop of Lincoln in the name of all the rest, presented to the King at Hampton Court a grant of subsidies passed by the clergy of the province of Canterbury.¹

Upon Easter-day, April 1st he resumed his discourse upon the narrative of the resurrection as it is given in St. John's gospel. *That we are, for I am not yet ascended to my Father,* giving the three interpretations of Chrysostom, Gregory, and Augustine, which last is best followed and expressed with his usual energy and conciseness by Lat. the Great. The first is that our Lord says it for a degree of reverence. Under this head our prelate collections are to building and reverent looking at the doctrine of resurrection, and the resurrection of Christ in the sacrament, which is to show the real presence, that being symbol of life was denied. Yet we have those who have solemnly said in God and there that they are his church, a most intentional action in the world where there is no such intention. For even the intention is the witness and sign of reality, and the nothing more with perfect sincerity, notwithstanding, declares the reality of the Church of England.

The second and third interpretations likewise will stand fast, and that will stand together. That our Lord intended it as the sign, when his disciples were still full of sleep, to show the reality of the resurrection of his presence. And secondly, that this in sin was administered that the truth of life was not intended and to show the certainty, which the words could never say true, and yet the life is thereby made it that certain answer.

In April 3rd Andrewes returned with Peter Jones to Lat. Hall, to receive from him what he acknowledged as his own return and returned again in the month of June.

In 1621 he was appointed to the rectory of St. Andrew's Church, London.

¹ *Annals of the Reformation*, 1621, p. 102.
 Annals of the Reformation, 1621, p. 102.

in the case of Sir John Bennet, who had been charged by the House of Commons with abusing his office of Judge of the Prerogative Court to purposes of corruption and fraudulent self-aggrandisement, and was eventually committed to custody for a short time, fined the enormous sum of £20,000, and deprived of his office.

On the 8th of May Bishop Andrewes was on a committee for confirming the sale of the Rectory of Dorking, heretofore made by Charles Earl of Nottingham, and William late Lord Howard of Effingham, deceased, to Thomas Trevor and William Bryan and their heirs.

On the 12th of May he was appointed to meet on committee, at two P.M. in the Painted Chamber, respecting an Act for the making good of grants made by collegiate churches and corporations to the late Queen Elizabeth after the 2nd of April in the thirteenth year and before the 8th of February in the twenty-fifth year of that Queen.

On the 18th he was again on a committee upon an Act for the confirmation of exchange of lands between Prince Charles and Sir Lewis Watson, Knight.

On May 20th, Whitsunday, our prelate preached before the King at Greenwich from *St. James* i. 16, 17. "If," he says, "we look forth, let it not be *about* us, either on the *right hand* or on the *left*, on any place here below. Look up; turn your eye thither. It is an *influence*, it is no *vapour*; an *inspiration*, no *exhalation*: thence it comes; hence it rises not: our *spirit lusts after envy*, and worse matter. (*James* iv. 5.) *Why should thoughts arise in your hearts?* saith Christ. If they *arise* they are not *good*; if they be *good*, then they come down from above."¹ The lights from above he begins with "the light of nature, for rebelling against which, all that are without Christ suffer condemnation. Solomon calls it the *candle of the Lord searching even the very bowels* (*Prov.* xx.), which though it be dim and not perfect, yet *good* it is: though lame, yet (as Mephibosheth) it is *regia proles*, of the blood royal."²

This sermon, excellent in detail, is however unhappily too

¹ p. 749.

² p. 751.

much broken up, too variegated in its texture. It might be made the groundwork of more than one discourse upon the noble diversity of God's heavenly gifts.

On June the 10th Andrewes was present at the delivery of the great seal to Dr. John Williams, Dean of Westminster.¹ Montaigne, Bishop of Lincoln, being elected to the see of London on July 20th, on the death of Dr. John King, Williams was raised to the see of Lincoln. He was elected the 3rd of August, and consecrated on the 10th of November. He was permitted to hold his Deanry in commendam.

On July 12th Andrewes was on a commission for examining Lewis Bayly, Bishop of Bangor.² Bayly was committed to the Fleet Prison July 15th, but soon after liberated. The most serious charges are said to have been brought against this prelate; they are mentioned in a letter by the celebrated Mede of Cambridge, but his early liberation is the best answer to them.

On July 24, 1621, there befel a great calamity to the primate Abbot, who, upon a visit to Lord Zouch at Bramshill Park (two miles to the west of Hartford Bridge in the north-east corner of Hampshire), shooting with the cross-bow at a buck, and his arrow meeting with a swelling bough in the way, had the mishap to wound one of the keepers. It was but a flesh-wound and a slight one, but being under the care of an heedless surgeon, the poor man died of it the next day. The King, upon hearing it, feelingly remarked that an angel might have miscarried in that sort. 'The Archbishop,' says Hacket, 'was an happy man in this unhappiness, that many hearts condoled with him, and many precious stones were in the breastplate which he wore, that pleaded for him. He was painful, stout, severe against bad manners, of a grave and a voluble eloquence, very hospitable, fervent against the Roman Church, and no less so against the Arminians, which in those days was very popular.'

Laud was raised by Williams at the solicitation of Villiers the great favourite. Abbot's first patron was the more truly

¹ Rymer's *Fœdera*.

² Birch's *Court of James I.*, vol. ii. p. 266. And see Camden's *Annals*.

illustrious Thomas Sackville Earl of Dorset. Laud was ever fearful of the excess of that popular aversion to Romanism which was natural enough in a period in which it was the ill fate of his country to be governed by a family proud of Romish alliances. Abbot was the intrepid assertor of Protestantism as essential to the good of the commonwealth. Hence the friends of Laud have always depreciated his equally honest and far more consistent, nay more honest and upright predecessor. It could not be said of Laud as of Abbot, that 'that Archbishop was wont to dissent from the King as often as any man at the Council-board.'¹ In Abbot it was a merit, in Laud it would have been. For years the latter was, according to Heylyn, the King's chief adviser, in effect, after the death of the royal favourite, his prime minister, the flatterer of his royal master, the inquisitor of his more exemplary brethren, of men such as Hall, who found it no small trial to hold the episcopal office under so arbitrary a primate.

And now the question was agitated both at home and abroad, what penalty was incurred by Abbot lying under the charge of casual homicide. The Romish party were not backward to exult over him, and to shew what kind of opinions and individuals were sure of their most cordial aversion. But ambition magnified his difficulties in the eyes even of some of his brethren. Hacket, the good and eloquent Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry (a more impartial author than Wharton would concede²), remarks of his great benefactor Williams the Lord Keeper, that he did not come forward in Abbot's behalf as he might have done. That he came out of this great trouble unhurt, he owed to the good offices of Andrewes and to the kind heart of the King—a King who could discern merit and admire integrity.

According to Fuller, Abbot and Andrewes were not upon terms of intimacy. It has been imagined that the latter regarded Abbot as his undeservedly successful rival. Andrewes was probably much less at the Council-table than

¹ Hacket's *Life of Archbishop Williams*, p. 68.

² In his Preface to the *History of Laud's Troubles*, &c.

Abbot, and would doubtless hear many reports to his disadvantage from those who were immediately about the King. Hence might arise mutual misunderstanding. But be this as it might, "the party," writes Fuller, "whom the Archbishop suspected his greatest foe, proved his most firm and effectual friend, even Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester. For when several Bishops inveighed against the irregularity of the Archbishop, laying as much (if not more) guilt on the act than it would bear, he mildly checked them: 'Brethren,' said he, 'be not too busy to condemn any for uncanonicals according to the strictness thereof, lest we render ourselves in the same condition. Besides we all know *Canones qui dicunt lapsos post actam penitentiam, ad clericatum non esse restituendos, de rigore loquuntur disciplinæ, non injiciunt desperationem indulgentiæ*, ('that the Canons that say that persons who have fallen into some offence are not, after they have repented, to be restored to their place in the church, speak in regard of the strict execution of discipline, but do not design to create despair of pardon.')

But to set at rest all doubts and canonical scruples, he advised the King to grant a dispensation to Abbot in virtue of his royal supremacy, and so an address was prepared praying a dispensation from the King, and signed by Andrewes, Montaigne, Bishop of Lincoln, Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, and Williams, Bishop elect of Lincoln, Carey, Bishop elect of Exeter, and Land, Bishop elect of St. David's; together with Judges Hobart, Doddridge, Marten, and Stywarde.² The dispensation was granted on November 21.

By a letter from Junius to Vossius, dated London, August 18, Bishop Andrewes appears to have been at Farnham. Their kinsman George Rataller Doublet had, about this time, come to England.

Doublet himself writing from
steftully alluding to the munition
with which he and Junius
always supping and dining

with Bishop Andrewes in his own hall, who never failed to drink to the health of Grotius, Vossius, and Erpenius. Bishop Andrewes had already seen Grotius when that politic and eminently learned person had visited this country to plead the cause of the Remonstrants and of the edict of pacification. But whatever the favour they appeared to obtain, and however they might colour over their opinions, the endeavours of that party did not prevail with the King to side with them at the Synod of Dort. Nor until after that Synod did that party openly profess itself in this country, and not then without some repulses. Erpenius had been in England before Grotius, and was personally well known to Andrewes. Vossius he earnestly desired to see also.¹

On November 24th Vossius wrote to Bishop Andrewes in reply to a letter from that prelate received by the hands of Doublet. He excuses his long delay on the ground of the protracted illness of his wife. Everywhere indeed in his correspondence does the affection of Vossius shine forth unabated and undiminished by the multitude of his literary avocations. He mentions how Junius, in all his epistles to him, had ever reverted to the name of Andrewes with the liveliest emotions of grateful regard.²

Junius, in a letter to Vossius from London on the 1st of December, informs him of Abbot's casualty, and of the doubt of the four bishops elect respecting the canonicalness of a consecration performed by the Archbishop. Nor were there wanting, he adds, some who were desirous of making this an occasion of deposing Abbot, and of placing Andrewes in his room; Andrewes himself indeed strenuously opposing the project, and shewing himself a firm friend to the primate. The King is here said to have appointed ten persons to take this emergency into consideration, and Andrewes to have brought over the greater part to milder proceedings by alleging this canon, '*Clericus de quo dubitatur an sit regularis, non est irregularis.*' '*A clerk of whose irregularity there is doubt, is not irregular.*' The King himself, he relates, was delighted

¹ *Cl. Virorum ad Voss. Ep. 48, p. 28.*

² *Vossii Ep. 20, pp. 43, 44.*

with the moderation of Andrewes, and told Abbot to regard Andrewes on this occasion as the sole person to whom he owed his escape from deprivation. Junius adds that Andrewes would have answered Vossius earlier but for this sudden interruption.

On the 25th of August Dr. Thomas Goad, Precentor of St. Paul's, Chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and who had been sent by the King on Hall's return home to take his place in the Synod of Dort, was installed Prebendary of the tenth stall of Bishop Andrewes' church of Winchester. He retained this dignity to his death in 1638. He was Proctor of the University of Cambridge 1629, being then Fellow of King's College. He was also LL.D., and Regius Professor of Civil Law in that University in 1635.

This year saw the elevation of Williams and Laud to the episcopal bench. Williams owed his rise to the King himself, Laud to Williams, who recommended Laud to the King, and pressed his promotion upon him in order to shew a favour to Villiers. At the same time he recommended to the King his secretary, the pious and highly talented Dr. John Donne, for the Deanry of St. Paul's, Dr. Valentine Carey for the see of Exeter, and Dr. Davenant for that of Salisbury. So Carey and Davenant were consecrated to Exeter and Sarum, and Laud to St. David's on the same day, November 18th, the very Sunday after the consecration of the Lord Keeper Williams, Dean of Westminster, to the see of Lincoln. The King herein yielded to Williams, as he so often did to others, against his better judgment, and after remonstrating with Williams on Laud's restless temper instanced in his advice to him and urgency with him respecting the affairs of the Scotch Kirk.¹

¹ Hacket's *Life of Williams*, ann. 1621.

CHAPTER XXI.

Bishop Andrewes' Sermon on Hypocrisy—The Archbishop of Spalatro—The King's Letter to Preachers—William Knight—Disputes on Predestination at Cambridge—Junius—Andrewes' Christmas Sermon on the Wise Men.

NEVER was the pious severity of Bishop Andrewes more effectually put forth than in his sermon against hypocrisy preached upon March 6, 1622, Ash-Wednesday, from *When ye fast, be not as the hypocrites are.* It is a masterpiece of its kind. The worshippers indeed of their own imaginations, who have resolved fasting, holy-days, and all religious reverence into Popery, will but condemn the good Bishop as a patron of superstition. To such objectors to fasting he very pertinently replies that as well might they object to prayer and almsgiving, for that these also have been observed by some to the same evil end, to obtain praise of men. Hypocrisy is 'the moth that frets in sunder all that holy or good is.' In truth, since men have learned an easier repentance, a repentance that only humbles them whilst they are upon their knees, and then but with a superficial sentimentality, they have taken upon them to despise all abstinence, and the more because the Church directs it to be observed at set times. And to justify themselves they turn from the Scriptures by which they cannot be justified, to plead other men's abuse of that which is good; thus excusing themselves a neglected and unpopular duty, as some excuse their attendance upon the holy Communion.

On March 23rd Bishop Andrewes assisted at the consecration of Dr. Robert Wright to the see of Bristol.

On the 30th of this month Bishop Andrewes sat in commission at Lambeth with Archbishop Abbot, Williams, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, and Bishop of Lincoln, Mountaine, Bishop of London, Neile, Bishop of Durham, and other Privy Councillors, upon that most eminently learned but most worldly-minded and ambitious person, Mark Antony de Dominis, late Archbishop of Spalatro. Bishop Neile published an account of Mark Antony de Dominis, and Hacket in his *Life of Williams* exposes upon the most incontestable evidence the double-mindedness of this unstable and in the end most unhappy ecclesiastic. Spalatro, as appears from Fuller,¹ took the side of the Remonstrants, and so found a zealous advocate in that most partial of controversialists and doubtful of historians, Dr. Heylyn.

Archbishop Abbot, in the name of the rest, by his Majesty's special command, in a long Latin speech recapitulated the many misdemeanours of Spalatro, especially animadverting upon his inconstancy, who, coming hither as a refugee from Italy, now designed to return to Rome, having for that purpose held correspondence with the Pope without the King's knowledge. Spalatro made answer, an answer that was regarded as 'rather a shuffling excuse than a just defence.'² Then the

¹ *Church History*, b. x. p. 100. Dr. Christopher Wren, Dean of Windsor, reports of him (*Parentalia*, p. 148) that he was indeed of most sufficient learning, but most lavish in his expenditure, and a slave to his table. He came over to England in December 1616 (*Fuller*), having left Italy in discontent and with personal ill-will to Pope Paul V., yet probably not without a conviction of the errors of Romanism; such convictions we may not uncharitably believe to be entertained by very many who never leave that communion. It may seem in a manner to require ignorance and credulity together to hold cordially the palpable contradictions of their real yet unbloody sacrifice, to say nothing of the lying wonders multiplied even in our own age and inserted into the Breviary. Such however was Spalatro's conscience, that he resigned his archbishopric to his nephew on condition of receiving a yearly pension out of it, which pension he bitterly complained to Archbishop Ussher was never paid him. Count Gondomar is said to have enticed him into his departure, and this was done probably first to revenge a sarcasm upon the Count himself; secondly, the lasting injury which Antony de Dominis had done the Church of Rome by his writings.

² Fuller's *Church History*, b. x. p. 98.

Archbishop in his Majesty's name commanded him to depart the kingdom within twenty days, and never to return. His erudition was very great, but the love of money was his snare and his destruction. His own countrymen did not confide in him, but received him only to imprisonment in the Inquisition. He probably never cordially again professed their religion, and had his integrity been equal to his learning, he would have gone down to his grave with fame not surpassed by any of his contemporaries. But so it is, the greatest talents lose no small part of their reward when once devoted to sinister ends.

Upon Easter-day, April 21, Bishop Andrewes preached his third sermon upon the resurrection as recorded by St. John. Of these three, the first is the most replete with interest, but each is well worthy of its very pious author. The last, as more quaintly subdivided than the preceding, will be least acceptable to modern taste.

His Whitsunday sermon is entitled one 'prepared to be preached.' It might be that he was already suffering from his sedentary habits, as we find he did most afflictively some two years after. It displays his usual fertility of ideas, a multitude of verbal allusions, and many most pertinent observations, but embraces too many topics for a single sermon. He plainly condemns those who without gifts yet seek for places and offices or callings in the church. Again he speaks against the officiousness of the weak-minded, who, without either gifts or calling, take upon themselves to meddle in public and in private with divine things. 'Either a calling without a gift, or a gift without a calling. What say you to them that have neither, but fetch their run for all that, and leap quite over gift and calling, Christ and the Holy Ghost both, and chop into the work at the first dash? that put themselves into businesses which they have neither fitness for, nor calling to?' And our prelate justly observes that the *gift* should precede the *calling*: and as no man comes to *Christ* but by the *Holy Ghost*, so no man to the *calling* but by the *gift*. Yet how fearfully, how generally, is this still lost sight of! Still but comparatively little regard is had to the office and

dignity of the Holy Ghost, whose it is to make men overseers of the flock which the Lord hath purchased with his own blood.

On July 4th we find Andrewes on a commission for defective titles.

Upon August 5th Andrewes preached at Windsor the anniversary sermon on the Gowrie Conspiracy, from 1 *Sam.* xxiv. 5. He again touched upon the treasons of the Romanists, and on the assassination of Henry III. and IV. of France. Chamberlain dined with Andrewes, and did not leave him until half-past five. The weather was so hot, and he so faint and wet, that he was fain to go to bed for some little time after he came out of the pulpit.¹

On the 15th Andrewes wrote from Farnham to his Archdeacon to forward to his clergy copies of the King's Letter: 1. to limit preachers to such topics as are in the Articles and Homilies; 2. to enjoin that (except funeral sermons) none shall preach in the afternoon, but on the Catechism or on some text taken from the Ten Commandments or the Lord's Prayer, and those to be most encouraged who spend the afternoon in catechising; 3. to restrain preaching on predestination, election, or reprobation, or the universality, efficacy, resistibility or irresistibility of grace; 4. that in respect of the royal prerogative, they shall in their public teaching be regulated by the Homilies upon obedience, &c.; 5. to forbid all violent invectives against the persons of Papists and Puritans, but modestly and gravely to touch upon the controversies relating to them as the text may call the preacher to it; 6. that the Bishops be more wary in licensing preachers, and that lecturers be licensed only on the recommendation of the Bishop, with a *fiat* from the Archbishop, and confirmation under the great seal.²

It may well be doubted whether this was a wise extension of the royal authority. It is especially to be noted that Heylyn himself supposes that Laud had a hand in drawing up these instructions.³

¹ Birch's *James I.*, vol. ii. p. 325.

² *Cabala*, p. 112. And see the Lord Keeper's Letter, Jer. Collier's *Hist.* b. viii.

³ Heylyn's *Cyprianus Anglicus, or Life of Laud*, p. 97.

Doublet, in a letter to Vossius from London, August 16th, informs Vossius of William Knight of Broadgate Hall, Oxford, who, on Palm Sunday, had maintained in a sermon that it was lawful for subjects to take up arms in defence of religion against the King, and on being called into question for his doctrine, defended himself by the authority of Paræus.

Upon this occasion Andrewes himself, with other bishops, directed a mandatory letter to the Vice-Chancellor and Heads of Houses at Oxford, intimating to them their judgment in this case. Doublet with his own epistle sent to Vossius the decree of the University of Oxford condemnatory of Paræus *On the Romans*, and speaks of the theological temperament of the University of Cambridge as somewhat overheated in regard of such as were strictly for the Genevan Reformation, either through their great animosity to everything savouring of Puritanism, or through their inclination to the opinions of the Remonstrants. He was at Cambridge during the Commencement. There he heard very warm disputes upon predestination, free-will, and other kindred points; some strongly maintaining the side of the Remonstrants against Dr. Balcanqual. He was informed by one and another of the Doctors to whom he had introductions from Bishop Andrewes, that it was a doubt which was the greater party in the University, the Remonstrants or the Anti-Remonstrants. The Vice-Chancellor himself (Dr. Leonard Mawe), he adds, was '*remonstrantissimus*.' He found many much attached to Vossius, especially Balcanqual and Dr. Jerome Beale.¹

On September 13th Vossius wrote to Bishop Andrewes, thanking him with much affection for his kindness to his son-in-law Francis Junius, and that at a time when Junius was suffering from the neglect of his other friends.²

Bishop Andrewes had commended Junius to the Earl of Arundel, the Marshal of England, who took him into his family, and with whom he long continued.

The Earl of Arundel was one of the greatest patrons of the fine arts whom this age produced. A part of his

¹ *Cl. Vir. ad Voss. Ep.* pp. 30, 31.

² *Vossi Ep.* p. 74.

noble collection remains in the hands of the University of Oxford. He in the reign of James relinquished the errors of Romanism, and appears to have enjoyed the confidence of his sovereign. The succeeding monarch created him Earl of Norfolk, but would not raise him to the Dukedom. He was variously looked upon, by some with suspicion, as he would not live in dependence upon the smiles and favour of the Court. He took no part in the subsequent commotions, but went over to Italy, where he died at Padua October 4, 1646.

Upon Wednesday, Christmas-day, Bishop Andrewes proceeded with the history of the Wise Men's coming. Here, he said, are three stars, the star in the firmament, the star of faith in their hearts, and Christ himself, the bright and morning star. Their faith believed that he, though of the Jews, had relation to them; that benefit was to come to them by him; that therefore their worship was due to him. They did the work of faith, they confessed him boldly. They had a faith that was well grounded. They had seen his star. They most probably were led to that star by Balaam's prophecy, that a King should arise who should not only smite the corners of Moab, that is Balak their enemy, for the present; but should reduce and bring under him all the sons of Seth, that is, all the world. For all are now Seth's sons; Cain's were all drowned in the flood. The West had some glimmering of knowledge of this star. It is seen in Virgil's sixth Eclogue, but not having the word of prophecy they missed it. So this, this book must be our morning light, a more sure word of prophecy, as St. Peter saith. And besides these, there must be a light within, in the eye. And that must come from him and the enlightening of his Spirit.

The work of their faith they shewed in that they came. They left their country, and so walked in the steps of the faith of Abraham; did Abraham's first work. They came not a short journey, as the shepherds, but a long and wearisome one over the deserts and rocks and insecure ways of Arabia, and in the worst season. And they set out without delay. No sooner did they see the star than forthwith they set out. And

having come they inquired where he was born ; they enquired of the scribes ; they went not to a conventicle but to the church. And as they enquired themselves, so must we, and seek Christ not by another but by ourselves.

And they came and worshipped him, not in hypocrisy, as Herod at his birth, or the other Herod at his death. They came and found him in a stable, and yet they turned not away. They find him in so humble a state that he might seem more like to be abhorred than adored of such persons. " Will they be as good as their word, trow ? Will they not step back at the sight, repent themselves of their journey, and wish themselves at home again ? But so find him, and so finding, worship him for all that ? If they will, verily then *great is their faith.*"

" The Queen of the south, who was a figure of these Kings of the east, she came as great a journey as these. But when she came she found a king indeed, King Solomon in all his royalty ; saw a glorious king and a glorious court about him ; saw him and heard him ; tried him with many hard questions, received satisfaction of them all. This was worth her coming. Weigh what *she* found and what these here : as poor and unlikely a birth as could be ever to prove a king, or any great matter. No *sight* to comfort them, nor a word for which they any whit the wiser : nothing worth their travell. Weigh these together, and great odds will be found between her faith and theirs. Theirs the greater far."¹

¹ p. 146.

CHAPTER XXII.

Easter, 1623—Cluverius—Bishop Andrewes foresees the coming dangers—The Isle of Jersey.

FROM Laud's diary we find the name of Andrewes once more involved in secular and state affairs. On the 23rd of February, 1623, he, with Laud, Villiers, Marquess of Buckingham, and the Lords Arundel and Pembroke, appear to have made up the Commission of Grievances.

On the 26th of the same month he preached before the Court upon the fruits meet for repentance. Better had it been if he had more dwelt upon the motives to it. Useless indeed is a repentance that does not exercise the heart, and humble both the soul and the body, and put both to grief. But first there must be the root, and he who should look for the fruit without watering the root itself, would but fall into the extreme of superstition by way of avoiding that of irreverence.

His Easter-day sermon for the 13th of April is not liable to any such objections. Amongst the latest, it is also amongst the best of Bishop Andrewes' discourses. It is taken from the beginning of the 63rd chapter of *Isaiah*. There is throughout a vividness and depth of colouring that could proceed only from such a hand. He brings before our eyes the winepress of redemption and the winepress of triumphal retribution; the first in which the Lord himself was trodden under foot, the second in which he treads down his enemies, hell itself, the spiritual Edom, the most inveterate of all the foes of Israel. Over Edom, strong as it was, David cast his

shoe, that is, set his foot upon it, and trod it down. And Bozra, as impregnable a hold as it was holden, yet David won it, was led into the strong city; led into it and came thence again. So did the son of David, this day from his Edom, death, how strongsoever, yet swallowed up in victory this day. In *O death where is thy victory* he supposes an allusion to 'the Roman standard that had in it the image of the goddess Victory.'

Here having direct occasion he passes not over the doctrine of our justification, and that as he had done elsewhere, Christ, he saith, 'laid by his own righteousness to be clothed with our sin: he to wear our colours that we his: he in our *red* that we in his white. So we find our robes are not only washed clean, but dyed a *pure white* in the blood of the Lamb. Yea, he died and rose again both in our colours, that we might die and rise too in his.' And again, a little after, 'He in Mount Golgotha, like to us; that we in Mount Tabor, like to him.'

On the 13th of June we find Vossius writing to our prelate, expressing his grief upon the death of their common friend Cluverius,¹ who had left his young family but a poor inheritance. But he is comforted from the consideration that their grandmother survives, herself an Englishwoman and of good parentage. She was preparing to come to England to claim her property, at that time unjustly detained from her. He begs of Bishop Andrewes to put her cause into the hands of some honest and sufficient person. He mentions with cordial and not undeserved commendation the unparalleled benevolence of Andrewes, as eminent as his great learning.

¹ Cluverius some time after 1612 spent some time in England, in that interesting pile of building at Exeter College, Oxford, recently rebuilt in the Turf, and first erected on the north side by the learned Dr. Prideaux, chiefly for the accommodation of foreigners. The Rev. Dr. Bliss, Principal of St. Mary's Hall, has taken care for the preservation of the memory of this venerable specimen of our domestic architecture (for so it may be called), having had a copy taken of it for a future *Oxford Calendar*. J. Sigismund Cluverius, the son of the above-named, was admitted a member of the same College in 1633.

He complains that antiquity finds now but few admirers, and that solid learning is out of favour.

Upon Sunday, July 20th, Bishop Andrewes administered to the ambassadors the oath for the observance of the articles with Spain. This was celebrated at Whitehall Chapel with great ceremony, all of which is fully detailed in Nichols' *Progresses of King James*.¹ The marriage-treaty, however, and the consequent articles with it fell to the ground. Our unhappy nation was to be ruined from another quarter.

Bishop Andrewes was appointed to preach before the King on the 5th of August, and prepared a sermon which from some cause or other does not appear to have been delivered.

After the 5th of October, the day of the return of Prince Charles from Spain, occurred the following incident noted down by Bishop Wren, Chaplain both to the Prince and to Bishop Andrewes.

"After our return from Spain, my Lord of Winchester (among other great expressions of his respects to me) made me promise to him that upon all occasions of my coming to London (for I abode still at Cambridge) I would lodge with him; to which end he caused three rooms near the garden² to be fitted and reserved for me; and twice or thrice I had lodged there.

"And at another time, coming suddenly to London and late, I lodged at my sister's in Friday Street; and the next day being Friday, I went to Winchester House to dinner, and craved his lordship's pardon that I lodged not there; because that my business was to treat with some country gentlemen who lay in Holborn, whom I should not meet with but in the evening and morning, when it would not be safe for me to pass the bridge or the Thames; and so after dinner I took my leave of him, hoping to return for Cambridge on Monday.

"But on Saturday, going to do my duty to my Lords of Durham [Neile] and St. David's [Laud], and telling them of my sudden return, they would needs overrule me, and made me promise them, though I had taken leave of my Lord of

¹ Vol. iii. p. 882.

² Winchester House, Southwark.

Winchester, yet to meet them next day at Whitehall at my lord's chambers at dinner. I did so, and there we sat after dinner above an hour. And then, I shewing them that on the morrow my business would be dispatched, and I would be gone on Tuesday, I took my leave again of them all. But on Monday morning by break of day (before they used to be stirring in Friday Street) there was a great knocking at the door where I lay; and at last an apprentice who lay in the shop came up to my bedside, and told me there was a messenger from Winchester House to speak with me. The business was to let me know that my lord, when he came from court last night, had given his steward charge to order it so that I might be spoken with, and be required as from him without fail to dine with him on Monday; but to be at Winchester House by ten of the clock, which I wondered the more at, his lordship not using to come from his study till near twelve. My business would hardly permit this; yet because of his lordship's importunity, I got up presently, and into Holborn I went, and there made such dispatch that soon after ten o'clock I took a boat and went to Winchester House, where I found the steward at the Water-gate, waiting to let me in the nearest way, who telling me that my lord had called twice to know if I were come, I asked where his lordship was. He answered, in his great gallery (a place where I knew his lordship scarce came once in a year), and thither I going, the door was locked; but upon my lifting the latch, my lord of St. David's opened the door, and letting me in, locked it again.

"There I found none but those three lords, who causing me to sit down by them, my lord of Durham began to me: 'Doctor, your lord here will have it so, I that am the unfittest person must be the speaker. But this it is; after you left us yesterday at Whitehall, we, entering into farther discourse of those things which we foresee and conceive will ere long come to pass, resolved again to speak to you before you went hence. We must know of you what your thoughts are concerning your master the Prince. You have now been his servant above two years, and you were with him in Spain. We

know he respects you well, and we know you are no fool, but can observe how things are like to go.' 'What things, my lord?' quoth I. 'In brief,' said he, 'how the Prince's heart stands to the Church of England, that when God brings him to the crown, we may know what to hope for?' My reply was to this effect, that, however, I was the most unfit of any to give my opinion herein, attending but two months in the year, and then at a great distance, only in the closet and at meals; yet seeing they so pressed me, I would speak my mind freely. So I said, 'I know my master's learning is not equal to his father's; yet I know his judgment to be very right; and as for his affections in these particulars which your lordships have pointed at, for upholding the doctrine and discipline and right estate of the Church, I have more confidence of him than of his father, in whom they say (better than I can) is so much inconstancy in some particular cases.'

"Hereupon my lords of Durham and St. David's began to argue with me, and required me to let them know upon what ground I came to think thus of the Prince. I gave them my reasons at large, and after many replyings (above an hour together), then my lord of Winchester, who had said nothing all the while, bespoke me in these words: 'Well, Doctor, God send you may be a true prophet concerning your master's inclinations in these particulars, which we are glad to hear from you. I am sure I shall be a true prophet. I shall be in my grave, and so shall you, my lord of Durham; but my lord of St. David's and you, Doctor, will live to see that day that your master will be put to it, upon his head and his crown, without he will forsake the support of the Church.'

"Of this prediction made by that holy Father, I have now no witness but mine own conscience and the eternal God, who knows I lie not; nobody else being present when this was spoken but these three lords."¹

Hence it would appear that whatsoever might be the connivance of the King's advisers in the matter of the Spanish match, they were not without their secret apprehensions. They dreaded the return of Popery, and so questioned Wren

¹ Wren's *Parentalia*, pp. 45—47.

respecting the inclinations of the Prince. It is very certain that Andrewes was more thoroughly imbued with a sense of the essential evil of the Romish system than Laud, and probably Neile himself was inferior to Andrewes in this respect, as in every other. Neile was himself some years younger than Andrewes, and lived to see the beginning of those troubles of which the false friends of the Prince were themselves so great and so guilty a cause.

Bishop Andrewes' sermon on Christmas-day, upon the summing up of all things in Christ, displays his usual ingenuity, piety, and learning, but is not equal in point of interest to many of the preceding.

In the course of this year the Isle of Jersey was, after many efforts throughout the greater part of this reign, brought to conformity with the Church of England, and David Bandinelli, an Italian and minister of St. Mary's, was appointed Dean. A book of canons was then drawn up by the Dean and ministers, and examined and corrected by Archbishop Abbot, Bishop Williams, Lord Keeper, and Bishop Andrewes, now Diocesan of Jersey. The rupture with Spain prevented the application of the same regulations to the Isle of Guernsey.

¹ Jer. Collier's *Ecclesiastical History of England*.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Bishop Andrewes on Repentance and Fasting—Andrewes and Neile on the King's Prerogative—Meric Casaubon—The Death of King James—Moderation of Andrewes—Fast Service—Richard Montagu—Death of Andrewes.

BISHOP ANDREWES this year (1624) completed his doctrine of repentance in his Ash-Wednesday sermon, February 10th. The last five of the eight Ash-Wednesday sermons may be regarded as one treatise. The first of them, from the 2nd chapter of *Joel*, treats of repentance generally as a turning out of the way of sin to God, a sincere turning with the heart, and, for the manner of it, with fasting. This he commends not only as preventive of sin but as a correction of it, *I wept and chastened myself with fasting.*¹ For “if in very sorrow we are to fast when the bridegroom is taken away, much more when we ourselves, by our sins committed, have been the cause of his *taking*, nay, of his very *driving* away from us. And must we then fast? Indeed we must, or get us a new *Epistle* for the day, and a new *Gospel* too.”

“But how fast? Two kinds of fasting we find in Scripture :
1. David's, who fasted, tasted neither bread nor aught till the sun was down; no meat at all: that is too hard.
2. What say you to Daniel's fast? He did eat and drink, but no meats of delight, and (namely) eat no flesh. The Church as an indulgent mother mitigates all she may; enjoins not for fast that of David, and yet he who can, let him receive

¹ *Psa.* lxi. 10.

it for all that. She only requires of us that other of Daniel, to forbear meat of delight (and flesh is there expressly named), meats and drinks provoking the appetite, full of nourishment, kindling the blood.

“And yet even this also doth the Church release to such as are in Timothy’s case, have many infirmities. It is not the decay of nature but the chastisement of sin she seeketh. But this must not be hypocritically taken advantage of. Then weeping, and if we cannot weep, yet mourning is required. Mourning they call the sorrow which reason itself can yield. Complain and bemoan ourselves we can, and desire and pray for some portion of the grace of tears. *O that my head were full of water, and mine eyes fountains of tears.* And we can humbly beseech our merciful God and Father, in default of ours, to accept of the strong crying and bitter tears which, in the days of his flesh, his blessed Son in great agony shed for us. Our hearts must be rent, contrite, ground as it were to powder, to feel that it is a bitter and an evil thing to have turned away and forsaken the Lord. We must be angry with ourselves, or we are not truly grieved with ourselves. Indignation naturally seeks revenge. We must abhor ourselves for our sins, not from mere earthly principles, but for the manifold indignities offered by our sins to God, to the law of his justice, to the awe of his majesty, to the reverent regard of his presence, to the dread of his power, and to the long-suffering of his love. And let repentance be without delay. *Now* is the only sure part of our time.”

Then in the second discourse our prelate establishes the duty of fasting from our Lord’s own injunction in the 6th chapter of *St. Matthew*, and this preceded by the constant practice of the Old Testament saints; the fast of Ai, under Joshua;¹ at Gibeah,² under the Judges; at Mizpah, under Samuel;³ at Hebron, under David;⁴ of Jeremiah, before the Captivity;⁵ of Daniel under it;⁶ of Zachary after it;⁷ at Jerusalem, of the Jews at the preaching of Joel,⁸ at Nineveh,

¹ *Josh.* vii. 6.

² *Jud.* xx. 26.

³ *2 Sam.* iii. 35.

⁴ *2 Sam.* iii. 36.

⁵ *Jer.* xxxvi. 9.

⁶ *Dan.* i. 8, 10.

⁷ *Zach.* vii. 5.

⁸ *Joel* i. 14.

of the Gentiles at the preaching of Jonas.¹ And so the Christians at Antioch, the prophets of the New Testament there, as well as the prophets of the Old.² So the rest of Christ's ministers shewed themselves such by this proof of fasting amongst others.³ And what themselves did, they advised others to do, to give themselves to fasting and prayer.⁴ In truth, it accompanied ever all great acts of devotion, whether for the deprecating of evil, or the obtaining of good.

He returns to treat of the time and circumstances. The forty days' fast is sanctioned by Moses, Elias, and Christ, and God gave the same number to the people of Nineveh to repent in. We may here consider whether those go not a presumptuous length, who deny anything of an exemplary nature in the fast of our Saviour. As we take less pleasing meats, less luxurious and dainty, so we may diminish the quantity and put off the time. Cornelius fasted to three at noon, Peter to twelve at noon.⁵

The third discourse is, as we have seen, against hypocrisy. The fourth and fifth are upon the fruits of repentance. The fruits are works meet for repentance. For spiritual sins let us now bring forth prayer and works of devotion; for fleshly, bodily self-denial; for worldly, alms and works of charity, and compassion.

'For the first Simon Magus went not through with his bargain; did but think the Holy Ghost had been ware for his money, all was but thinking; went no further than the *Spirit*. St. Peter prescribes him what to do, to fall to prayer; *pray*, saith he, *if it be possible, this thought of thy heart may be forgiven thee*. Prayer serves where it goes no further than *thought*.

'For the second, the king of Nineveh and his people, they fell to fasting on all hands. What was their sin? Nahum it: he wrote the burden of Nineveh. This *'the fornications of the harlot*. For that that was the proper fruit.

¹ Acts xiii. 2, 3.

² 2 Cor. vi. 5.

³ Acts i. 9, 13.

‘For the third, one example shall be the King of Babylon. He had been a mighty oppressor of his people. There have ye now a worldly sin. *Break off thine iniquities with mercy to the poor*, is Daniel’s prescript to him.’¹ These make up the corrective or penal part of repentance.

But most certain it is that he denies to the best of our works everything that is strictly of the nature of *satisfaction*. ‘Shall we put them into the *balance*, to weigh the *worthiness* of our *fruits* with the *unworthiness* of our *sins*, and the consequent of our sins, the *wrath* of God? the dignity of the one with the indignity of the other, and think by their *dignity* to satisfy God’s great indignation? I trow not. At this beam no fruits of ours will hold weight; none so found worthy; no, not if we could, I say not, shed or pour out, but even melt into tears, and every tear a drop of blood. The honour of *worthy* in this sense belongs to the fruits of no tree but the tree of the cross of Christ; to his sufferings, and to none but his.’² To apportion to each his proper works of repentance, that there may be no self-deception, he commends that the minister of God be consulted. So it was of old time. ‘In the law every man was not left to himself. The offering for sin, which was to them a fruit of repentance, it was rated ever, ever taxed by the priest.’³ According to his ordering, so it went: he made the estimate, how much was enough, what would serve. And here now in St. John’s time—to St. John they come with their *What shall we do?*—and under the Gospel there we see, for the Corinthian St. Paul said, *This much is enough*, this shall serve: his conscience may be quiet; I restore him to the Church’s peace. And the canons penitential which were made in the times under persecution, the very best times of the Church, lay forth plainly what is to be followed and observed in this kind.’ He witnesses the general neglect of casuistry of this kind, and laments over it. ‘Truly it is neither the least nor the last part of our learning, to be able to give answer and directions in this point; but therefore laid aside and neglected by us, because not sought after by

¹ *Sermons*, p. 253, 2nd ed. 1631.

² p. 256, 2nd ed. 1631, and 4th ed. 1641.

³ *Levit.* v. 18.

you; therefore not studied but by very few, because it is grown out of request quite.'

He who would faithfully treat both of repentance and the fruits of repentance, may well consult Bishop Andrewes' *Manual for the Sick*, edited by Dr. Drake in 1685.¹

We find a sermon *prepared* to be preached on March 28th, Easter-day, from the 18th chapter of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, the benediction toward the end of the chapter. It abounds in pious applications of the text, but embraces too many points to have been easily carried away by the auditory, the greatest perhaps of all the faults of that age of learned and truly able preachers.

On May 29th, the day after the proroguing of Parliament, Mr. Waller, "going to see the King at dinner, overheard a very extraordinary conversation between his Majesty and Bishops Andrewes and Neile, who were standing behind the King's chair. His Majesty asked them, 'My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in Parliament?' The Bishop of Durham readily answered, 'God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the King turned and said to Bishop Andrewes, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir,' replied the Bishop, 'I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The King answered, 'No put-offs, my lord, answer me presently.' 'Then, Sir,' said he, 'I think it lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it.'"²

Bishop Andrewes' name frequently occurs upon committees of the Peers in this and occasionally the following year. On February 26th he was on a committee of privileges. On March 1st he had leave to be absent. On March 8th he was on a committee on the observance of the Lord's-day. On March 11th on the Bill respecting recusants made in the third of this reign. On March 12th on a committee to prevent the carrying of gold out of the country by bills of exchange, 'and, as *they* conceive, by the Papists.' On March

¹ And since by Pickering.

² Nichols' *Progresses of James I.*, vol. iii. p. 976. Andrewes, *Biog. Brit.*

16th on a committee to enable Prince Charles to make leases of lands parcel of the Duchy of Cornwall. On May 29th, at eight in the morning, respecting an Act for the confirmation and continuance of hospitals and free-schools that had been called in question. About this time Dr. Field, Bishop of Llandaff, was to be admonished in the Convocation House before the Bishops, a charge having been laid against him by the Archbishop of dealing in bribery.¹ On May 31st Andrewes was placed on a committee, "the session not to be closed by the royal assent being given to some acts."²

In the month of August our prelate was afflicted with a very dangerous illness at his palace at Waltham, Hants. On the 6th of August he wrote to Dr. Fenton. His rest was disturbed and his whole system disordered. His appetite for meat had left him. "No drink," he says, "but distastes to me." He also suffered great pain in his left side. After detailing his symptoms, he adds: "This I hope will make you to come. I have sent my own coach for you to be here on Tuesday. I would it could be sooner, but not to fail of you then. You shall never come more welcome. Till then and for ever God have you in his keeping. Waltham, 6 Aug. 1624.

"Your very assured loving friend,

"LA. WINTON."

He complains in a P.S. that he is disappointed in respect of his brother and his wife; "so that," he adds, "you are like to come alone. You shall be never a wit the loser, but better welcome. See you come in any wise."

But we find him named in a committee on a private bill the following 1st of December; again on Saturday, December the 5th, to meet at eight A.M. in the Painted Chamber on a committee for making the Thames navigable for barges, boats, or lighters from the village of Bercott (Buscott or Burwardscot in Berkshire) to Oxford. On that day he was also on a commission for the banishing of Jesuits and Seminary Priests.

In December 1624³ the King was a third time in Cam-

¹ *Journal of the House of Lords*, p. 144.

² p. 146.

³ *Nichols' Progresses of James I.*, vol. iv. p. 1008.

bridge (having paid two visits to the University in 1615), and kept his court at Trinity College. Prince Charles also was with him; and here Monsieur de Villiariler and the Marquis d' Effiat, Embassadors Extraordinary from the King of France, had audience of his Majesty, who, on the 12th of December, signed here the ratification of the treaty with France respecting the marriage of the Prince of Wales with the Princess Henrietta Maria. The King was confined with the gout in his hands and arms, but the Prince, Embassadors, and Nobility were entertained with public disputations, &c. There was an extraordinary Commencement, when many degrees were granted.¹

¹ Doctors created by his Majesty's letters-patent:

Shaw, Peterhouse.

John Leslie, Trinity, took no other degree.

Anthony Topham, Trinity (Fellow), B.A. 1606, M.A. 1609, B.D. 1616.

Thomas Rayment, Peterhouse, M.A. 1606.

Laurence Burnell, John's, B.A. 1600, M.A. 1604.

Alexander Reade, Pembroke, B.A. 1604-5-1608.

Gabriel Moore, Christ, B.A. 1606-8, M.A. 1609.

John Towers, Queens', B.D. 1616.

Abraham Gibson, John's, B.A. 1606-7, M.A. 1610, B.D. 1617.

Thomas Warner, Emmanuel, B.A. 1604-5, M.A. 1608.

Amongst those who received the degree of M.A. were Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir William Fleetwood.

Richard Bagnall intruded himself, and his name not being found in the King's list, he was three days after (*i. e.* the 16th) deprived of his degree.

The King, by a letter to the University on the 17th, gave instructions that all persons so taking their degrees should promise to perform the usual exercises according to the statutes and customs of the University.*

Dr. Anthony Topham was Vicar of Trumpington, and 7th September, 1629, installed Dean of Lincoln. He retired, after the loss of his preferment, to Clayworth, to the south of the road between Bawtry and Gainsborough, and died there October 22, 1656.

Dr. Thomas Rayment, or Raymond, of Peterhouse, was at this time Prebendary of Milton Ecclesia in the church of Lincoln, to which he had been collated ^{November 17th 1620} and installed January 19th, 1621. He was also Prebendary in the church of St. Paul's, London, and Archdeacon of in his 47th year November 4th, 1631, and was buried in an inscription on his gravestone is given in Dugdale's *the Willis's Survey of Lincoln Cathedral*, p. 221.

see H. Cooper's *Annals of Cambridge*, vol. iii. p. 171.

Of this visit to Cambridge of King James with Andrewes, Isaak Walton relates in his *Life of George Herbert*, "the year following the King appointed to end his progress at Cambridge, and to stay there certain days; at which time he was

Dr. John Towers of Norfolk was B.A. of Queens' College, Cambridge, 1602, M.A. 1606, Fellow of his College, B.D. 1615. His letter to Sir John Lamb, to intercede for him with Laud for the bishopric of Peterborough, is given in p. 354 of Prynne's *Compleat History of the Trial and Condemnation of William Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury*. He was accordingly promoted from the Deanry, to which he had been nominated 14th November, 1630, to the see of Peterborough November 21, 1638. He was consecrated 1639 by Laud, Juxon, Bishop of London, Curle, Bishop of Winchester, Wren, Bishop of Ely, and Warner, Bishop of Rochester. Prynne gives also this prelate's orders for and concerning the sermon weekly on Wednesday in St. James's Chapel, Brackley, September 14th, 1639. These orders contain the names of the clergy appointed to preach the lecture, the time of the service, which was nine A.M., and the order of divine service. By these instructions it appears that the whole morning service was to be read as now, i. e. the Morning Prayer, Litany, and the Communion Service, "commonly called the second service." A psalm was to be sung after the Litany. The preacher was to go up into the pulpit immediately after the Nicene Creed, in his surplice and hood. He was to use no form of prayer before sermon, but the bidding prayer as set down in the 55th Canon. Only he might, if he would, insert "the names of the Universities and of his College, or of his patron, he being one qualified by law to have a chaplain." The sermon was to be at the utmost within the compass of an hour, and no prayer was to be used after it, but it was to end with *Glory be to God*, &c.; and after the sermon the preacher was to return to the Communion-table, and read the prayer for the whole state of Christ's Church, &c., and one or two of the Collects at the end of the Communion Service, and lastly the blessing, *The Peace of God*, &c. If the prayers were neglected or deserted, the lecture was to be altogether discontinued. Dr. Towers died January 10th, 1649, and was buried in his cathedral near his predecessor Bishop Dee, without any memorial, in the middle of the choir. The choir of this cathedral was, until at least about the middle of the last century, much more spacious than at present. It commenced with the last pillar but one on either side the nave, thus standing partly beneath the lantern tower. It is now much too contracted for the wants of the city.

Dr. Laurence Burnell was B.A. of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1601, M. A. 1604, Chancellor of Exeter July 20th, 1624. He died in his 68th year, November 12th, 1647.

Dr. John Lesley, of Trinity College, was Bishop of Sodor August 17, 1628, and was translated to Raphoe in Ireland in 1633.

Dr. Reade, who was minister of Yately, Hants, has been already mentioned in the account of the royal visit to Cambridge in 1615.

Gabriel Moore, of Christ College, was Taxor in 1616 and Proctor in 1620, Prebendary of the first stall at Westminster March 8, 1632. He held it until the Usurpation.

attended by the great secretary of nature and all learning, Sir Francis Bacon (Lord Verulam), and by the ever memorable and learned Doctor Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, both which did at that time begin a desired friendship with our orator." "And for the learned Bishop, it is observable that at that time there fell to be a modest debate betwixt them two about predestination and sanctity of life; of both which the orator did not long after send the Bishop some safe and useful aphorisms in a long letter written in Greek; which letter was so remarkable for the language and reason of it, that after the reading it the Bishop put it into his bosom, and did often shew it to many scholars both of this and foreign nations, but did always return it back to the place where he first lodged it, and continued it so near his heart till the last day of his life."¹

This same year Bishop Andrewes preached his last Christmas-day sermon before the King, from the 2nd *Psalm*, *Thou art my Son, &c.*; first, treating of them as spoken to our Lord; secondly, as the law preached by him to all that are adopted into the family of God.

About this time he preferred Meric the son of Isaac Casaubon, but far his inferior in learning, to the Rectory of Bleadon, a small village west of Axbridge in Somersetshire. He was born at Geneva in August 1599, but coming over with his father was admitted at Christ Church, Oxford, and in 1621 published a vindication of his deceased father against the false rumours and artifices of the Papists, Heribert Rosweid, a Jesuit, Andrew Scioppius, Julius Cæsar Bullinger, and the traitor of 1605 (the favourite of the great Anglo-Romish historian), Andrew Eudæmon Joannes. After the death of Andrewes Laud became Casaubon's patron,² and preferred him in 1628 to a prebendal stall in Canterbury.

Fuller, in his *Church History*, b. xi. i. § 46, says that Andrewes' gravity in a manner awed King James, who refrained from that mirth and liberty in the presence of this prelate, which otherwise he assumed to himself. However

¹ *Herbert's Remains*, ed. Pickering, 1841, pp. 25, 26.

² See *Cl. Viror. ad Vossium Ep.* p. 149.

the King highly esteemed his wit, which as it shone forth in all his writings, his sermons not excepted, would doubtless have given an unrivalled charm to his conversation. Those who enjoyed the society of the late incomparable Bishop of Lincoln will never fail to remember that unaffected playfulness which never lost sight of the higher requisites of conversation. Both were perhaps the greatest patristic scholars of their day, both eminent for their benevolence, and both have left behind them monuments of as learned piety as their several ages can boast.

On January 1st, 1625, Andrewes was on the High Commission.

His royal master in his last illness desired his attendance, but by reason of a severe fit of the stone and gout, at the same time, he was unable to be with him. The King, however, had the comfort of the presence of Abbot and Williams, both soon to lose the best of masters, and to fall into great and undeserved disgrace. The King ended his days in much peace of mind. He was indeed but too inconstant, and an uncertain friend to that religion in which he professed to die, and in defence of which he had written with sufficient learning. He was a true patron of learning, and protector of the rights and revenues of the Church. But he lived in the contaminating atmosphere of flattery, from the shameless adulation of Whitgift at the Hampton Conference¹ to that of Neile standing behind his table. He was indolent and irresolute, seeing a better way than that which he would walk in, and thus guilty of injustice which he but inadequately regretted. He left his throne to a son weaker and more arbitrary, but less conciliating, and far less versed in theoretical wisdom. He left him to young and inexperienced counsellors, who soon aggravated the difficulties with which the crown was already environed, and raised up a host of enemies to the Church by attempting innovations both in doctrine and ceremonies. Andrewes was always of an unambitious and quiet spirit. Laud took the place which he alone was fitted to occupy, and Villiers soon thrust aside Williams.

¹ 'Undoubtedly your Majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's Spirit.'

On Wednesday, March 24th, our prelate was one of a committee of the Lords for the confirmation of Wadham College and its possessions. It had been founded in 1610.

On March 27, Midlent Sunday, whilst Laud was preaching at Whitehall, news was brought in of the King's death.¹ He died at Theobalds about three-quarters of an hour past eleven in the forenoon. The King fell sick March 4th, on Friday. On the 1st of April Laud received letters from the Earl of Pembroke, Lord Chamberlain to the King, and therein a command to preach before him and the House of Peers in the opening of Parliament to be held on the 17th of May. This Parliament, however, was deferred to the 18th of June, and on the 19th Laud preached before the King at Whitehall.²

Abbot and Andrewes were both henceforth superseded most effectually, and Laud became the real primate and director of all ecclesiastical affairs. So on April 5th he delivered to the Duke of Buckingham a list of divines marked O and P, Orthodox and Puritans. Thus was all church patronage placed at once under his influence. After this most responsible step had been taken he received a command to go to Andrewes, and learn from him what he would have done in the cause of the Church, and especially in regard of predestination. There can be little doubt that this was in consequence of Laud's own suggestion. The next day being Sunday, April 10th, he went to Bishop Andrewes, who was then in his chamber at court. He acquainted him with what he had received in command. Andrewes gave Laud his answer, but the purport of it we learn from Laud's chaplain and panegyrist Heylyn. It accorded with the moderation and experience of Andrewes, and, by advising that nothing be done, and no controversies stirred, checked the ardent spirit of

¹ Laud, perceiving from the confusion that spread throughout his auditory that this event had taken place, discontinued his discourse.—Heylyn's *Life of Laud*, part i. p. 131.

² Bishop Andrewes was on committees April 3rd as one of the Conference with the Commons touching Popish recusants; on April 13th, Tuesday, eight A.M., concerning certain of the lands of Sir Horatio Pallavicini, deceased, of Babraham, Cambridgeshire; on July 6th, touching lands to be sold by Richard, late Earl of Dorset, to pay his debts and raise portions for his daughters, &c.

Laud. There can indeed be no doubt that their opinions and whole theology varied widely. Laud denied the character of a Church to every communion that was not episcopal; not so Andrewes, as may be seen in his letters to Du Moulin. Andrewes maintained that the Pope was Antichrist, Laud that he was not. Andrewes never deserted the doctrine of St. Augustine on predestination; Laud was at this time, in all probability, at least a concealed Arminian. With much subtlety and little ingenuousness both he and Neile indirectly answered to the charge of Arminianism when it was objected to them in the latter part of this reign. Laud's answer on his trial was, 'I have nothing to do to defend Arminianism, no man having yet charged me with the abetting any point of it.'¹

On June 6th, Whit-Monday, Laud and Andrewes dined together with Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, at his house at Bromley.

On June 7th he was on a commission for mortgaging some of the crown lands to Edward Allen and others.²

On Friday, June 24th, Andrewes was, with Laud, Mountain, Bishop of London, Neile, Bishop of Durham, Buckeridge, Bishop of Rochester, Harsnet, Bishop of Norwich, and Abbot the Archbishop, appointed to advise concerning a public fast and a form of prayer, to implore the divine mercy on occasion of the spreading of the plague, and the extraordinarily wet weather which threatened a famine; and also to beg the divine blessing upon the fleet now ready to put to sea. This form of prayer was altered and enlarged from that which was put forth in 1563, which had also been used with some alterations and accommodations in 1603, on occasion of the plague that raged at the time of the late King's coronation. The same responses were now used instead of the 95th *Psalm*, and for the psalms the seven penitential psalms, the 6th, 32nd, 38th, 51st, 102nd, 130th, and 143rd, were read at the morning prayer; and at the evening prayer the 9th, 39th, 86th, 90th, and 91st. The lessons were *Deuteronomy* xxviii. and xxx., 1 *Kings* viii., 2 *Sam.* xxiv., *Joel* ii., *Jonah* iii.,

¹ Wharton's *History of Laud's Troubles and Trial*, p. 352.

² Rymer.

St. Matthew vi. or viii. or ix., and *St. Luke* xiii. or xxi. The prayer, 'O almighty, most just, and merciful God,' was altered so as to be less pointedly opposed to Romanism: for the words hitherto used, 'thou hast delivered us from all horrible and execrable idolatry,' were substituted, 'thou hast delivered us from superstition and idolatry.' To this form was appended as a preface the prayer for the High Court of Parliament, since excellently altered and inserted into the Liturgy. After 'the welfare of our sovereign and his kingdoms,' it proceeded, 'Lord, look upon the humility and devotion with which they are come into thy courts; and they are come into thy house in assured confidence upon the merits and mercies of Christ (our blessed Saviour), that thou wilt not deny them the grace and favour which they beg of thee. Therefore, O Lord, bless them with all that wisdom which thou knowest necessary to speed and bring great designs into action, and to make the maturity of his Majesty's and their counsels the happiness and the blessing of this commonwealth. These and all other necessities for them, for us, &c. For the second lesson at the evening service were appointed 1 *Cor.* x. to the 16th verse, 1 *Cor.* xiii., or 2 *Cor.* ix., or 1 *Thess.* iv. The homily put forth in 1603 was printed at the end of the prayers.

On the 23rd of July the Bishop promoted his brother Dr. Roger Andrewes, Master of Jesus College, to the sixth stall in Winchester Cathedral, on the death of William Barlow, Archdeacon of Salisbury.¹

¹ He was the second Master of Jesus College who had been taken from Pembroke Hall. The first Master of the latter foundation, Dr. William Chubben, who was appointed by Bishop Alcock in 1497, was born at Whitby in Yorkshire, and had been a Fellow of Pembroke Hall. His name is said, in Sherman's *History of Jesus College*, to have been spelt in very various ways by Wren himself in his MS. *Memorials of Pembroke Hall*. He put forth an *Introduction to Logic*, and was a benefactor to his College. Roger Andrewes had been preferred to this Mastership by his brother the Bishop of Ely in 1618, after the death of Dr. John Duport, the father of the learned Greek Professor. He was also Vicar of Chigwell in Essex, Rector of Cockfield near Sudbury, Cheriton near New Alresford, Hampshire, and of the Donative of Emneth in the Isle of Ely; Prebendary of North Muskham in the church of Southwell 22nd September, 1609, in the place of his brother then Bishop of Chichester, who also gave him

On September 8th Andrewes was on a commission for charitable uses, to inquire into the disposition of the property of Andrew Windsor, Esq., who had bequeathed property for the support of eight poor persons in an almshouse founded by himself at Farnham. The gift was declared good.¹

This year a third of the inhabitants of London and of the suburbs died of the plague. Andrewes gave 100 marks during this time to the parish of St. Saviour's, Southwark. Buckeridge adds in his funeral sermon, that since the year 1620 he gave in private alms to the sum of £1340.

In Secretary Conway's Letter Book is the following minute: "To Lancelot Andrewes, Bishop of Winchester, to admit Dr. Middleton to the place of Confessor of the Household," October, 1625. This was the occasion of the following letter from our prelate:

"RT. HON. AND MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"Your lordship's from Salisbury of the 25th October came not to my hand till this day the 4th November, lest your lordship should impute the delay of mine answer to any neglect of dutie. May it please your lordship to be advertised that there hath nothing been done in this matter of the Confessorship but with the knowledge and by order of his Majestie.

"Mr. Beckett, the confessor that now is, and that hath been for a great part of the time of our late Sovereign Lord King James (whose remembrance be ever in blessing) had the grant of that place not by me, but by Bishop Montague my predecessor, then Dean of the Chapel, to whom appertaineth the gift of that place, to appoint one of his own chaplains (as by the Book of the Household appeareth, and as ever hath been used).

"It hath ever been the most gracious goodness of the Kings and Queens, his Majestie's precedessors, so far to commiserate their poor servants, as if the hand of God were upon them (as upon Mr.

a stall in that cathedral, and made him Archdeacon of Chichester 23rd February, 1608, as he had previoualy made him Chancellor October 16th, 1606. He was the first who commenced a College Register. He was undoubtedly deserving of promotion, for his learning obtained for him a place amongst the translators of the Bible in the reign of King James. He died in 1635. He was succeeded in his stall at Winchester by Dr. Thomas Buckner, in his Mastership by Dr. William Beale, brother of Jerome, Master of Pembroke College. His stall at Southwell he resigned in 1631, and was succeeded by Dr. Henry Willis. John Scull was on his decease appointed Chancellor, and Laurence Pay Archdeacon of Chichester.

¹ Manning and Bray's *Surrey*, vol. iii. p. 157.

Beckett it hath been now for these few years past, hath been stricken with a palsy, not yet recovered), they could continue in their place still, and serve them by a deputy.

"It may please his Majestie to call to mind, that not long after his happy coming to the crown, upon the humble petition of Mr. Beckett, his Majestie's pleasure was to me signified by my Lord Duke of Buckingham, and after by his Majestie himself, that he would have Mr. Beckett continue in the place during his life; whereupon he was orderly sworn by me. This as among the multitude of far more weighty affairs it very well may, so it is likely his Majestie calleth not to his remembrance. Under reformation and craving pardon, I thought it to stand with my duty to make this known. May it please it your lordship to put his Majestie in mind thereof. And his memory being informed, his pleasure shall be fulfilled, as becometh me.

"I beseech your lordship to bear with and to support this my imperfect manner of writing, who have been under the hand of God sick of an ague these seven weeks, for the most part forced to keep my bed, where your letter found me. I remain while I live, to pray and to wish your lordship continuance and increase of health, honour and happiness from God, who long preserve you.

"In all duty and service

"At your lordship's commandment,

"LA. WINTON.

"Bishop's Waltham,

"Novemb. 4, 1625."¹

Thus early was the very patronage of Andrewes as Dean of the Chapel Royal invaded, and that with the royal sanction. So little reverence did the Sovereign shew to his recently departed father's most deserving friend and favourite. Had Abbot been removed before Andrewes from his trials to that world for which his afflictions doubtless ripened him, nothing can be more improbable than that Andrewes would have been raised to Canterbury. Laud would not have declined such an opportunity—Laud, who was already aiming at the metropolitan functions.

On December the 8th Bishop Andrewes wrote as follows to the Lords of the Council:

"RT. HON. MY VERY GOOD LORDS,

"Your Lordships' letters of the 30th October I received on Monday night last (the 5th of this present), wherein I am required

¹ In the margin is as follows:

"(By his Majestie himself) in the gallerie at Whitehall, my Lord Chamberlain and divers others then present."

to signify to the Lord Marquess of Winchester and to his son (the Lord St. John) his Majestie's pleasure touching the removing of their arms and other habiliments of war, and taking them into my custodie.

"My Lords, I would my body were to my mind, and wish with all my heart, that for the present state of my health, I were as able to perform this service as I shall ever be found willing readily to obey and to execute any of his Majestie's commands, or your Lordships' letters, to the uttermost of my endeavours. But at this present God hath laid upon me the ague, the stone, and the gout all at once. The ague hath held me these twelve weeks and more, and is now come to plain tertian, which forceth me (being now low brought) to keep my bed every other day. And within these three weeks I have had at times three grievous fits of stone in the bladder, which afflicteth me still. And to both these is now come the gout, to make me more unhabile for undertaking a journey, or taking on me a matter of so great importance. All which, offering to your Lordships' grave judgment (that his Majestie's service sustain no prejudice), I humbly desire your favourable report to his Majestie of my weak estate. And the business requiring speed, that your Lordships will be pleased to think of some other that are not only for the state of their health and strength of their bodies, but besides better hable every way than myself. Or, if it be required that I do it, that I may be respited some time till it please God I may recover some strength to go about it. Which I write not as any way unwilling to any of his Majestie's service in this kind (for I shall be ever most ready to execute it or any the like to the uttermost of my power), but only that as my case is I have neither health nor strength to perform it.

"And herewithal I have returned the letter sent to the two Lords, expecting his Majestie's further pleasure and your Lordships' command, whereto my ability I will ever yield due obedience. Beseeching God with all his graces ever to bless that most honourable board at all your meetings, and to crown your consultations with all prosperous success.

"At your Rt. Honourable Lordships'

"Commandment,

"In all humble duty and service,

"LA. WINTON.

"Bishop's Waltham,

"Decemb. 8, 1625."

On January 16, 1626, by the King's command a consultation was held to resolve what should be done in the case of Richard Mountague. This learned and able writer, now Dean of Hereford and one of the King's Chaplains, had given great offence, not to the Puritans only, but to many whom it would be unjust to characterize by that name.

He had, in answer to a proselytist who troubled his parish of Stanford Rivers near Ongar, put forth in 1624 a work entitled *A New Gag for an Old Goose, &c.* This book was severely animadverted upon by Yates and Ward,¹ two Puritan ministers of Ipswich. Antony Wotton, Divinity Professor of Gresham College, afterwards entered into the controversy in as severe a spirit, but with far more ability. To Ward and Yates Mountagu replied in his *Appello Cæsarem, A Just Appeal from Two Unjust Informers*. This second work is written with gall rather than with ink, and proved its author to be indeed what in that age would have entitled him to be called 'a man of a stout spirit.' True it is, however, that the two informers exaggerated his offences. In Bishop Carleton Mountagu found a far more formidable opponent. This prelate had himself taken part in the Synod of Dort, and was well read in Christian antiquity. He wrote piously and gravely, and without mingling false charges with true, exposed the subtlety, sophistry, and inconclusiveness of Mountagu, where he innovated upon the then received doctrine of the Church. His examination of Mountagu's errors he dedicated to King Charles, but it may be questioned whether that monarch had either the knowledge or the impartiality requisite for so deep and (to speak the truth) repulsive a subject.

Upon the assembling of the Commons June 21, 1625, amongst other subjects they took into consideration the alleged errors of Mountagu. In the late reign the cause was

¹ Samuel Ward, an eminent preacher at Ipswich, appealed from the over-severe Bishop Harsnet to the King, who referred him to the Lord Keeper Williams, who so wrought upon him by mildness, that he became as useful a man on the Bishop's own acknowledgment as any in his diocese. This was Williams' constant way of dealing with the Puritans, endeavouring to gain them by argument, and using to this purpose Dr. Sibbes and Dr. Gooch. (Hacket's *Life of Bishop Williams*, p. 95.) Sibbes, the most effective practical writer of his age, was first Fellow of St. John's College, then Preacher of Gray's Inn, and Master of Catharine Hall from 1626 to his death in 1635.

John Yates, B.D., was of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and minister of St. Andrew's, Norwich. Dr. Gooch was Master of Magdalene College, Cambridge, Chancellor of the dioceses of Exeter and Worcester, and Advocate of the Court of Arches.

put into the hands of Archbishop Abbot, and ended in an admonition being given to Mountagu.

Afterward the Bishops of the Arminian party, says Rushworth, consulted the propagation of the five articles condemned in the Synod of Dort, [and] concluded that Mr. Mountagu, being already engaged in the quarrel, should publish his *Appeal to Cæsar*, at first attested by their joint authority, which afterward they withdrew by subtlety, having procured the subscription of Dr. Francis White,¹ whom they left to appear alone in the testimony, as himself oftentimes complained publicly. The Archbishop disallowed the book and sought to suppress it; nevertheless it was printed and dedicated to King Charles, whereby that party did endeavour to engage him in the beginning of his reign. Mountagu himself, on the contrary, asserts in his *Epistle Dedicatory to King Charles*, that his royal father acquitted him of all the charges that were brought against him, and gave express order to Dr. White, Dean of Carlisle, for the authorising and publishing thereof.

The Commons appointed a committee to examine the errors therein, and gave the Archbishop thanks for the admonition given to the author, whose books they voted to be contrary to the articles established by the Parliament, to tend to the King's dishonour and disturbance of Church and State, and took bond for his appearance. Hereupon the King intimated to the House that the things determined concerning Mountagu without his knowledge did not please him, for that he was his servant and chaplain-in-ordinary, and he had taken the business into his own hands; whereat the Commons seemed to be much displeased.²

It is reported that the King at one time thought of leaving Mountagu to the Parliament, and to this that reflection in Laud's Diary was supposed by some to refer: 'I seem to see a cloud arising, and threatening the Church of England; God for his mercy dissipate it!' This occurs in Laud's Diary January 29: 'Jan. 29. Sunday. I understood

¹ Afterward Bishop of Ely.

² Rushworth's *Collections*, vol. i. pp. 173, 174.

what D. B. had collected concerning the cause, book, and opinions of Richard Mountague, and what R. C.' [King Charles] 'had determined with himself therein. Methinks I see a cloud rising,' &c.¹

On January 16th, about a fortnight before the preceding observation of Laud, he, with Montaigne, Neile, and Buckeridge, met at Winchester House, where they together with Bishop Andrewes signed a letter, doubtless very satisfactory to the King and sufficiently exculpatory of Mountagu. The letter was addressed to the royal favourite, the Duke of Buckingham:

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"Upon your late letters directed to the Bp. of Winchester, signifying his Ma^{ties} pleasure that, taking to him the Bps. of London, Durham, Rochester, Oxford, and St. David's, or some of them, he and they should take into consideration the business concerning Mr. Mountagu's late book, and deliver their opinions touching the same, for the preservation of the truth and the peace of the Church of England, *together with the safety of Mr. Mountagu's person*, we have met and considered, and for our particulars do think, that Mr. Mountagu in his book hath not affirmed anything to be the doctrine of the Church of England, but that which in our opinion is the doctrine of the Church of England, or agreeable thereunto. And for the preservation of the peace of the Church, we in humility do conceive that his Ma^{ties} shall do most graciously to prohibit all parties, members of the Church of England, any further controversy of those questions by public preaching, or writing, or any other way to the disturbance of the peace of the Church for the time to come. And for any thing that may further concern Mr. Mountagu's person in that business, we humbly commend him to his Ma^{ties} gracious favour and pardon. And so we humbly commend your Grace to the protection of the Almighty, resting

"Yo^r Grace's faithful and humble servants,

"GEO. LONDON.

"B. DUNKLM. LA. WINTON.

"JO. ROFFENS.

"GUIL. MENEVE.

"From Winchester House,

"January 16, 1625."²

It is evident that the King and the Duke, probably swayed by Laud, had previously determined upon Mountagu's ac-

¹ Wharton's *Troubles of Laud*, &c. p. 27.

² *Harl. MSS.* No. 7000, fol. 104.

quittal. This is clear from the wording of the Duke's letter. The Bishops were to consult for the safety of Mountagu's person. The prelates appointed to conduct the cause were all prelates in favour at court. It is not on record that any of them, except Andrewes, had ever appeared on the side of the doctrine of the Church of England as maintained during at least the greater part of the preceding reign. Both the Archbishops were passed over, and so Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, Davenant, Bishop of Salisbury, Carleton, Bishop of Chichester, Morton, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; on the other hand, Laud, Buckeridge, and Howson, Bishop of Oxford, were known to be his friends. Thus the King in fact asked the assistance of Montaigne, Neile, Andrewes, and their assessors in shielding his chaplain Mountagu from the prosecution of the Commons.

The House of Commons charged Mountagu with maintaining that the Church of Rome is and ever was a true Church; that it hath ever remained firm on the same foundation of the Sacraments and doctrine instituted by God; that no points of faith, hope, charity, and good manners are controverted between Protestants and Romanists; that images may be used to raise devotion; that in his treatise upon the invocation of saints he had maintained that they have a more peculiar charge of their friends, and that it may be believed that some saints have tutelage of countries, &c.; that he had also taught, contrary to the 17th Article, that justified men may fall away; that he had misquoted the 16th Article, and sought to bring in Arminianism; that he had factiously used the term Puritan of such as conform to the discipline and ritual of the Church; and that the scope and end of Richard Mountagu was to give encouragement to Popery, and to lay the ground for a reconciliation with Popery; lastly, that he, in some things that he had written, reflected upon the late King, and had used railing and bitter speeches to many other persons and contemptuous to foreign reformed churches.¹

Mountagu, in his *New Gag for an Old Goose, or Answer*

¹ Rushworth, i. pp. 209—212.

to the late *Gagger of Protestants*, begins with the controversies touching the relative places of Scripture and the Church. He affirms that 'the written Word of God is the rule of faith with us.'¹ 'Unto the law and unto the prophets was a direction of a perpetual morality, and is continued in that of our Saviour, (*John v.*) *Search the Scriptures, for in them you hope to have eternal life*: a rule absolute in itself, a rule most sufficient unto us, for that end intended, to make the man of God perfect in every good work.' 'Plainly delivered in Scripture are *all those points which belong unto faith and manners, hope, and charity, to wit.*' But other points there are which are obscure and open to controversy. These the Church has power to interpret and resolve.²

He adduces Cyril of Jerusalem in his Fourth Catechism speaking thus, 'In any point concerning the divine and holy mysteries of our faith, not any the least thing must be tendered without warrant of divine Scripture.' And he (Cyril) addeth, 'Believe me not that speak and deliver these things unto you, unless for proof of them I do bring plain and evident demonstration out of divine writ.' Mountagu proceeds: 'Was this man a Protestant or a Papist? Those Bibles he had then which we have now: and it seemeth that addressing his own belief and doctrine accordingly varied not in judgment any whit from us, who make Scripture the *rule* of our belief, and in doubtful points that require determination, appeal unto the Catholic Church for judgment in that rule.'

He then comments upon that passage so little understood, but so much in some men's mouths, *The Scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' chair; all therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.*' He asks, 'Do you suppose that our Saviour approved them so well, as that he would have had the Jews in matters of faith to rely upon them and their decisions, as *pastors* of the *Church* in points of faith? If this were his meaning, what meant he then to give warning elsewhere, *Take heed of the leaven of the Pharisees?* that is, as the Holy Ghost expoundeth it, *of their doctrine.* If the question had been put, *Art thou the Christ?* would he have

¹ p. 13.² *A New Gag*, p. 14.³ *Matt.* xxiii. 2.

sent them unto the Scribes or Pharisees for resolution, or advised the people to believe on them? We find it not practised: the contrary we do. What then is this text in consequence unto the point? Surely he meant no more but this, and in that he will declare himself a Protestant; *Whatsoever they bid you observe out of Moses, observe*; that is, so long as they teach but Scripture they must be heard; if here they fail, then hear them not. *Verba legis proferendo*, in the opinion of St. Augustine, *so long as they speak law*. Then he adduces the Jesuits Maldonatus and Barradas giving the same exposition.¹

His antagonist had alleged from the 10th chapter of *St. Luke*, *He that heareth you, heareth me, &c.* These words, he observes, might relate to the Apostles in the fullest sense as having mission immediate from the Son himself, which none ever had but they. But in relation to those after them, it must be understood as St. Bernard understood it, with this restriction, 'as far as man doth not gainsay the will and commandment of the Most High.' 'A flat Protestant in his assertion,' adds Mountagu, 'and upon reason; for *a nuncio must go to his commission*.'²

St. Anselm he calls 'a *factionist* for Pope Urban, his good lord and master.'³

As upon the authority of Scripture so of traditions, he might have written more clearly. Thus why say that 'traditions derived from the Apostles have equal authority with their preachings and their writings?' The love-feasts were such traditions, and yet who would affirm that they were of equal authority with the Eucharist, equally binding upon the observance of the Church? It is not true that we hold all apostolical traditions as binding. Such a tradition was baptism by immersion; yet neither is this observed by us. Such a tradition was the order of deaconesses, yet where is it to be found?

In animadverting upon the Romanist's allegation, that it is our doctrine that the Church can err, Mountagu maintains the same doctrine with some in our own day, that the Church

¹ p. 16.² p. 17.³ p. 29.

representative, true and lawful, cannot err in fundamentals. The Church representative is in the second chapter of the second part of his *Appeal* identified with a general council. This is a fruitless controversy, and upon Mountagu's own shewing, a needless one. For as all things according to him requisite to be believed in order to salvation are in Holy Scripture, why should general councils be called? not to clear points of doctrine. And in points of discipline they may err without question, since they are liable to err on points of fact which are always involved in the administration of discipline. It is remarkable how those who speak much for general councils are not careful to define them. Even deacons spoke in antient councils. Would the modern advocates of them be content with the antient model?

In his fifth chapter occurs in Latin that passage which gave just cause of offence to the House of Commons: 'And although this present Roman Church hath departed in no small degree, not only in regard of purity of manners and discipline, but also in regard of uncorruptness in doctrine, from that antient Church whence it arose and was derived, yet it hath ever stood firm upon the same foundation of *doctrine* and of the *Sacraments instituted by God*, and recognises and keeps communion with the antient and undoubted Church of Christ. Wherefore it cannot be another and a different church from that, however unlike it in many respects.' So then, the half-communion, idolatrous worship, and the enjoining as essential to salvation doctrines of human origin and no part of the Word of God, all this however unlike the primitive Church is not so unlike it as to constitute a separate being! Now Mountagu admitted the gross idolatry of the Church of Rome, and therefore the absurdity is his own. "I do not, I cannot, I will not deny that idolatry is grossly committed in the Church of Rome." This is his own testimony. But will any say, it is one thing for the Church to commit idolatry, another thing for idolatry to be committed in the Church? He answers, that the idolatrous worship of the image of Christ as maintained by [St. Thomas Aquinas

“is an article of faith in the Roman Church.”¹ To what end we may well ask, did the Apostle write to the Corinthians, *What agreement hath the temple of God with idols?*² No wonder that the multitude have ever suspected of Popery those who have thus palliated idolatry, and taught that it has ceased under Christianity to be that mortal sin which it was under the law.

Upon the question how St. Peter fell, whether totally or finally, he forgets his usual caution, and condemns Ward and Yates for *their* doctrine of final perseverance,³ forgetting that it was the doctrine of *Hooker*. Here his *factious* use of the term Puritan is apparent, and justifies the animadversion both of the Commons and of the learned and pious Bishop Carleton.

To his opponent objecting to the Protestants the doctrine that the Pope is Antichrist, Mountagu replies that this is but a private opinion of some men, but that for himself he inclines to think that the Mahometan and Papal powers taken together are the Antichrist of the Scriptures. This point he discusses at some length in his *Appeal*. The reader will peruse him with advantage upon the topics of absolution and confession. Well had it been if, in regard of the former, the language of Peter Lombard had satisfied himself and some other divines. According to Peter Lombard, the priest is commissioned not to *give* but to *declare* absolution; and if to give, to give it sacramentally, or in the administration of the Sacraments, and thus only indirectly and mediately. It is no small indication of the true feeling upon this subject that the more startling and repulsive form of absolution was not in existence for many centuries. It did not arise until the priesthood itself had learnt to claim a kind of deification.

In treating of works of supererogation, Mountagu declared himself in favour of the doctrine that Christ had given two kinds of instructions, precepts and counsels; precepts obliging all, counsels left to those who were able to receive them. This was grounded upon the 19th chapter of *St. Matthew*, *If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to*

¹ *Appeal*, p. 219.

² 2 Cor. vi. 16.

³ p. 18.

the poor; and, he that is able to receive it, let him receive it. Here, as in the case of confession, he adduces the opinion of Bishop Morton, 'that we allow the distinction of *precepts* and *counsels*.'¹ He quotes on this topic Saints Chrysostom, Jerome, Ambrose, and Augustine, deeming the authority of the Fathers in all cases a sufficient proof of the fitness of an interpretation of Scripture. Our Saviour's words, *He that is able to receive it, let him receive it*, are indeed an irrefragable proof that this is no superstitious distinction. But it is to be feared that such an attestation to the excellency of a purely spiritual life, and to the possibility of leading it, is opposed and rudely dealt with in our age from the very prevalent disposition to abide by a lower standard of holiness and of self-denial than is consistent with true religion.

In treating of free-will, Mountagu seemed to affirm that the will, unable at the first to choose good, spiritual good, was upon our renewal able to work together with grace by its own ability, by a power lodged in itself. He admits that the Fathers did in some instances venture too far in what they asserted of the power of the will.²

He defended his own modes of speaking upon this most difficult point by the language of Whitaker, Chemnitz, Perkins, and others. But indeed it is easy to conceal a man's real opinion here under terms that are used by his opponent in a far different sense. These writers would probably have agreed that without the preventing grace of God the will could not turn to him. They would have resolved every good thought and desire into the same degree of divine grace; in a word, they would have resolved the goodness of man's will from first to last into the grace of God. To his working with us they would have ascribed it that man had a good will kept alive in him. This is in words confessed by Mountagu, but it is at variance with another part of his system, that the *calling* of them that are saved is in consideration of their faith, repentance, and obedience.³ This it was which identified him with the Semi-Pelagians and Arminians. He refused

¹ Bishop Morton's *Appeal*, b. v. chap. 4, § 3.

² p. 113.

³ *Appeal*, p. 58.

the name, and denied knowledge of the works of Arminius; but this one dogma, perhaps on his part incautiously owned, left no doubt upon the more discriminating of his contemporaries, of his real adherence to Arminianism.

Mountagu very ably and learnedly exposes and refutes the impious doctrine of the Romanists respecting the possibility of human perfection, or rather, of rendering to God a perfect obedience.¹

His statement of the doctrine of justification is open to exceptions if he is not fairly read and allowed to explain himself. At the same time he shewed a disposition to extend the use of the term *justification*, so as to include in it both our forensic justification in Christ, or by the imputation of his righteousness, and our declarative justification by works, which he would call our second justification. But what would be the result? That which has already followed in the attempt at a departure from the accustomed language of the Church, a bringing in of opinions still less excusable than the novel expressions under which they are veiled.

Mountagu did, it is true, use language liable to exception in one page, but in the very next² he so rectified himself that it was uncandid in his opponents to overlook all that he had said in explanation and correction of his own words. Nor is there any reason to suspect him here. He wrote in language that could not be misunderstood by the Romanists. He fully honoured the name of Christ as our justifying righteousness, and faith as that by which alone we lay hold of it. "In the first signification then of justification, the which properly is justification, we acknowledge instrumentally faith alone, and causally God alone."

"In the second and third [to be more just inherently, and to be declared just at last by works,] beside God and faith, we yield to hope and holiness and sanctification and the fruits of the Spirit in good works. But both these *are not justification*, rather fruits and consequents and effects and appendants of justification than justification, which is a solitary act."³ "Our justification in the act thereof, is only

¹ *New Gag*, pp. 116—139.

² p. 144.

³ p. 144.

the work of God for Christ's sake, whose death and passion apprehended by faith, which is the sole peculiar work of faith to do, as it hath made an atonement betwixt God and us, so hath it procured remission of our sins at his hands, and thereupon a new state of grace, not for any merit or deserving of our own, which is utterly excluded in this act." "Faith that is without charity doth not justify, but faith may yet justify without charity. They have their several distinct acts, and the act of faith is to justify, though both are virtues incident to a just man."

Accordingly he explains St. Paul and St. James as speaking, the one of the attaining of justification which is 'confessed to be the act of faith,' the other of justification now obtained, which necessarily is not separate from works. *Justus factus* through the grace of Christ, is *justus declaratus* by his holy life and conversation. And so St. James is expounded by yourselves, or else hath access of justification, as it is also taught by your own men."¹ Now this last expression is apparently a contradiction to the preceding, and accordingly in the *Appeal* we find the sting taken out of it. He there explains thus, 'Access unto justification is not by me made *essential* unto justification, but only *declaratory*.'²

Mountagu then was unjustly charged with Romanism and with innovation in the doctrine of justification, and with equal injustice the two informers imputed to him the Romish doctrine of merit. He rightly notes the patristic use of *mereor* as expressing simply to *procure*, to *incur*, to *purchase*, not to *deserve*. Thus the Vulgate, 'My iniquity is greater than that I can *obtain* pardon.'³

The Romanist objecting to the Protestants the opinion that faith once had cannot be lost, Mountagu affirms that it can, and that this is the doctrine of the Church of England, that Judas was as much given to Christ as Peter or John, and that Simon Magus was a sincere Christian, but afterward apostatized. Bishop Carleton has copiously answered and refuted him on this point, and vindicated St. Augustine from the tenet here imputed to him, that to some men God gave faith

¹ p. 148.² *Appeal*, p. 197.³ *Gen.* iii. p. 203.

and justification, and afterward left them to perish in apostacy. It is but an adventurous assertion, that as God gave Peter and John, so he gave Judas to Christ. If all were alike given to him as apostles, they were not all alike given to him as heirs of his kingdom. There was a sense in which they were not all *his*. So St. John saith at the beginning of the 13th chapter, *Having loved his own which were in the world, he loved them to the end.* Again he said, *I know whom I have chosen.*¹ Judas was one of the world for which he did not pray. The Apostles were both his own and his Father's in a sense in which Judas was not. *I pray for them ; I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me ; for they are thine. And all mine are thine, and thine are mine ; and I am glorified in them.*²

In the topic of predestination Mountagu proceeded with some wariness, yet not able to act an entirely neutral part. He attacked the supralapsarian doctrine, and laboured to make it appear odious. But it may not be denied that all things are resolvable into the divine decrees ; yet let us not hold this so as to deny that which we feel, our natural liberty, neither let us deny that to God we owe the renewal of the will, and that in an inscrutable manner he worketh in them that love him to will and to do of his good pleasure.

The invocation of saints Mountagu calls 'grand foolery,' but touches upon the impiety of offering false worship with a *gentle peradventure*, '*Perhaps there is no such great impiety in saying—St. Laurence, pray for me.*'³

For lay-baptism in cases of emergency he pleads, as did Whitgift before him in his *Answer to Cartwright*, 'the use and warrant of antiquity.' He does not imagine any true baptism independent of faith. 'As in little infants the faith of the Church, and those that present them to be baptized, is by God reputed their own ; so the willingness and desire of the same Church, of their godfathers and parents, is reputed theirs.'⁴

¹ ver. 18.

² ver. 9, 10.

³ p. 200. Observe his quotation from Justin Martyr in p. 206.

⁴ p. 247.

Upon the *real presence* he uses the same language with others of his own and the preceding century, who gave but a handle to the Romanists to charge them with unmeaning distinctions, whilst they professed to take literally (which Tertullian and Augustine did not) the words of Christ, *This is my body*. Allow this, and we partake of Christ's natural body in the Eucharist, for he gave no other if he gave it at all. Allow this, and Tertullian, Theodoret, and Augustine must be condemned for heterodox, and with them all the believers of their times; for they do not appear to have condemned them for agreeing in this, that *This is my body* is the same with *This is the figure of my body*.

We find in him the doctrine of *quasi-sacramentals*, though not the word. Nor is there any valid reason to the contrary. This distinction forces itself upon us in the case of marriage, confirmation, and ordination, which all border upon the nature of a sacrament, being consecrated to holy ends. Yates and Ward here shewed their Puritanism when they objected to the form of the ordination of priests, *Receive ye the Holy Ghost*; not that we are to look for that divine gift *ex opere operato*. There must be fit dispositions to receive it. Simon Magus had it not, neither do those amongst us who seek ordination not for the work of the ministry but for its emoluments.

Mountagu supposes, on the ground of the antiquity of the opinion, that *Christ took the saints up with him to heaven at his ascension*. He also asserted the *literal descent* of Christ into the place of the damned. But our Lord went into Paradise. And so the more antient opinion, that of Irenæus and Tertullian, was that the only hell into which our Lord went was Hades, the state of departed spirits, where they lived in Abraham's bosom in the comfort of the hope of a joyful resurrection.¹

He also follows some of the antients in their veneration of the sign of the cross, pleading for its use as a token of Anti-Puritanism. So zealous was he against 'the brethren,'

¹ See Usher's *Answer to a Jesuit's Challenge*, p. 292, 4th ed. 1686.

as he calls the Puritans in the very title of his appeal, *Appello Cæsarem, An Appeal from the Brethren*.

Such are the *Gag* and the *Appeal*, a mass of learning and of satire, coarse in style and full of invective; erroneous enough, but by no means so erroneous as some of his opponents represented.

Upon Bishop Andrewes' acquittal of Mountagu, given in the above letter to the Duke of Buckingham, he has himself been claimed as a convert to the opinions upon predestination maintained in Mountagu's *Appeal*. Yet it may admit of doubt whether he did not act in this instance upon the grounds of general policy, considering the attack made by the Puritans and by the Commons on Mountagu as intended to wound the Church of England and to elevate the Puritans. Their charges against him were partly groundless, partly false, partly exaggerated. It was not possible for him to have effected a reconciliation of England and Rome on the basis maintained in his *New Gag*. At the same time he was evidently desirous of giving the Romanists every possible advantage, every concession that seemed to him not to compromise essential truths. His spirit was not that of a Christian, but his learning was so great and so undoubted that it seems to have covered all his defects. He had promised too, at the end of his last performance, to return the royal protection with the service of his polemical sword. And therefore, in perfect accordance with the then principles of government, which singled out for promotion those who were most obnoxious to unpopularity (a rule savouring of petulance rather than of discretion, and of weakness rather than true dignity), the King speedily raised Mountagu to a bishopric, to the very see of his late opponent Carleton. On August 24th, 1628, he was consecrated to the see of Chichester by Archbishop Abbot, assisted by Laud, now Bishop of London, by Neile, Bishop of Winchester, Buckeridge, now Bishop of Ely, and Dr. Francis White, Bishop of Carlisle. On the translation of Wren from Norwich to Ely, Mountagu was in 1638 appointed his successor, and Dr. Brian Duppa consecrated to Chichester. Mountagu was elected to Norwich May 4th, 1638, and died in April 1641,

when, to make episcopacy more popular, Bishop Hall was translated thither from Exeter.

Besides Bishop Carleton, Anthony Wotton, Yeates, and Ward, Mountagu was animadverted upon by Dr. Matthew Sutcliffe, Dean of Exeter, Dr. Daniel Featley, Francis Rouse, and Henry Burton of Friday Street, London. Dr. Featley, Abbot's Chaplain, put forth his animadversions in 1626, entitling them, *Pelagius Redivivus, or Pelagius Rak'd out of the Ashes by Arminius and his Scholars*. This book consists of two parallels, one between the Pelagians and Arminians, the other between the Church of Rome, the Appealer, and the Church of England, in three columns. Francis Rouse (made by the Parliamentarians Provost of Eton) did not direct his work by name against Mountagu, but published in the same year his *Testis Veritatis; The Doctrine of King James and of the Church of England plainly shewn to be one in the points of Predestination, Free-Will, and Certainty of Salvation*. 1626. He was a member of the House of Commons, and thus sustained a mixed character. He was especially busy in the ecclesiastical innovations of his party, and in opposing episcopacy. He died in January 1659.

The recommendation in the letter of the Bishops was enforced, and the works that were written against Mountagu were sought after and suppressed. But whether or not this prohibition put a stop to the publication of works directly treating of these controversies, certain it is that it was not until a later period that the Universities declared in favour of the Court divinity. Dr. Prideaux, afterward Bishop of Worcester, Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford, and Dr. Ward, Master of Sidney Sussex College, and Lady Margaret's Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, continued the Predestinarian doctrine in their respective Universities.

On January 18th, 1626, the before-mentioned prelates met together to prepare a form of thanksgiving for the staying of the plague, to be used on Sundays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

On the 2nd of February Bishop Andrewes was present at

the coronation, and carried the golden plate for the Communion.

On April 12th, Wednesday, at nine A.M., Archbishop Abbot, Andrewes, Neile, and Laud met together by the King's command to consult concerning a sermon preached before the King on the Fifth Sunday in Lent last past by Dr. Goodman, Bishop of Gloucester. He had spoken ambiguously upon the real presence in the Sacrament, and was already suspected of Romanism. They advised together, and gave answer to the King that some things were therein spoken less cautiously, but nothing falsely; that nothing was innovated by him in the doctrine of the Church of England; that the best way would be that the Bishop should preach the sermon again at some time to be chosen by himself, and should then shew how and wherein he was misunderstood by his auditors.¹

On May 1st, Monday, Andrewes was on a commission upon an Act concerning the issuing of citations out of the Ecclesiastical Courts.

This is the last transaction with which we find the name of Bishop Andrewes connected. And now let his grateful secretary Isaacson conclude this imperfect narrative of his life. "He was not often sick, and but once (till his last illness) in thirty years, before the time he died, which was at Downham in the Isle of Ely, the air of that place not agreeing with the constitution of his body. But there he seemed to be prepared for his dissolution, saying oftentimes in that sickness, 'It must come once, and why not here?' And at other times before and since he would say, 'The days must come, when, whether we will or nill, we shall say with the Preacher, *I have no pleasure in them.*' Of his death he seemed to presage himself a year before he died, and therefore prepared his oil that he might be admitted in due time into the bride-chamber. That of *qualis vita finis ita, &c.* was truly verified in him, for as he lived so died he. As his fidelity in his health was great, so increased the strength of his faith in his sickness. His gratitude to men was now changed into thank-

¹ Laud's *Diary*, ed. Wharton, p. 31.

fulness to God; his affability to incessant and devout prayers and speech with his Creator, Redeemer, and Sanctifier; his laborious studies to restless groans, sighs, cries, and tears, his hands labouring, his eyes lifted up, and his heart beating and panting to see the living God, even to the last of his breath."

He died on September 25th, 1626, about four of the clock in the morning.

Thus eloquently also Bishop Buckeridge in his funeral sermon for him: 'God's house is truly called, and is indeed the house of prayer; it accompanies all acts done in God's house. Of this reverend prelate I may say his life was a life of prayer. A great part of five hours every day did he spend in prayer and devotion to God. After the death of his brother Mr. Thomas Andrewes in the sickness time, whom he loved dearly, he began to foretel his own death before the end of summer, or before the beginning of the winter. And when his brother Mr. Nicholas Andrewes died, he took that as a certain sign and prognostic and warning of his own death, and from that time till the hour of his dissolution he spent all his time in prayer, and his prayerbook, when he was private, was seldom seen out of his hands. And in the time of his fever and last sickness, besides the often prayers which were read to him, in which he repeated all the parts of the confession and other petitions with an audible voice, as long as his strength endured, he did, as was well observed by certain tokens in him, continually pray to himself, though he seemed otherwise to rest or slumber. And when he could pray no longer with his voice, yet by lifting up his eyes and hands he prayed still; and when both voice and eyes and hands failed in their office, then with his heart he still prayed, until it pleased God to receive his blessed soul to himself.'¹

Bishop Andrewes was buried on Saturday, November 11th. The funeral procession went from Winchester House, Southwark, where he had died 26th September. It was ordered and directed by Sir William Segar, Garter Principal King-

¹ p. 21.

of-Arms,¹ Henry St. George, Richmond Herald,² and George Owen, Rouge Cross.³ Neile, Bishop of Durham, chief mourner, assisted by Dr. Roger Andrewes, the Bishop's brother, Mr. Burrell, the husband of his sister Mary, Mr. Salmon, the husband of his sister Martha, Mr. Roger Andrewes, the son of his brother Thomas, and Mr. Rooke, the husband of his niece Mary, daughter of Mary Burrell. The great banner was borne by Mr. William Andrewes, the son of his brother Nicholas; the four bannerolls by Mr. Prinseps, the son of his sister Martha Salmon by her first husband; Mr. Samuel Burrell, third son of his sister Mary Burrell; Mr. Peter Salmon, eldest son of Martha by her second husband; and Mr. Thomas Andrewes, the eldest son of his brother Thomas. The corps assisted by Drs. Collins, Beale, Wren, and Green of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Rector of Stockton, Wilts. The inhabitants of St. Saviour's parish honoured his funeral by hanging the church with 165 yards of black baise. The house mourners made an offering, and Mr. Archer, one of the chaplains, received £11 17s. 7d., which he paid to the wardens as their due, but they handsomely returned it to him and Mr. Micklethwaite the other chaplain.⁴

The sermon was preached by Dr. Buckeridge, at that time Bishop of Rochester. His text was *Hebrews* xiii. 16: *To do*

¹ He accompanied Dudley Carleton, Baron Imbercourt in Surrey, to Holland in the third year of James I.—Wood's *Atk. Oxon.* vol. iii. p. 520. He died in 1634.

² Sir Henry St. George, Knight, Garter Principal King-of-Arms, created M.D. May 9th, 1643. The eldest son of Sir Richard St. George, Clarenceux King-of-Arms, was born of an ancient family at Hatley St. George, Cambridgeshire. In 1627 joint-embassador with the Lord Spencer and Peter Yonge, gentleman-uscher and daily waiter to King Charles I., and Master of St. Cross Hospital near Winchester, to invest the King of Sweden with the Order of the Garter. The King gave them the arms of the King of Sweden to be used by them and their posterity for ever as an augmentation to their own arms. He died in Brasenose College, Oxford, 5th November, 1644, and was buried in the Cathedral. See Wood's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 67.

³ See an account of him in note 2, p. 61, Wood's *Fasti*, vol. ii. He was a son of George Owen, of Henlys, Pembrokeshire, and retained office under both Cromwell and Charles II. He died May 13th, 1665.

⁴ From the *Book of Funeral Certificates*, marked 'I. 8' (fol. 31) in the College of Arms, London. Manning and Bray's *Surrey. Minor Works*, xxxi.

good and to distribute forget not: for with such sacrifices God is well pleased. He at once enters into the subject of sacrifices. "Our head, Christ," he observes, "offered his sacrifice of himself upon the cross; *Cruz altare Christi*; and the cross of Christ was the altar of our Head, where he offered the *unicum, verum, et proprium sacrificium*, the only, true, proper sacrifice, propitiatory for the sins of mankind; in which all other sacrifices are accepted, and applicatory of this propitiation.

"1. The *only sacrifice*, one in itself, and once only offered, that purchased eternal redemption; and if the redemption be eternal, what need is there that it should be offered more than once, when once is all-sufficient?

"2. And the *true sacrifice*. All others are but types and representations of this sacrifice; this only hath power to appease God's wrath, and make all other sacrificers and sacrifices acceptable.

"3. And the *proper sacrifice*: as the psalm saith, *Corpus aptasti mihi* (*Psa. xl. 6, lxx.*), 'Thou hast fitted me with a body'; the deity assumed the humanity that it might *accipere à nobis quod offerret pro nobis* ('receive of us what it might offer for us'); being the deity could not offer, nor be offered to itself, he took flesh of ours that he might offer for us.

"Now as Christ's cross was his altar where he offered himself for us, so the Church hath an altar also, *where it offereth itself*, not *Christum in capite* but *Christum in membris*, not *Christ* the head properly, but *Christ* the members. For Christ cannot be offered again and properly, no more but once upon the cross; for he cannot be offered again, no more than he can be dead again; and dying and *shedding* blood as he did upon the cross, and not dying and not shedding blood, as in the Eucharist, cannot be *one action* of Christ offered on the cross, and of Christ offered in the Church at the altar by the priest by representation only, no more than Christ and the priest are one person: and therefore though in the cross and the Eucharist there be *idem sacrificatum*, the same sacrificed thing, that is, the *body* and *blood* of *Christ* offered by *Christ* to his *Father* on the cross, and received and partici-

passed by the communicants in the sacrifice of the altar; *vel idem sacrificium quoad actionem sacrificii* or *sacrificandi*, it is impossible there should be the same sacrifice, understanding by sacrifice the action of sacrifice: for then the action of Christ's sacrifice, which is long since past, should continue as long as the Eucharist shall endure, even to the world's end; and his *consummation* *est* is not yet finished: and dying and not dying, shedding of blood and not shedding of blood, and suffering and not suffering, cannot possibly be *one action*, and the representation of an action cannot be the action itself."

He gives the true design of the term *the Real Presence* as used by the Church of England, when deriving *Eucharistia* from *good grace*, he says the Lord's Supper is so called because "it really contains Christ, who is full of grace." It is true he quotes this from Aquinas, but Aquinas here conveyed a truth, if the words are taken in a *spiritual* sense, expressive of the faith of both catholic antiquity and of the Reformers of our Church. He proceeds to shew clearly out of Aquinas himself, as Dr. Field had also done in the 19th chapter of his Appendix to his third book *Of the Church*.

"Here is a representative or commemorative and participated sacrifice of the passion of Christ the true sacrifice that is past; and here is an eucharistical sacrifice: but in any *external proper sacrifice*, especially as sacrifice doth signify the action of sacrificing, here is not one word. And therefore this is a new concept of latter men, since Thomas has time unknown to him, and a mere novelism. And the cure is as bad as the disease. Though Thomas gives no other reasons why it is called a sacrifice, yet (say they) Thomas doth not: for that is plainly to confess that this is but a patch added to antiquity. And yet when he saith it is a representative or commemorative sacrifice, *respectu* *antiquitatis* in respect of that which is past, that is, the *passion* *et* *crucifixion* which was the true sacrifice, he doth deny by consequence that it is the true sacrifice itself, which is past. And yet he saith it is sacrificed daily in the Eucharist according to the manner of

sacrifice, and it be one and the same sacrifice offered by Christ on the cross, and the priest at the altar, then can it not be a *representation of that sacrifice which is past*, because it is one and the same *sacrifice* and action present."¹

He proceeds thus: "Therefore St. Paul proceeds in the 15th verse, *By him therefore let us offer the sacrifice of praise to God continually, that is, the fruit of our lips, giving thanks to his name*. Let us offer up to God; Christians then have an offering: and *let us offer up to God continually*; this is the ground of the daily sacrifice of Christians that answereth to the daily sacrifice of the Jews. And this sacrifice of praise and thanks may well be understood the *Eucharist*, in which we chiefly thank and praise God for this his chief and great blessing of our redemption. And this and all other sacrifices of the Church external or spiritual must be offered up and accepted *per ipsum*, in, by, and through Christ. St. Paul saith not, *Ipsam offeramus*, Let us offer him (that is) Christ; but let us offer and sacrifice *per ipsum*, by him, in whom only we and our sacrifices are accepted." He afterwards affirms that "all the offerings of the Church are the Church itself." And then, after having again spoken of Christ having once offered himself for us, he adds, "Neither doth Christ there (that is) in heaven, where he now appears in the presence of God, offer often or any more for us, but this once; there is *appearing* but no offering. And the Apostle gives the reason of it: For then he must have *often suffered* since the foundation of the world, (*Heb. ix. 24, 25, 26*). He appears in heaven as our high priest, and makes intercession for us; but he offers his natural body no more but once, because he suffers but once. No offering of Christ (by St. Paul's rule) without the suffering of Christ. The priest cannot *offer Christ's* natural body without the suffering of *Christ's* natural body."

We have lived to see St. Augustine deserted in the doctrine both of our Lord's sacrifice and sacrament, but not so Buckeridge. He fully shews out of St. Augustine that the Church herself is the only sacrifice which in the Church is offered up to God.² He next proceeds to treat of alms, and

¹ pp. 2, 3.

² pp. 6, 7.

to shew that nothing that we can offer to God can merit anything. We can only be justified by the imputed righteousness of Christ.

“What is the reason the prophet saith (*Psa. lxxi. 16*), O Lord, *memorabor justitiæ tuæ solius*, I will remember *thy righteousness only*, but because there is no other righteousness worth the remembering but only *thy righteousness only*? That righteousness that is *à Domino*” [from the Lord], “inherent in us by sanctification of the gifts and graces of the Lord, is not worth the remembrance, for it is a *defiled cloth* and *dung* in itself; and were it never so good, God hath no need of it; nay, being offered to God, he is nothing increased by it. If thou do all good works, *Deus meus es, et bonorum meorum non indiges*: Thou art my God, saith David (*Psa. xvii. 2*), *my goods*, and therein are his *good works* also, are nothing to thee: God is not increased or enriched by them. If thou do commit all manner of *sins* with all manner of *greediness*, thou canst not defile God, nor take any thing from him; thy evil cannot decrease or diminish him. But it is *Justitia in Domino*, Righteousness in the Lord, (that is) *Christ's righteousness* communicated or *imputed* to us; for Christ is made to us *wisdom* from God, and *justice* or *righteousness* and sanctification, and redemption. And he doth not say *fecit nos*, he made us righteous in the concrete, but *factus est nobis*, he was made righteousness to us in the abstract, because he communicates his righteousness to us, and thereby covers our nakedness, as Jacob clothed in his elder brother's garments received the blessing.¹ And therefore the name of the Son of God is *Jehovah, Justitia nostra, the Lord our Righteousness.*”² After

¹ This simile we find in the hymn *Ecos nunc Joseph mysticus*, used in the procession to the place of the dividing the vestments of Christ, in Jerusalem, in the *Processiones quæ sunt quotidie à PP. Franciscanis ad SS. Nascentis Christi Præsepe in Bethlehem: in Ecclesiâ Annuntiationis B. V. M. in Nazareth: in Ecclesiâ SS. et gloriosissimi Sepulchri Christi: in Ecclesiâ S. Salvatoris in Jerusalem, &c. Antuerpiæ, 1670, p. 35.*

Jacob en sic pellicis
Vestitus fratris hædinis,
Ut benedictum raperet
Arte, quod culpa perdidit.

² pp. 14, 15.

descanting farther upon this most essential topic, and exposing the false pleas of the Church of Rome for her doctrine of merit, Buckeridge gives a very valuable account of Bishop Andrewes, which has already been quoted in various places, according as the chronological order of these memorials gave occasion. I will here add the following extracts :

“His admirable knowledge in the learned tongues, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, besides other modern tongues, to the number of fifteen (as I am informed), was such and so rare that he may well be ranked in the first place, to be one of the rarest linguists in Christendom; in which he was so perfect and absolute, both for grammar and profound knowledge therein, that he was so perfect in the grammar and criticism of them, as if he had utterly neglected the matter itself; and yet he was so exquisite and sound in the matter and learning of these tongues, as if he had never regarded the grammar.”

He mentions his love and encouragement of learning and of learned men, “which appeared in his liberality and bounty to Master Casaubon, Master Cluverius, Master Vossius, Master Grotius, Master Erpenius, whom he attempted, with the offer of a very large stipend out of his own purse, to draw into England, to have read and taught the Oriental tongues here.” To these his secretary Isaacson adds Moulin, Barclay, and Bedwell.

“He meddled little with them” (the goods of the world), “but left the taking of his accounts from his officers to his brothers; and when he began his will at Waltham a year before his death, he understood not his own estate; nay, till about six weeks before his death, when his accounts were delivered up and perfected, he did not fully know his own estate: and therefore in his first draught of his will he gave but little to his kindred, doubting he might give away more than he had; and therefore in a codicil annexed to his will he doubled all his legacies to them, and made every hundred to be two hundred, and every two hundred to be four hundred: and yet, notwithstanding this increase, he gave more to the maintenance of learning and the poor than

to his kindred. His charity and love of God and the poor was greater in him than natural affection, and yet he forgot not his natural affection to them."

For many years since he left St. Giles's, Cripplegate, Buckeridge records that he sent £5 about Christmas, besides the number of pounds given to the poor of that parish when he was almoner. "And," he adds, "I have reason to presume the like of those other parishes mentioned in his will, to which he also gave legacies: to St. Giles an hundred pounds, where he had been Vicar; to All-Hallows, Barking, where he was born, twenty pounds; to St. Martin's, Ludgate, where he dwelt, five pounds; to St. Andrew's in Holborn, where Ely House stands, ten pounds; and to this parish of St. Saviour's in Southwark, where he died, twenty pounds: which parishes he hath remembered for his alms to the poor, when the land shall be purchased for the relief and use of the poor."

"The total of his pious and charitable works mentioned in his will amounts to the sum of six thousand three hundred twenty-six pounds. Of which to Pembroke Hall for the creation of two fellowships and other uses mentioned in the codicil, a thousand pound, to buy fifty pound land per annum to that purpose, besides a bason and ewer like that of their foundress, and some books."

"To buy two hundred pound per annum, four thousand pound: viz. for aged poor men, fifty pound per annum; for poor widows the wives of one husband, fifty pound; for the putting of poor orphans to prentice, fifty pound; to prisoners, fifty pound."

"After he came to have an episcopal house with a chapel,¹ he kept *monthly* communions inviolably; yea, though himself had received at the Court the same month, in which his carriage was not only decent and religious but also exemplary: he ever offered twice at the altar, and so did every one of his servants, to which purpose he gave them money, lest it should be burthensome to them." "A great part of five

¹ Ely House and chapel, the chapel in Ely Place.

hours every day did he spend in prayer and devotion to God."

"He instructed his chaplains and friends to inform him of such young men at the University as stood in need of assistance. He of his own accord preferred men of learning, as Boys and Nicholas Fuller the Orientalist. If any deserving youths missed their election to the University from the great schools of London and Westminster, he sent them to the University at his own charge.

"He always observed a most noble hospitality, and at the same time paid regard to all the appointments of the Church in regard of fasts, at Lent, Embers, and other times. He dined at noon, giving his mornings to prayer and study. He was averse to be interrupted by calls before that time. "He doubted," says Isaacson, "they were no true scholars that came to speak with him before noon. After dinner, for two or three hours' space, he would willingly pass the time either in discourse with his guests or other friends, or in despatch of his own temporal affairs, or of those who (by reason of his episcopal jurisdiction) attended him. And being quit of these and the like occasions, he would return to his study, where he spent the rest of the afternoon even till bedtime, except some friend took him off to supper, and then did he eat but sparingly."

He suffered much by suits at law sooner than willingly institute persons whom he suspected of simoniacal engagements. When Bishop of Winchester he would not renew some leases that would have been most lucrative to himself, when he foresaw that such renewals would tend to the injury of his successor.

His secretary Henry Isaacson was born in St. Catharine Coleman's parish September 1581. He was the son of Richard Isaacson, Sheriff of London, who died January 19th, 1620, son of William Isaacson of Sheffield, by Isabel his first wife. Henry Isaacson died about the 7th December, 1654, and was buried in St. Catharine's, Coleman Street, London (since rebuilt), on December 14th.¹ Isaacson is reckoned

¹ Wood's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 377.

amongst the writers of Pembroke Hall. Antony Wood appears to have been unable to have discovered more respecting him than that which is here presented to the reader.

Bishop Andrewes' Devotions in Greek and Latin, *Preces Privatae, &c.*, were published at Oxford 1675, pp. 359, with a portrait (probably by no means a good one) by Loggan, the admirable engraver of those most beautiful folios the 'Oxonia and Cantabrigia Illustrata.' There is the usual old view of the Sheldonian Theatre in the title-page. Upon Loggan's successor as University engraver, Burghers, see the second volume of 'Hearne's Diary,' recently edited by Dr. Bliss, p. 630. This edition of Bishop Andrewes' Devotions was put forth by Dr. John Lamphire, of New College, Oxford, from the MSS. of Samuel Wright, the Bishop's own amanuensis, communicated by Dr. Richard Drake, Chancellor of Sarum, and with other fragments from the then recently edited collection of Dr. David Stokes.

John Lamphire was the son of George an apothecary of Winchester, and was born in St. Lawrence's parish in that city. He was educated first at Winchester School, and then at New College, Oxford, of which he was Fellow in 1636. He was ejected thence by the Parliamentary authorities, practised medicine at Oxford, and lived to be restored in 1660. Being again Fellow of New College, he was elected Camden Professor of Ancient History August 16th, 1660, and appointed Principal of New Inn Hall September 8th, 1662, on the ejection of Dr. Christopher Rogers of Lincoln College. Thence he was removed to Hart Hall, of which he was made Principal May 30th, 1663. After he had published this very neat edition of Bishop Andrewes' Devotions in 1675 in 12mo., he obtained a more perfect copy, which other avocations hindered him from giving to the world. He died at Hart Hall March 30th, 1688, aged 73 years, and was buried in the ante-chapel near the west door of New College. He was succeeded in his professorship by that learned but somewhat eccentric genius Henry Dodwell, for an account of whom the reader may refer to 'Hearne's Diary.' Hearne does his memory ample justice.

Dr. David Stokes was educated at Westminster School, was first a scholar of Trinity College,¹ then a Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge, D.D. 1630, also a Fellow of Eton College, Rector of Binfield near Windsor, and Canon of Windsor, to which he was appointed 11th July, and installed 12th July, 1628, on the promotion of Richard Montagu to the see of

¹ Trinity College B.A. 1615, migrated to Peterhouse, of which College he was made Fellow June 30th, 1618, and admitted to his Fellowship by Bishop Andrewes, it having always been the privilege of the Bishops of Ely to admit the Fellows of Peterhouse to their Fellowships.

Chichester. He was also preferred by Sir Henry Wotton to the Rectory of Everdon near Daventry (in the gift of Eton College) September 19th, 1638. He assisted Walton in the Polyglott, wrote on the Twelve minor Prophets, 1659, 8vo.

Verus Christianus, or Directions for Private Devotions and Retirements, with an Appendix containing some private devotions of Bishop Andrewes.

Truth's Champion.

Some Sermons.

He was also M.A. of Peterhouse in 1618. He was elected to his Fellowship in the place of the Rev. John Blithe, who was instituted to the College living of Statherne in Leicestershire. Blithe founded some scholarships at Peterhouse. His portrait is in the hall of the College (Johannes Blithe, Bac. Theol. Socius Collegii anno 1617), on the south side of the hall. Dr. Stokes resigned his Fellowship in 1625. He was made D.D. 1630. The College chapel at Peterhouse was built in 1632. He contributed £10. He was deprived of all his preferments, and took refuge at Oxford. He was reinstated in them in 1660, and spent the remainder of his days in peaceful enjoyment to his death, May 10th, 1669. To his stall at Windsor succeeded Henry Wotton, M.A., May 28th, 1669. He resigned on May 1st, 1671. He was M.A. of Merton College, Oxford, 1660.

In Lamphire's edition of Andrewes' Prayers in Greek and Latin, Dr. David is by a mistake called William Stokes. The beautiful copy by Samuel Wright is a small 12mo., still in the Library of Pembroke College, Cambridge. The portions alluded to by Lamphire as taken from Stokes, are taken from the Appendix to his *Verus Christianus*, published at Oxford.

Wright's copy, consisting of 168 pages, contains the Devotions in Greek without any Latin translation, down to the Meditation on the Day of Judgment at p. 252 of the Oxford edition recently set forth in the 'Anglo-Catholic Library.' The two meditations on the Last Judgment and on Human Frailty, are from Dr. Stokes, and also many passages in the Latin Devotions. The prayers as thus edited have been reprinted in 1828 and 1848.

The recent Oxford edition in 8vo. has a third part from the Harleian MSS. No. 6614. That manuscript indeed is not in the handwriting of Andrewes, as a MS. note by J. Cole asserts.

Andrewes' *Manual of the Sick*, first put forth with some spurious additions in 1647 by Humphrey Moseley, a bookseller at the Prince's Arms in St. Paul's Churchyard, was edited with fidelity in 1648, by Richard Drake, with the other Devotions translated from Wright's MS., with a dedication to the Prince of Wales. The Preface to the Christian Reader is dated on the Nativity of St. John Baptist, 1646.

Dr. Richard Drake was a scholar of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, on Dr. Watts's foundation, March 15th, 1626, B.A. 1628, M.A. 1631, Rector of

Radwinter, between Thaxted and Walden in Essex, D.D. by royal mandate August 2nd, 1660, Prebendary of North Alton in the Cathedral of Salisbury September 9th, 1660. He resigned this stall on March 23rd, 1663, having been appointed to the Chancellorship of that church on the 12th of March. He was installed Prebendary of Bricklesworth in the church of Sarum, February 24th, 1665. He was, as was also Dr. Stokes, one of Walton's assistants in the Polyglott. He died in 1681.

In 1655 a volume appeared entitled *Holy Devotions, with Directions to Pray, &c.*, by the Rt. Rev. Father in God L. Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester. The 4th edition, printed for Henry Seile, &c. 1655.¹ The first edition had appeared in 1660, with another title, *Institutiones Piæ, or Directions to Pray*. The initials of the Compiler are given as H. I. This was retained in the second and third editions. The initials are those of Henry Isaacson. He died in 1654. The date of his death (1654) accords with H. Seile's statement in the preface to the fourth edition, that the three previous editions had been dressed up by a kind foster-father who now sleeps in the Lord. It is most likely, says Mr. Bliss, that the volume was compiled By Isaacson from some of the Bishop's papers. The earlier portion appears to be notes of sermons either made by Andrewes himself to assist in composition, or else taken down by some of his hearers. Other passages agree exactly with portions of his Latin Devotions, especially with some recently published in the Oxford 8vo. edition. The volume can in no other and stricter sense be regarded as Andrewes'. The first editor (Isaacson) states that he had originally compiled the Devotions for his own use.

This volume has been re-edited by a recent successor of our prelate in the Vicarage of St. Giles', Cripplegate, Archdeacon Hale.

Milton had been sent from St. Paul's School to Cambridge, and admitted of Christ's College there February 12th, 1625, under the tuition of Mr. William Chappel.¹ He probably wrote his Elegy on the death of Andrewes whilst an undergraduate at Christ College. Here he took his degree of B.A. in 1629, and of M.A. in 1632, after which he left the University, and went to live five years with his parents at Horton in Buckinghamshire. There he lived until the death of his mother. Her remains are buried beneath a dark slab in the centre of the chancel, on which is this inscription :

*Hears lyeth the body of Sara Milton, the wife of
John Milton, who died
The 3rd of April, 1637.²*

¹ Chappel was M.A. of Christ College 1606, Fellow 1607, B.D. 1613, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, Bishop of Cork and Ross 1638. Laud was his patron.

² p. 12, *Poets and Statesmen, their Homes and Haunts in the neighbourhood of Eton and Windsor*. Lond. Published for E. P. Williams, 1856.

Milton's elegy is evidently a youthful exercise. After a poetical complaint that death exercises his dominion over not only the material creation but over man himself, he presents to the reader a vision of Paradise, and the joyful reception of Andrewes by its celestial inhabitants to his new abode.

" A List

" of persons to whom I intend rings, as in my will mentioned," probably six weeks before his death: Abbot; Neile, Bishop of Durham; Bucke-ridge; Laud, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Sir Thomas Edmondes, Comptroller of the Household; Sir Julius Cæsar, Master of the Rolls; Sir Thomas Lake, Secretary of State in the reign of James; his Lady Mary; Sir Henry Martin, Judge of the Prerogative Court; Dr. John Young, Dean of Winchester; Dr. Steward, a civilian; Dr. Collins, Provost of King's College, Cambridge; Dr. Ward of Waltham, Herts; Dr. Beale of Pembroke Hall; Dr. Wren of Peterhouse; Mr. Man of Westminster, probably a bookseller; Mr. Roger, late Proctor in the Court of Arches; Mr. Greene, Prebendary of Bristol; Mr. William Johnson; and Mr. Joseph Fenton.

Prynne, whose *Canterbury's Doom* and *Necessary Introduction to Laud's Trial* contain a vast store of most valuable information, doubtless frequently betrays the most exaggerated feelings and unhappy prejudices. Nowhere is this more apparent than in his unhandsome charges against Bishop Andrewes. He takes up with Father Giles' or Davenport's misrepresentations of our prelate, who would persuade his readers that Andrewes held not the doctrine of the Reformation but of the Church of Rome respecting justification by faith. The reader will, if he refer to the Bishop's sermon on *Jer. xxiii. 6*, perceive at once the untruthfulness of such a statement. Laud was indeed most blameable in procuring sanctuary for so perfidious a writer in the University of Oxford. Prynne was not less blameable in giving currency to his falsities. See p. 424, and sequel of his *Compleat History of Laud*.

Prynne speaks in one place of the Popish furniture, &c. of Bishop Andrewes' private chapel; in another he professes to doubt whether Laud did not make an unwarrantable use of Bishop Andrewes' name. Speaking of his form of conse-

cration he says, that he took his form from Bishop Andrewes is only avowed by himself, not proved by any witnesses. (p. 503.)

It is certainly most remarkable that if Andrewes did observe the ceremonies comprised in the notes to the Liturgy ascribed to him, and involved in the account of his private chapel to be found in Prynne, pp. 121—124, there is evidence that at Winchester there were in the time of Andrewes neither rails to the Communion-table, which probably stood then in the middle of the choir, nor bowing to it. "From Canterbury," says Prynne, "we shall next hunt this *Romish Fox* to the cathedral of Winchester, where, keeping a visitation in the year 1635 by Sir Nathanael Brent, his Vicar-General, he did by his injunctions under seal enjoin them to provide four copes, to rail in the Communion-table, and place it altarwise, to bow unto it, and daily to read the epistles and gospels at it. This was attested by Sir Nathanael Brent himself, manifested by his own injunctions to that Church, and by his articles proposed to the College of Winchester, produced and read in the Lord's house." (p. 79.) Then follow the injunctions themselves. (p. 80.) This verifies the assertion of Dr. Fuller that it "was the constant practice of Dr. Andrewes, successively Bishop of Chichester, Ely, and Winchester, never to urge any other ceremonies than those which he found there." This remark of Fuller's drew down upon him the indignation of Heylyn, in whose eyes Laud's greatest indiscretions were his highest excellencies. He accordingly takes care that they shall not be hid.

Andrewes was the most imaginative of all our older divines, and would therefore have a natural bias toward a ceremonial piety. He was as remarkable for pathos and simplicity as for wit and fancy. He was an intense student of both the Fathers and the divines of succeeding ages. As a critic he was often led away by his excessive love of illustration. He was perfectly free from covetousness and pride, a lover of learning and of learned men. His infirmities were a want of firmness in opposing the unwise and unhallowed counsels of his sovereign; and an undue partiality toward his kindred and

friends, whom he loaded with preferments in an age in which pluralities were found to be a grievance—a grievance to the cause of piety, however they might operate in favour of learning. His own brother was unworthy of his name. He was the object of general aversion in the College over which Andrewes placed him. He was not however what he has been represented even in our own time, an ambitious courtier. He never intermeddled with state affairs. He did indeed sometimes his sovereign's bidding where others, more faithful in some remarkable instances, declined. But he never forced himself into observation. His rise was due to his great learning, piety, and munificence. His patrons were men whose names will be had in honour so long as piety and patriotism shall perpetuate the names of Henry, third Earl of Huntingdon, and Secretary Walsingham. He was by his sermons a truly pastoral prelate, and his *Prayers* will probably continue to the end of time to cherish the devotion of an innumerable company who shall follow him to his heavenly rest.

APPENDIX.

THE FAMILY OF ANDREWES.

The name of our prelate was variously spelt,—Andrew, Andrews, Andrewes, and Andros. The *e* in Andrewes was sometimes omitted in the early part of the seventeenth century. Sir Robert Andrewes of Normandy, knt., came over with William I., and married the daughter and heiress of Sir Robert Winwick of Winwick, Northamptonshire, and afterward of Denton in the same county.¹

In 1303 occurs John Andrew, Alderman of Redingate, Canterbury.² A Sir William Andrewes of Northamptonshire and Carlisle occurs in 1234.³

Thomas Andrews of Beggar's Weston, or Weston Bigard, (or Begard,) a few miles east of Hereford, was born in 1501, and died in 1615. See the genealogy of this branch in Nichol's *Leicestershire*, parish of *System*.⁴ From him was descended the late highly respected Gerard Andrewes, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, Rector of St. James', Westminster, and 8th November, 1809, Dean of Canterbury. He died, aged 75, on June 2nd, 1825.

In a window in St. Bartholomew the Less, London, over the door in the passage into the church, are the arms and crest (painted in glass) of Henry Andrewes, Alderman of London, 1636: *argent*, a saltire *azure* on a chief *gules*; 3 mullets *or*: crest, a Moor's head in profile.

In 1649 and 1651 Thomas, a leatherseller, son of Robert Andrewes of Feltham near Hounslow, Middlesex, and of the Fishmongers' Company, was Lord-Mayor of London.

Jonathan Andrewes was a member of the court of Merchant Taylors 1665, and Richard Andrewes, M.D., 1627—1634.

Sir Matthew Andrewes, knt., was one of the Elder Brethren of Trinity House, 1625.⁵

Our prelate in his will makes mention of William the son of his deceased brother Nicholas; Thomas, Nicholas, and Roger the sons of his deceased brother Thomas, and their eldest sister Ann, married

¹ See Milton's *New Baronetage of England*, vol. i. p. 220.

² Hasted's *Kent*, vol. xii. p. 596. *Appendix*.

³ Berry's *Heraldic Dictionary*.

⁴ Vol. iii. Part I.

⁵ Strype's *Stow's Survey*, vol. ii. p. 289.

to Arthur Woollaston; also her younger sister Mary. His brother Nicholas was born in 1567, and died in 1626. His brother Thomas was named after his father, who appears as a benefactor to All Hallows', Barking, "1593, towards repairs of the church, £2; to the poor £5;" probably bequeathed. Our prelate's mother, Mrs. Joan Andrewes, left in 1524 a bequest of £10. He also makes mention of his sister Mary Burrell. One Alexander Burrell, B.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, 1706, M.A. 1710, was Vicar of Buckden, July 5, 1717, which he resigned in 1721, being made in 1720 Rector of Adstock near Winslow, Bucks., by Dr. Gibson, then Bishop of Lincoln, and also Rector of Puttenham, Herts, by the same patron. His father was also of Trinity College, B.A. 1666, M.A. 1670. There have been about twenty members of the University of Cambridge of that name. The name is also spelt Burwell; Mr. Samuel Burwell was at our prelate's funeral. Of this name was Thomas, LL.D. of the University of Cambridge, 1661; Thomas, M.B. of the same University *per Literas Regias*, 1662; Francis, A.M. of the same University *per Literas Regias*, 1675; Thomas, M.B., King's College, 1677; and Charles, M.B., Pembroke College, 1717. The name *Burwell* appears to have merged into *Burrell*. The children of the Bishop's sister, Mary Burrell, were Andrew, John, Samuel, Joseph, James, Lancelot, Mary Rooke, and her daughter Martha. His sister Martha, born in 1577, married first to Robert Princep, by whom she had a son Thomas. Charles Robert Princep (probably a descendant) was B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge, 1811, M.A. 1813. At Oxford was John Princep, B.A., Balliol College, Oct. 12, 1738. Martha was married secondly to Mr., probably Peter, Salmon, by whom she had two sons, Peter and Thomas. The Rev. Thomas Peter Dod Salmon was B.A. St. John's College, Cambridge, 1782, M.A. 1786, Fellow of that College, B.D. 1793, and was living in 1811. Mr. Salmon had a sister Martha and a daughter Anne Best. The Bishop also makes mention of his cousin Anne Hockett. John Hockett was B.A. of Trinity College, Cambridge, 1662, M.A. 1666, and a Fellow of that society. Another of the same name was B.A. of that College 1696. He names another cousin, Sandbrooke; also his cousin *Robert* and his two children; his cousin Rebecca; his father's half-sister Joan; her first husband's name was Bousie. Also his godson Lancelot Lake, son of Sir Thomas Lake. There was a Lancelot Lake, B.A. Catharine Hall, Cambridge, 1666, M.A. 1670. Also his two godsons Robert and Charles Barker, son of Mr. Robert Barker, "latelie the King's printer." His principal executor was Mr. John Parker, citizen and Merchant Taylor, of London, to be assisted by Sir Thomas Lake, Sir Henry Martin, and Dr. Nicholas Styward or Steward. His will was witnessed by Robert Bostock, Prebendary of Norton Episcopi in the church of Lincoln, and afterward Archdeacon of Suffolk, and (if not in 1626) Prebendary of Chichester; Joseph Fenton, probably our prelate's physician; John Browning, Rector of Buttermere near Hungerford, whom he had preferred to that

living in 1624, author of *Six Sermons concerning Public Prayer and the Fasts of the Church* (Lond. 1636); Thomas Eddie and William Green, two of the Bishop's servants. Archdeacon Wigmore also signed the three several codicils to the will.

The family of Andrew or Andrewes has seated itself in Gloucestershire; Plymouth, Devon; Bisbrook, Rutlandshire; Norfolk, Suffolk, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Lancashire, Wilts, Bucks, Hertfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Surrey, and Hants. In Cambridgeshire it is still represented by the Rev. Thomas Andrew of Pembroke College, Cambridge, Vicar of Triplow; and by another descendant, a respectable yeoman at Litlington in the same county. In Hertfordshire, by the father of this latter, a yeoman in the parish of Buckland near Barkway. In Suffolk, by George W. Andrewes, Esq., Sudbury, Suffolk. In Surrey, by the Rev. William Gerard Andrewes, M.A., Magdalen Hall, Oxford, curate of Morden near Mitcham, and grandson of the late Dean of Canterbury. The Rev. Thomas Andrew of Triplow is descended of a Northamptonshire branch of this family. From Northamptonshire a branch of this family migrated about the beginning of the seventeenth century to the neighbourhood of Canterbury. Thence Henry Andrews removed to London, and was cut off with his whole household, except one infant, in the Great Plague in 1665. This infant lived to a considerable age, and having acquired some fortune by merchandise, thought it right to take out arms afresh in 1729. He died in 1730. His grandson Joseph was at a very early age appointed Paymaster to the Forces serving in Scotland 1715. His son Joseph was created a Baronet in 1766. His brother, James Pettit Andrews, born at Shaw House near Newbury, 1737, was the author of a miscellaneous collection entitled *Anecdotes, Ancient and Modern, &c.* Lond. 8vo. 1789. A supplement to this volume in 1790; *History of Great Britain, 1794, vol. I., from Cæsar's invasion to the death of Richard I.* 4to. Lond. In 1795 appeared a second part, to the accession of Edward VI. The plan of this work was founded on that of Dr. Henry. He appears to have discontinued it for the purpose of completing Dr. Henry's history, which, in 1796, he brought down to the accession of James I. He translated *The Savages of Europe*; a popular French novel now forgotten. In 1798 he published *The Inquisitor*, a Tragedy in five Acts altered from the German, in conjunction with his friend H. J. Pye, the Poet Laureate. He was a contributor to the *Archæologia* and the *Gentleman's Magazine*. On the establishment of the London Police Magistracy in 1792, he was appointed Magistrate for Queen's Square and St. Margaret's Westminster. He died in London August 6th, 1797. He had married Anne daughter of the Rev. Rumney Penrose, Rector of Newbury. He survived her twenty years. The present excellent Master of the Grammar School, Stamford, the Rev. Frederic E. Gretton, B.D., late Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and author of some valuable *Parochial Sermons*,¹ is descended from Bishop Andrewes

¹ London, Edwards and Hughes, Ave Maria Lane. 1843. Author also of *Elmestiane*, 1839, &c., &c.

both on the mother's and father's side. His father married a *Clay*, and his grandfather a *Pigott*, the granddaughter and daughter respectively of Catharine and Ellen Andrewes, whose father died and was buried at Southwell in or about 1717. Mr. G. W. Andrews of Sudbury is a younger brother of the Rev. Robert Andrews, B.D., who was ninth Senior Optime, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and B.A. 1821, of Middleton near Sudbury. The eldest brother is Lieut.-Colonel Andrews, residing at 57, Ecclestone Square, London; and the youngest, the Rev. William Nesfield Andrews, of Jesus College, Cambridge, M.A. 1832, Rector of Chilton near Sudbury 1853.

A.D. 1600.

Five days after the death of Hooker, Andrewes wrote to Dr. Parry, afterward Bishop of Worcester:

"SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

"I cannot choose but write though you do not; I never failed since I last saw you, but daily prayed for him till the very instant you sent me this heavy news. I have hitherto prayed *Serva nobis hunc*; now must I *Da nobis alium*. Alas, for our great loss! and when I say ours, though I mean yours and mine, yet much more the common: with [which?] the less sense they have of so great a damage, the more sad we need to bewail them ourselves, who knew his works and his worth to be such as behind him he hath not, that I know, left any near him. And whether I shall live to know any near him, I am in great doubt that I care not how many and myself had redeemed his longer life, to have done good in a better subject than he had in hand, though that were very good. Good brother, have a care to deal with his executrix or executor, or (him that is like to have a great stake in it) his father-in-law, that there be special care and regard for preserving such papers as he left, besides the three last books excepted. By preserving, I mean, that not only they be not embezzled and come to nothing, but that they come not into great hands who will only have use of them *quatenus et quousque*, and suppress the rest, or unhappily all; but rather into the hands of some of them that unfeignedly wished him well, though of the meaner sort, who may upon good assurance (very good assurance) be trusted with them; for it is pity they should admit any limitation. Do this and do it mature; it had been more than time long since to have been about it, if I had sooner known it. If any word or letter would do any good to Mr. Churchman, it should not want. But what cannot yourself or Mr. Sandys do therein? For Mr. Cranmer is away; happy in that he shall gain a week or two before he know of it. Almighty God comfort us over him, whose taking away, I trust I shall no longer live than with grief remember; therefore with grief because with inward and most just honour I ever honoured him since I knew him.

"Your assured poor loving friend,

"L. ANDREWES.

"At the Court, Nov. 7, 1600."

About a month after this letter was written the Archbishop sent Andrewes to Mrs. Hooker to enquire after the MSS. He did not however succeed in obtaining any information. Upon this the Archbishop sent for her to London, when she confessed that Mr. Chark, a Puritan, and another minister of the same bias, had destroyed some of his papers as being in their opinion not such as should see the light. However the rough drafts of the three last books of the Eccl. Polity were discovered and delivered by Whitgift to Dr. Spenser, who drew up as perfect a copy as he could; a transcript of which was given to Andrewes amongst others.—*Strype's Whitgift*, ii. 441.

Page 216. THE APOCALYPSE.

Dr. Christopher Wordsworth has in his work entitled *The Apocalypse*, (Lond. Rivingtons, 1849,) given in Appendix I., the doctrine of Andrewes upon *Antichrist*, pp. 166—203, *Ex secundo capite ad Thessal. probabiliter colligi Romanum Pontificem esse Antichristum.—De Sede et Duratione Antichristi—De Enoch et Eliä.—De quatuor Visionibus S. Johannis in Apocalypsi, in quibus Antichristus designatur.*

Page 248. HEINSIUS.

Daniel Heinsius (Heyn), Professor of Politics and History at Leyden, was born at Ghent in May 1580, and was a pupil of Joseph Scaliger. He was appointed Greek Professor when but 18 years old. Urban VIII. made him great offers if he would come to Rome. He was an indefatigable critical editor. He died February 25, 1655.

Page 377.

Of Dr. Sibbes see *Materials for a Life of Dr. Richard Sibbes, communicated by the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor, M.A.* (Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge). Read December 1, 1856, *Communications made to the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, No. VII.* Cambridge, 1857, pp. 253—264. Dr. Sibbes was an ornament of St. John's College, of which he was successively a Scholar and Fellow. To his fellowship he was admitted on April 3, 1601, M.A. 1602, taxor 1608, preacher of Gray's Inn about 1618, Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge, 1626, died July 5, 1635.

For an invaluable collection of his works the University Library at Cambridge is indebted to the discriminating zeal of the Rev. J. E. B. Mayor.

Page 378. MARTIN.

The Rev. John Martin was, on the day after his admission to priest's orders, presented to Loddon in Norfolk. *Baker's MSS.*

Page 384. MEDB, MORE, and CUDWORTH.

The tablet to the memory of these eminent persons erected by the late Bishop of Lincoln, the then Master, and Fellows of Christ College, at the suggestion of that lame prelate's early and devoted friend the Venerable Archdeacon Lincoln, Dr. Henry Kaye Bonney, Rector of Kingscliffe, Northamptonshire, the author of a Life of Jeremy Taylor, and an account of Fotheringay and Buckden Palace.

Page 396. THOMAS MACARNESS.

Thomas Macarness was admitted to the Vicarage of Barton in Cambridge in the spring of 1617.

Page 472. JUNIUS.

Francis Junius, the son of the joint translator of the Old Testament with Tremellius, was born at Heidelberg in 1589. He was the nephew of Isaac Vossius, Canon of Windsor, and from 1616 resided mostly in England, partly in the family of Thomas Earl Arundel, partly at Oxford, for the sake of the Bodleian and other libraries. There he took lodgings opposite Lincoln College, that he might be near his learned pupil Dr. Marshall, the Rector of the College, who, like himself, was a zealous student in the northern languages. Thence he removed to St. Ebb's parish. In 1665 he published his *Glossarium Gothicum in quatuor Evangelia Gothice Dordrac*, 1555, 4to., with notes by Dr. Marshall. He died in 1677 at the house of Vossius at Windsor, and was buried in St. George's Chapel. His *Etymologicon Anglicanum* was published in 1743, in folio, by the Rev. Edward Lye, M.A., Vicar of Little Houghton, Northamptonshire.

Page 472. TILLENUS.

Daniel Tilenus, at first a Predestinarian, but afterward an intemperate opponent of predestination, was born at Goldberg in Silesia, Feb. 4, 1563, came to France about 1590, and was naturalized by Henry IV. He entered into controversy with Peter du Moulin, and afterward with the learned John Cameron of Saumur. See of him *Quick's Synodicon*, vol. i., and *Collatio inter Tilenum et Cameronem*. He gained the favour of James by recommending episcopacy to the Scotch. He died at Paris Aug. 1, 1633.

MSS.

In the Library of the British Museum are five small volumes of Latin notes on various parts of Holy Scripture, collected by our prelate. MS. Harl. No. 6616. Libellus in 8vo. scriptus A.D. 1602, et continens Expositiones Evangelii S. Lucæ a capite nono. Ab Episc. Andrewes, et propriâ manu descriptus, ut videtur.

6617—6619. In 8vo. Tres Tomi eâdem manu scripti in annis 1608, 1612, et 1619.

6620. Libellus eadem manu scriptus, et continens: 1. Fragmentum notarum in Psalmos, novem foliis. 2. Notas in Epistolam ad Hebræos; inceptus A.D. 1586, April 10.

In the Library of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, are some MS. notes taken from some Sermons (probably delivered in Cambridge) in an unknown hand. This MS. is imperfect.

1658.

A Discourse of Ceremonies retained and used in Christian Churches. Written by the Rt. Rev. Father in God Lancelot Andrewes, late Bishop of Winchester, a little before his death. At the request of one person that desired satisfaction therein. Printed by the original copy written with his own hand. 1653.

With a Preface by Edward Leigh. The scope of this little treatise, judged by some unworthy of Bp. Andrewes, and certainly not altogether favouring his style, is to prove that many pagan ceremonies were retained in England after Christianity was received. There is a portrait of Bp. Andrewes prefixed, which is reduced from that in the folio edition of his Sermons.

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